





W.F.

THE FORUM.

VOL. XXII.

SEPTEMBER, 1896—FEBRUARY, 1897.

NEW YORK :
THE FORUM PUBLISHING CO.

39195-
5/6/97

COPYRIGHT, 1896,
By THE FORUM PUBLISHING CO.

AP
2
F8
v. 22

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE CHICAGO CONVENTION :	
"Thou Shalt Not Steal"	ISAAC L. RICE 1
Encouragements in the Present Crisis	ANDREW D. WHITE 16
Fire and Sword in Cuba	CLARENCE KING 31
Antitoxin Treatment of Diphtheria a Pronounced Success, W. P. NORTHRUP	53
Mr. White's "Warfare of Science with Theology," CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS	65
Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France, JEANNE E. SCHMAHL	79
Cardinal Manning and his Biographer	J. T. SMITH 93
The Threatened Annihilation of the Judge-and-Jury System,	W. K. TOWNSEND 107
Early and Recent Currency Legislation : A Contrast	J. J. LALOR 117
WHAT FREE COINAGE MEANS :	
Compulsory Dishonesty	BENJAMIN HARRISON 129
Free Coinage and Life-Insurance Companies	JOHN A. MCCALL 136
Free Coinage and Trust Companies	EDWARD KING 142
Free Coinage and Farmers	JOHN M. STAHL 146
The Creed of the Sultan : Its Future	THOMAS DAVIDSON 152
King Oscar of Sweden and Norway	HARALD HJÄRNE 164
Banks of Issue in the United States	W. G. SUMNER 182
International Law and Arbitration	RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN 192
Princeton College and Patriotism	JOHN G. HIBBEN 217
The American Ballot	HUGH H. LUSK 225
Robert Schumann a Lyrical Poet	JOSEPH SOHN 235
The Study of Folk-Lore	L. J. VANCE 249
" As Maine Goes, so Goes the Union "	THOMAS B. REED 257
The " Solid South " Dissolving	EDWARD P. CLARK 263
Conditions for a Sound Financial System	E. W. CODINGTON 275
Woman from the Standpoint of a Naturalist	W. K. BROOKS 286
Instructive District Nursing	MARY K. SEDGWICK 297
THE EASTERN QUESTION :	
The Immediate Future of Armenia	W. K. STRIDE 308
Shall the Frontier of Christendom be Maintained? JULIA WARD HOWE	321
Recent Excavations in Greece : The Sanctuary of Apollo	J. GENNADIUS 327
Bond Sales and the Gold Standard	F. W. TAUSSIG 339
Emerson's Wit and Humor	HENRY D. LLOYD 346
Work and Morality	WILLIAM FERRERO 358
The Future of Spelling Reform	BENJAMIN E. SMITH 367
Another Phase of the New Education	GERTRUDE BUCK 376

HOW SHALL THE CHILD BE TAUGHT?

- 1.—Obstacles to Rational Educational Reform . . . J. M. RICE 385
 Another Year of Church Entertainments . . . WILLIAM BAYARD HALE 396
 Rudyard Kipling as a Poet . . . MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER 406

THE ELECTION,—ITS LESSONS AND ITS WARNINGS :

- Some Practical Lessons of the Recent Campaign . . . ANDREW D. WHITE 414
 Will Government by the People Endure? . . . D. MACG. MEANS 423
 The Brewing of the Storm . . . GOLDWIN SMITH 436
 Princeton in the Nation's Service . . . WOODROW WILSON 447
 The Poetry of the Earl of Lytton . . . GEORGE SAINTSBURY 467
 Drawbacks of a College Education . . . CHARLES F. THWING 483
 Anatomy Laws *versus* Body Snatching . . . THOMAS DWIGHT 493
 American Women and American Literature . . . HUGH H. LUSK 503
 Leo XIII. . . E. MELCHIOR DE VOGÜÉ 513
 Middle Ground on the Tariff . . . O. D. ASHLEY 526

HOW SHALL THE CHILD BE TAUGHT?

- 2.—The Essentials in Elementary Education . . . J. M. RICE 538
 Modern Composers in the Light of Contemporary Criticism,
 ALEXANDER MOSZKOWSKI 547

Presidential Elections Paralyzing to Business : A Remedy,

ALONZO B. CORNELL 563

- Wanton Destruction of American Property in Cuba, FERNANDO A. YZNAGA 571

TWO NOTABLE NEW BOOKS :

- The Law of Civilization and Decay . . . THEODORE ROOSEVELT 575
 Dr. Eggleston on American Origins . . . W. P. TRENT 590
 The Urgent Need of a National University . . . D. S. JORDAN 600
 American Archæological Work in Greece . . . J. GENNADIUS 607
 The Philosophy of Meliorism . . . JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE 624
 Intercollegiate Debating . . . R. C. RINGWALT 633
 Future of the Democratic Organization . . . DAVID B. HILL 641
 The Present and Future of Cuba . . . FIDEL G. PIERRA 659
 Evils to be Remedied in our Consular Service, WM. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL 673
 Ladies' Clubs in London . . . ALICE ZIMMERN 684
 The Results of Cardinal Satolli's Mission . . . EDWARD MCGLYNN 695
 Economy of Time in Teaching . . . J. M. RICE 706
 Speedy Financial and Currency Reform Imperative . . CHARLES N. FOWLER 713
 The Cure for a Vicious Monetary System . . . W. A. PEFFER 722
 Poe's Opinion of "The Raven" . . . JOEL BENTON 731
 The Criminal in the Open . . . JOSIAH FLYNT 734
 The New Memoirs of Edward Gibbon . . . FREDERIC HARRISON 749
 INDEX . . . 761

The Forum

SEPTEMBER, 1896.

"THOU SHALT NOT STEAL."

"Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small :

"Thou shalt not have in thine house divers measures, a great and a small :

"But thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure shalt thou have : that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

"For all that do such things, and all that do unrighteously, are an abomination unto the Lord thy God."—*Deuteronomy xxv, 13-16.*

"Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed ;

"To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless !"—*Isaiah x, 1-2.*

OF the various classes of crime that come under the category of theft none is more odious and despicable than the use of false weights and measures. Stamping a coin containing $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver as of the weight of one hundred cents, while in truth it is of the weight of fifty-three cents, is a falsification of weights morally not distinguishable from stamping any other kind of weight as of two pounds which in truth is only of one pound. Only the methods by which the fraud is to be made effective are different. The thievish individual depends upon secret deceit, the qualities of the sneak thief ; the Government on coercion, the qualities of the highwayman.

In the Chicago convention, the Democratic party, under the euphemism of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, has impudently emblazoned on its banner the demand that the Government of the United States shall issue false coins and force all

persons to accept them as a "full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private." As the silver dollar thus coined would have about one half the value that it should have in order to be equal to gold, this is nothing else than a demand for universal pocket-picking. The mind is lost in wonder that politicians should hope to ride into power by means of this unexampled knavery combined with unparalleled folly. Nor has this demand any of the excuses which communism, or socialism, offers for its system of expropriation. It is not urged as the necessary means for the establishment of some novel and marvellous cooperative commonwealth; some Utopia where an all-powerful and all-benevolent state shall by the magic of its laws inaugurate an era of universal happiness. Production is to continue by the use of capital in private hands. The laborer is to continue to earn his wages by the sweat of his brow. Goods are to be bought and sold as they now are; money is to be loaned and borrowed; banks and bankers are to preserve their functions, and lawyers their professions.

For my part I believe that neither the voters at the primaries who instructed the delegates, nor the delegates who were instructed, had any conception of the frightful consequences of adopting the symbol "16 to 1" as the party shibboleth. I believe, too, that if the Chicago convention could be reconvened, it would hasten to undo all that it has done, in very shame of the crime and the folly of it. But it cannot meet again; it has pledged the party irrevocably to the advocacy of the right to steal.

The arguments, sophistically presented in the platform and in the speech of the candidate, are now to be rehashed to the honest voter in the hope that the side issues therein alluded to may lead him to forget the moral monstrosity of the main issue; and to the dishonest voter, in the hope that he will be allured by that very monstrosity. The honest voter is to be befogged by allusions to the Constitution in such a manner as to lead him to believe that that instrument prescribes the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; that our forefathers fought and bled in 1776 for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; that Great Britain has enslaved the world and rides triumphant over subject nations, having bribed them to desist from the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. No greater contempt was ever shown by any king, aristocrat, or plutocrat, for the intelligence of the people than the use of such and similar arguments. The Constitution is not a very voluminous production; it can be read in an hour. Only two sections relate, in any

manner, to money—sections 8 and 10 of article 1, viz:—

"The Congress shall have power . . . to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures."

"No State shall . . . coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts. . . ."

The second of these is the foundation for the claim that gold and silver are Constitutional money. Comment on this claim is unnecessary. The present monetary system of the United States is based upon the other section which says nothing about gold or silver. Under it Congress has coined copper, nickel, and bronze and made them legal tender.

But it is not the question of coinage that is at issue: it is the question of the ratio at which the metals are to be coined, and in order to substantiate the claim that Congress has the right to coin silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and force that coin upon the American people as a dollar, when its true value is not much more than half that sum, it is argued that under the authority to "regulate the value thereof," Congress has unlimited arbitrary power to make that value what it chooses. But with such a construction Congress would have power to stamp a single grain of silver, or of copper, or of iron, or a pebble, with the dollar mark, and make such a coin at its face value "full legal tender equally with gold for all debts, public and private." The framers of the Constitution, when engaged in preparing the first law in pursuance of this section, did not for one moment conceive of such a possibility. It was taken as a matter of course that the ratio of the metals for coinage purposes should follow exactly the ratio of their respective bullion values in the markets of the world; and Alexander Hamilton, as first Secretary of the Treasury, went so far as to advocate that the United States establish agencies in the principal markets so as to follow closely any change in the relative values of the bullion, and accommodate the coinage ratio thereto. Moreover, Congress, by this section, has the right only to "regulate" the value of coins, while it is given power absolutely to "fix" the standard of weights and measures. If the right to regulate the value of coin gives Congress the power to declare a 50-cent, or a 25-cent, or a 1-cent coin equal to the value of one dollar, make it redemption money and legal tender for one dollar, it certainly has the right to declare six feet to be a yard or sixteen pecks to be a bushel. If it can authorize a debtor to appropriate to himself one half of the property of his creditor, or if it can compel a contractor to receive one half of the stipulated money in payment of his contract, it certainly can decree that those who have agreed to sell a bushel of

wheat shall for the same money deliver sixteen pecks, or who have contracted to build a mile of railroad, for the same sum to build two miles. No despot in his wildest lust of power ever dared to impose so flagrant an abuse upon subject slaves. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Constitution, the safeguard of our liberties, confers upon any accidental majority or plurality of voters power to do what no despot would dare?

Nor can the spirit of 1776 be evoked in the cause of the swindle, as one might infer from the platform of the Democratic party of 1896. When the Washingtons, Hamiltons, and Jeffersons secured for us our independence from Great Britain, they never imagined for a moment that we should put it to the use of issuing false weights. Indeed the Revolution could not have aimed at "British gold-monometallism," inasmuch as the British did not adopt gold-monometallism until 1816,—forty years after the Declaration of our Independence. We had, in fact, preceded them by eleven years in that system, Jefferson having discontinued the coinage of silver in 1805. The jingo spirit which seems to animate the generation of 1896 was entirely absent from the generation who fought and bled for the independence of our country. They never dreamt for a moment of seeking to decree the abolition of the English language or in any other respect emphasize any antagonism against the mother country. Indeed, the founders of our institutions sought in every way to assimilate them to those of England. And in the very question of the ratio to be adopted in coining both gold and silver, they looked to her particularly for guidance. In his "Report" on the subject, as Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton said :—

"The proportion of 1 to 15 is recommended by the particular situation of our trade as being very nearly that which obtains in the market of *Great Britain*, to which nation our specie is principally exported."

According to the lights of the Chicago neo-patriots, Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson were either traitors bought by British gold, or were of that low and cringing spirit which led them voluntarily to toady to the British plutocracy. For are not the requirements of honesty, or the laws of finance and trade, as rubbish compared with the necessity of annoying that plutocracy? Was not the war of the Revolution fought in vain if the free American cannot make a dollar out of anything he pleases, and compel his fellow citizen to take that dollar for past contracts at any value he chooses to imprint upon it?

“Gold-monometallism,” says the platform, “is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London.” What an arraignment of the statesmen of nearly every civilized nation of the globe which either has adopted gold-monometallism or is about to adopt it! What traitors the Russian ministers of finance must be to have so persistently and strenuously worked to establish gold-monometallism for their country, if their end in view is simply to bring about financial servitude to London? What abject slaves Bismarck and his coadjutors, who, after their victory over France, immediately hastened to cringe to the British money-power by demonetizing silver? Even Venezuela vilely betrays us into the hands of its mortal enemy by subordinating its fortunes to the British gold-cornerers, who thus will obtain not only the control of the Orinoco Basin but of the entire Republic! Then there are France, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Chili, and almost every other civilized nation of the globe,—all seized with the base passion of throwing themselves into the maws of these ogres.

But the very spectacle presented by those nations must lead even the shallowest thinker to the conclusion that they are convinced that obtaining the best money for themselves is a means of freedom and not of slavery. It was not for the purpose of subjecting, but of freeing themselves from the British or other “foreign powers and potentates,” that those nations entered upon the policy of gold-monometallism, and spared no sacrifice to accomplish their purpose. For the man who has good money in his pocket can travel the world over, head erect, and needs ask odds from no one. It is the fellow with the debased currency seeking to circulate his light-weight coin who sneaks about for a chance to cheat somebody, or submits to be mulcted by the money-changer who buys that coin at its bullion value less a commission. Only those nations whose dollars are as good as any in the world are independent financially. All those which must content themselves with inferior dollars find the value of these changing from day to day according to the weight of the metal they contain, coined or uncoined. At present we are absolutely independent. But from the moment that our dollar is reduced to $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver, from that moment all our monetary affairs great and small, from those of the Government down to the peddler of shoe-strings, become dependent upon those dread “foreign powers and potentates”—the London bullion dealers. Then we shall feel a financial servitude far worse to bear than the ills from which we freed ourselves in 1776. And no

war, however triumphant, can break the shackles of that servitude. We might conquer England, but never the bullion brokers. Not a pound of sugar or coffee or meat, not a pair of shoes or a hat could be bought and sold without subjection to their daily quotations.

The jingo arguments are chiefly addressed to the Irish voter,—the bone and sinew of our laboring population. By flaunting the flag marked "British" before his eyes, the hungry politicians expect to enrage him to such an extent that he will forget right and wrong and all dictates of self-interest in the pleasure of a fancied opportunity to twist the tail of the British lion. A most cunning plan this, under the allurements of apparently voting for the enfranchisement of the United States from financial servitude to England, to entice him to vote for his own degradation. For on very casual analysis it is evident that the object of the movement which culminated in the Populist party, and which has finally absorbed the Democratic party, was to enrich the planter and farmer by securing good English gold for themselves, and paying poor American silver to their laborers. Years ago, when the movement took its rise, this object was frankly expounded to me by a southern landowner. He said:—

"The southern planter can never prosper until the country is put upon a silver basis, for the reason that his principal competition is with India, Egypt, and other silver countries. The producers of those countries have the advantage of paying their labor in a depreciated currency, and can therefore undersell us, who are compelled to pay our labor in gold. Our interest, therefore, is to establish bimetalism, as this means gold for ourselves and silver for our laborers."

Our laboring people, of other than Irish nationality, cannot be caught by the jingo cry. In the belief that their tendency is toward socialism they are to be hypnotized into voting for their own spoliation by the promise of a general attack on the so-called "money-lending classes," on "capital," and on "aggrandized wealth."

The proposed robbery of the creditor classes is defended on the ground that the demonetization of silver "without the knowledge or approval of the American people," resulted "in the appreciation of gold," and therefore in the robbery of the debtor class—the crime of 1873. The attack upon capital and wealth apparently needs no defence; the advantage of their destruction to the community being taken for granted.

Every schoolboy knows to-day that there was no "crime of 1873," that silver was never demonetized because it never had been monetized; the amount of silver dollars coined in the eighty years of the existence

of the mint having only averaged about \$100,000 per annum, and these having never gone into circulation. But, admitting the law of 1873 to have been a "crime," what then? Does this justify another crime in 1897? If Jones steals Brown's watch in 1897, can he defend himself on the ground that Smith stole Gray's watch in 1873?

According to the Chicago platform, the "crime" caused an appreciation of gold to the benefit of which the debtor is entitled. Of course, this whole story of appreciation of gold is a mere fable totally unworthy of consideration. But if it were true, how about debts contracted in 1894, when the silver dollar was worth only 45 cents. As to these should the debtor pay more than his debt? Only advocates of false balances could make one claim without the other, the distinction between mine and thine being lost to such advocates. Their motto seems to be, "What is thine is mine; and what is mine, is mine also."

And, taken altogether, what a crooked conception of lending and borrowing. He who borrows an article, be it money, or a horse, or a barrel of flour, becomes the absolute proprietor of it, and if the lender demand the return he becomes an oppressor and should be resisted by all legal means at hand! But by what hocus-pocus does the borrower become the proprietor of the borrowed object? And if the property does not pass to him, how can he wilfully refuse to return that which has been entrusted to him, without becoming a thief? The nature of his theft, indeed, is morally many degrees below that of a pickpocket or a burglar; for against the pickpocket or the burglar we arm ourselves; in the borrower we have confided, we have handed him the keys, we have trusted to his honesty and his honor. The refusal to return any property borrowed, because it has appreciated in value, is amazing in its outrageousness. A man hires a span of horses on the representation that they will perform a certain amount of work. They do twice as much work as was represented, *ergo*, he becomes the absolute owner of one of them!

An illustration of the practical working of this conception will reveal it in all its hideous deformity. About thirty years ago an employee in a business house took out an endowment policy in a life-insurance company in order to provide a fund sufficient for his old age. Times were frequently hard with him, and it was only by extreme prudence, by the foregoing of many comforts, and indulging in few pleasures, that he has been able to pay his premiums with regularity. In 1897 he is at last to obtain the sum which he has saved for a generation. Imagine his alarm at the prospect that the success of the

Democratic party at the next election will cheat him of one half of his own and leave him to finish his life in penury. The argument of the appreciation of gold thus applied to cheat this poor creditor can only be characterized as fiendish.

The Chicago platform is aimed at the "money-lending" classes. The case cited shows us one of those lenders—a poor man, and yet a steady lender to a single borrower for thirty years. The Chicago platform pretends to pity the poor—yet it would swindle this poor man unconscionably. And for whose benefit?—for the benefit of a corporation owning over \$100,000,000, one of the typical cases of "aggrandized wealth." But not only is it true that debtors may be rich and creditors poor, but it follows from the very fact that a person has been in a position to be a debtor,—that is, to have obtained credit,—he cannot be counted among the poor, so that even a casual examination shows that creditors and debtors are not synonymous with rich and poor.

For who in the main are the "poor" debtors that are to be protected against the money-lending classes by the election of the Democratic candidates? The principal one is the United States Government itself—the very criminal of 1873 which is now to rely upon its own crime as a defence for defrauding its creditors.

In 1878 it borrowed a vast amount of gold for the purpose of enabling its Treasury to redeem its paper. Again in 1895 and 1896, long after gold had ceased to appreciate, it borrowed further immense sums in gold for the purpose of being enabled to continue the redemption not only of its paper, but also of its token, half-weight, silver money. These bonds were made payable in coin, and not specifically in gold, as at the time of their authorization there was no other coin than gold with which to pay. The idea of coining half-weight silver dollars and forcing them into circulation as full-weight dollars was not yet conceived, and no doubt if any financier had then suggested that some day the United States Government might make such an attempt, and had thus cast a foul aspersion on the honor and integrity of the nation, he would have been branded as a traitor. However, twelve years later, such suggestions had been so frequently made by the advocates of silver coinage that they caused some uneasiness, and Congress took care to dispel this by incorporating into the act authorizing the purchase of silver bullion a solemn statement that:—

"It is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other, upon the present legal ratio, or at such ratio as may be established by law."

This pledge is again solemnly reasserted in the act repealing the silver purchases, and is therein made even more emphatic:—

"And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as the standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and unchangeable value, this equality to be secured through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as will ensure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals, and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts."

And now the Chicago platform, in its care for the oppressed poor, advocates that our government shall brand itself a liar, demands that it coin a half-weight silver dollar that cannot and shall not be kept at parity with the gold dollar, and that the interest of its bonds as well as their principal shall be paid in those half-weight coins.

But why stop at this half-way measure? Do not the Democratic lawyers know that the United States Government cannot be sued for having obtained money on false representations or for any other causes, that in no court of justice can a judgment be obtained against it, that it is not subject to execution, nor to supplementary proceedings? Why continue a useless expenditure, particularly as the loss of its honor and its credit will be just as complete whether it pay half or nothing? The State governments also are in an extremely advantageous position as debtors. Like the United States they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the courts, and as their credit will not survive that of the United States, why should they not keep their money as well? As a very tower of strength the Democratic party will appear to the debt-ridden railroads. Though never before was the heart of a Populist or even a Democratic politician tender to these engines of oppression, yet in the era of general riddance of the money-lenders they too will be absolved from paying any of their debts. The faculty extended to them to pay in half-weight coins will have so marked an effect on the other half, that it may be left out of consideration.

Another category of debtors is the national banks. Of them, too, it may be said that they have never before engaged the sympathy of the Populist or Democratic politician, but they will come in for their full share in this great act of public benevolence. So will the life-insurance companies, savings institutions, the building and loan associations, the great industrial corporations, and the great mass of the well-to-do bankers, landowners, merchants, manufacturers,—all enslaved by "the money-lending class at home and abroad," whom the new declaration of liberty of the Chicago platform is to emancipate.

Now, let us see who are the money-lenders against whom the Chicago platform issues its anathemas—the creditors, oppressors, who suck the life-blood of the nation! First and foremost, the most exacting and privileged of them all, we find the United States Government,—the greatest creditor as well as the greatest debtor of the country: after it the State governments, and the municipalities. They contract with the people of the United States to manage their national, State, county, and municipal affairs, to protect them in times of war against an external foe, in times of peace against internal foes, to establish justice, and in general permit everybody to go about his business free from molestation, secure in the property which he may have legitimately acquired. In return for these advantages the people owe them the payment of taxes, national, State, and municipal, and in the collection of these no creditors are more exacting.

Next we find the railroads which carry the goods of the people of the United States from one end to the other upon credit, relying upon the honest payment of these debts when due in order to meet their own obligations.

Then we have the banks, national and State, incorporated and private, and other institutions of the same character which re-lend the funds loaned to them throughout the country. Then we come to the vast number of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, who utilize the capital loaned them by extending credits on their part to others of their own class, or to the people at large. Side by side with this great array of creditors who are at the same time debtors, we find another array of creditors who are not debtors to any appreciable extent. Among these first and foremost are the hospitals and all charitable institutions, universities and endowed schools, which carry on their beneficent work for the most part by means of loans made from the funds in their possession.

Not inferior to them in importance is the immense aggregation of capital held by the estates of deceased persons which supports the widows and orphans of the land. Next we have the army and navy of the United States, the bulwark of our liberties against foes from without and the maintenance of public tranquillity within. Then the civil-servants, the persons engaged in the administration of justice, the police, and the pensioners of the United States. Next the immense number of persons having salaried employments, whose salaries are fixed by contract; and lastly all the wage-earners, every one of whom is a creditor not only to the extent of the wages he earns from week to

week, but in so far as he is a depositor in a savings-bank or is a member of a loan association or other fraternal body, or owns a life-insurance policy.

These are the "money-lending class at home and abroad" who are to be swindled forsooth, and justly, says the Chicago platform, because through them we are suffering from "prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people." These are the holders of the "aggregate wealth" of the country, whose encroachments we are told to resist. These are the "idle hands" which have amassed the "idle capital."

Idle capital! As if there could be any idle capital! We might as well speak of our life's blood as idle! For the capital of a modern nation is its life's blood. As the blood circulating unceasingly through the veins and arteries of the natural body, not only preserves its existence, but, by the very regularity of its flow, maintains every muscle and every organ in health and strength and equal to its functions—so the circulation of capital in a modern nation preserves the life of the body politic, enables it to provide food, raiment, shelter, and to perform all the functions necessary to a strong, healthy, and growing national life.

Aggregate wealth! How the phrase rolls in the mouths of the evil-minded corrupted by loathsome envy. And yet it acts not otherwise for the body politic than the human heart for the physical body. From thousands and thousands of minute blood-vessels, the life-giving liquid is impelled onward into the veins and arteries, constantly increasing in magnitude, until they pour out their aggregated fluid through the heart for the purpose of being there distributed so that its beneficent effects shall be felt in the humblest vessels of the extremities, giving health, strength, and growth to the entire body. So do the little savings of the poor, the profits small and great of the rich, pour into the great arteries of the circulation of capital, the banks, the savings-banks, the trust companies, the life- and fire-insurance companies, until they aggregate their thousands of millions, and then through the financial heart of the nation are again distributed until they reach the very extremities of the social body, giving life, sustenance, and growth to the entire social fabric.

How marvellous are the workings of a modern civilized state! The laborer saving ever so little from his modest wages, thinks not of hoarding it uselessly in his chest, but carries what he does not need to his savings-bank, to his building association, to his fraternal society. The clerk who manages to earn a little above the requirements of his

family, opens an account in a bank, or takes out a life-insurance policy. The poor widow loans to the landlord, so that he may utilize the money in the building of a factory; the merchant loans his profits to a railroad, so that it may construct new lines, and improve existing ones; the banks, the savings-banks, the insurance companies, the bankers, loan to the Government, States, and municipalities. The interest on all these investments in their turn sustains the laborer in his old age, after his death saves his widow and orphans from starvation, maintains the banks, the life-insurance companies, the charitable and educational institutions; and all the surplus of that interest above the immediate needs of any of the parts of the body politic is re-invested, and again converted into capital to circulate, sustain, and invigorate the whole as before.

And marvellous as is this spectacle from an economic point of view, it is still grander as an ethical phenomenon. The laborer carries his all to the savings institution, receiving for it nothing in return beyond an entry in a bank-book. The head of the family by payment of life-insurance premiums, casts his bread on the water knowing that it never will be returned to him during his lifetime, but happy in the unquestioning consciousness that it will provide for his wife and little ones after he is gone. The banks loan their thousands and tens of thousands to the merchants on this mere promise to pay. The Cræsus gives his millions to the Government, to the States, to the railroads, with no desire for repayment, satisfied with a promise of a yearly revenue in the form of a modest percentage. And thus the spirit which sets and keeps in motion all this circulation, which keeps alive the social fabric, is credit—a synonym for trust, confidence, honesty, and honor. Its soul is the one commandment, "Thou shalt not steal."

What pen, then, could picture the desolation of this country if the advocates of false weights and universal theft should be victorious at the polls; if the flag of the Lord on which is inscribed trust, confidence, honesty, and honor be hauled down, and the black flag of the Chicago Democracy be hoisted in its place? They tell us that we should have prosperity. They might as well prate of prosperity in Hell. They tell us that the country needs more money, though it be counterfeit, and that the greater quantity of metal in use will enrich us. More money! Inflation! But the most besotted fool must perceive that money will not be increased by a debasement of the currency, by means of which \$500,000,000 of gold become twice as valuable without the coin stamp of the United States than with it, and will be

driven out of circulation! By means of which simultaneously almost the entire amount of our paper currency will be reduced to half its value! By means of which every deposit in the banks of the country, every note of hand now utilized as money will at one fell swoop lose half its value!

And this frightful destruction of money and of the substitutes of money would be supplemented by a still more frightful destruction of credit. If the soul of the social fabric is credit,—trust, confidence, honesty, honor—if its frame shudders when it is subjected to an isolated germ of dishonesty,—if a bank cashier absconds or a railroad president tampers with the securities of his company,—what will come of it when the Government itself not only boasts itself a fraudulent bankrupt, but enacts laws by which every monied institution, every great corporation, every manufacturer, and every merchant shall be compelled to cheat their creditors? It will be paralyzed into the semblance of death. The misery which will ensue will stand unparalleled in the annals of history. Money has been debased before, but not suddenly, wilfully, and impudently in any community of modern times. The practice was not unknown in the Middle Ages before the era of capitalistic production, when each community was a little world to itself; when every manor had its farms, its mechanics, its smiths, its spinners and weavers, its miller, its tannery, and its granaries,—when the interchange of commodities was in kind; when—money or no money—the dwellers in each little community were sufficient unto themselves for food, and for raiment, and for the necessities of life. But to-day in our great land, with 70,000,000 inhabitants, we have in fact only one community. The wheat of Dakota is made into flour in Minnesota, and sold by the corner grocer in New York. The ranches of Wyoming furnish the tables of Boston. We are inter-dependent in a manner utterly unknown in bygone ages, and we have, by the very reliance on our inter-dependence, accustomed ourselves to live from hand to mouth. Private granaries and stores have ceased to exist. The butcher and the grocer, like the ice- and milk-man, supply us from day to day. The wealthiest as well as the poorest have no heed to prepare for the morrow. No pen can describe what our condition would be if general credit, upon which the very bringing of these provisions to our doors depends, were suddenly destroyed. No earthquake that should swallow up half of our country would be comparable to it in the wretchedness it would bring upon us.

If the Democratic party should be victorious, our Government would thereby announce its fraudulent bankruptcy. Simultaneously our community would lose its ability to pay taxes, all imports suddenly ceasing. Borrow the Government could not, for no one would lend; even if the Administration were not bound by the platform to issue no bonds in time of peace, it could not raise money for no one would trust it. Then all Government employees, and with them the employees of the States and the municipalities, the judges, the police, the army, the navy, and the pensioners, would have their means of subsistence cut off at once. The general paralysis of business would at the same time cause the stopping of all factories, shut down all mills, close all avenues of useful employment. Famine, compared with which all those of which history has a record would appear as plenty, would reign throughout the land. Fathers would witness their families suffering the pangs of hunger, and nowhere to look for food. Thousands and tens of thousands would perish in the agonies of starvation. Desolation would spread from one end to the other of the country. The Government could give no succor. The paper money which it would hurry to issue would, like the note of any fraudulent bankrupt, be utterly worthless. Its promise to pay would be deemed a hollow mockery. In vain would we look for help toward foreign nations. A dynamiter mutilated by his own bomb can hardly expect sympathy. A pirate sailing under the black flag can expect no aid. The days of the Republic would not be lengthened in this land. We cannot be an abomination to the Lord and live.

But we are not a nation of pirates. We shall not hoist the black flag. The honest people of this fair land will rise in their might on the third of November and by an overwhelming majority demonstrate that we have not erroneously been counted among the civilized. But it is not enough that the majority should be overwhelming. On the present issue there should be unanimity, for it is not an issue concerning which, when understood, honest men should differ. It should never have arisen. But in order to insure a true expression of all voters on that issue we must give all an opportunity to know its essence, and, to do this, every man and woman who has had this opportunity must make himself instructor of those who have not had it. Every man and every woman should enlist in this work of salvation so that the West, the East, the South, the North, shall unite without distinction of party or political creed, and with one voice proclaim

to the world that the United States does not lag behind its sister-nations in civilization.

Particularly, at this grave juncture those whose voices carry weight beyond their own immediate circles, all depositories of the money of the poor, from the great life-insurance companies to the humble lodge, all employers of labor, from the great railroad corporations to the modest shop, should make it their business that no one remains ignorant and thus unwittingly do wrong.

Every citizen of every State should see to it that not one star should be soiled in the galaxy of our flag. The inhabitant of every county, every city, every hamlet should preserve from keen degradation the place of his home so that in after years it may not be pointed out and shunned as a place which could not be trusted; as a place where they decree unrighteous decrees, where the widows are their prey, and where they rob the fatherless.

So let us welcome the issue. Let us welcome the opportunity of ridding our system from the poisonous germs which have for years undermined its health; and when that poison shall be utterly thrown off, when, with returning free circulation of the life-blood of our social fabric, we shall regain our pristine strength and health, we shall not only be purified, but with that purification shall come a mutual understanding of all classes of the people of our country. For this crisis has revealed, as has never before been thought possible, how intimately we are dependent upon each other, how necessarily one can only thrive through the other, how the suffering of one is the suffering of the other, and the prosperity of one the prosperity of the other. And it will make plain to the humblest understanding that this country is large enough, great enough, and wealthy enough in its illimitable resources to procure for all the satisfaction of all reasonable wants so long as we maintain inviolate our honesty and our honor.

ISAAC L. RICE.

ENCOURAGEMENTS IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.

MANY communications have come to me regarding an open letter which I recently addressed "To Patriotic Democrats." Most of these communications commend its statements and proposals, some seriously oppose them, and a few are comical in the effort to be abusive.

The charges of my hostile critics are mainly three.

First,—that I sympathize with the monopolist oppressors and care nothing for the down-trodden farmers. This, of course, is grossly unjust. I have long opposed every sort of oppressors and taught others to oppose them; and a deep sympathy with the men who suffer by the present depression was my strongest motive in writing the letter. For I saw that those now suffering, and above all the farmers, need mainly two things; first, a revival of industry giving a better demand for their products; second, cheaper capital for the adjustment of their debts and the development of their resources. My first objection to the Chicago leaders and platform is, that they would wreck every chance of meeting either of these needs.

The second of these charges is, that I applied the terms "anarchist" and "socialist" to sundry leaders in the Chicago convention, and to sundry planks in its platform. I still maintain that these terms are just; that they are not epithets, but statements of fact.

My sufficient warrant for the first of them is the career of Governor Altgeld,—one of the triumvirate which controlled the convention,—including his open sympathy with anarchist dynamiters and rioters; and the subserviency of the convention to his will, shown by the bid in its platform for anarchist support;—especially the menace to the Supreme Court, and the proposal to remove the only effective barrier to control, by city mobs, over the transit of the United States mails.

My sufficient warrant for the second of these terms is the career and influence of another in the controlling triumvirate,—Governor Tillman, who, with various subordinate leaders, including the candidate, evidently favors the unlimited emission of fiat money, the absorption of all the greater enterprises now left to individual initiative and competition, and the management of the whole by officials at Washington. All this is essentially and thoroughly socialistic.

But the third charge of my critics is more curious ; for the passage in my open letter which seems to have stirred especial wrath was its reference to a scene in the French Revolution. To explain that passage, and to introduce the main line of thought in this article, I trust that my reader will allow me to give the reason why the scene referred to—the spectacle of the Jacobin Club—occurred to me while reading accounts of the recent so-called “ Democratic ” convention in Chicago.

Like many other men of my time, I have long felt an intense interest in the experiment of self-government which our nation is making. No other subject has ever interested me so deeply. As a student and teacher of history, this has been a main source and centre of my thought, study, and instruction ; and I believe that this effort at self-government, whether successful or unsuccessful, will seem to the future historian by far the most important thing in the history of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

As a young man, looking anxiously into the future to find what it might have in store for my country, and bearing in mind the great rule of every true historian,—“ To-morrow is the disciple of yesterday,”—various periods in human history greatly attracted me ; but the French revolutionary epoch had a special fascination, as displaying political thinking and political passion in their greatest variety and intensity. So strong was its hold upon me that so soon as I became my own master I went to Paris and gave myself up to the study of it.

At that time—something more than forty years ago—there still remained much of revolutionary France, and many men who had known those who took part in the great struggle and in the despotic reaction which followed it. The coffee house from which Camille Desmoulins led the mob which destroyed the Bastille ; the marble seats on which the “ Ancients ” sat while training youth to serve the Republic ; the Cordelier Club room in which Danton justified the murder of aristocrats ; the fountain beside which Robespierre advocated the extirpation of all who were more or less extreme than himself ; the prisons whence Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were dragged to the scaffold ; the altar on which the Goddess of Reason was enthroned and before which Bonaparte was crowned ;—all these were within the circuit of my daily walks. Both then and later I had good guides, and by far the best of them in pointing out and discussing the less known scenes was a man who, within a few weeks has passed away, full of years and honors—Jules Simon, whose long services as professor, senator, academician, minister, and prime minister, great as they were, were

as nothing compared to the steady influence of his character and his writings in behalf of right reason during various wild epochs through which his country had passed. At various times I talked with men who had heard the great Jacobins in the Assemblies and Clubs; who had seen the guillotine "*en permanence*"; who had taken part in the "purified worship of the Supreme Being"; civilians who had seen Napoleon, and soldiers who had won his recognition in some of his greatest battles. It was also my good fortune then, and at a later period, not only to read the writings of public men who had studied these scenes, but to talk with some of them, and of these I recall vividly Thiers, Henri Martin, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, and Laboulaye. Surrounding myself with the documents, pamphlets, and newspapers of the period, collecting masses of original matter which threw light upon it—*lettres de cachet*, certificates of civism, tickets of safety, famine tickets, club tickets, death-warrants, caricatures, street posters, and especially examples of its innumerable issues of fiat money,—I virtually lived in the revolutionary period, and have at various times since lived in it as at several universities I have sought to make young men understand its lessons; and especially the greatest lesson of all: the necessity of substituting in human progress healthful growth for violent change—evolution for revolution.

Naturally these scenes and lessons sank deeply into my mind. Allowing for all differences between races and epochs, there remain certain unmistakable similarities between the workings of human nature under similar circumstances in different nations, and some of these workings of human nature came to me vividly as I read the doings of the Chicago convention.

There on the floor I seemed to see that old Jacobin tragi-comedy: the same advocates of every extreme principle and extreme want of principle, outbidding each other for the applause of the galleries; the same demagogues, vilifying those who were laboring most faithfully to serve the country; the same fanatics ready to plunge their country in ruin to vindicate their nostrums; the same declaimers stirring hatred between different sections of the country; the same sensation-mongers arousing distrust between the men whose cooperation is necessary to the national peace and prosperity; and withal the same body of thinking men, dazed by the tumult, stunned by the noise, silent in an orgy of unreason.

There, too, in the vast galleries was the same crowd of unbalanced men and hysterical women in ecstasies over statements more and more

extreme; discouraging the reasoners, deifying the phrase-mongers, proposing thus to develop the activity and direct the policy of a great nation.

There was Camille Desmoulins—"The Boy Orator"—beautiful, mellifluous; floor and galleries hanging on his stock phrases and as delighted to call him their leader as they were delighted later on to send him to the guillotine;—when they had discovered his hollowness.

There, too, were far worse types: Barrère, Barras, Tallien, and the rest, exploiting credulity and encouraging anarchy; in the hope of picking place or pelf from the ruins.

For I noted that the permanent chairman at Chicago was a lawyer who had been the attorney of corporations such as he now affected to denounce. I noted that a strong impelling force was supplied by sundry Senatorial "Silver Kings" who proposed to unload the produce of their mines upon the country at twice its value. I noted that a certain Senator and a certain Governor who had most to do, openly or secretly, with pressing on the business, were both capitalists who were and are in the habit of exacting, by special contracts, payment from their tenants and debtors in gold.

And I noted, finally, that while they gave the first place on their ticket to an elocutionary attorney whose gifts and graces had been at the service of any corporations willing to pay the moderate fee required to secure them; they gave the second place to a banker and manager of eastern railways and steamer lines, who had grown rich in practising the arts and conniving at the schemes which the convention affected to condemn.

Then it was that there rose before me Fouché, Cambacérès, and other Jacobin extremists, who, having begun their career by advocating every wild scheme, and having ridden into power on the storm they had raised, received the fruit of their labors after their dupes had perished by millions, and treasure had been thrown into the abyss by billions. These controlling spirits at Chicago seemed to me essentially of the same breed with those who, having begun as "friends of the people," ended as lackeys of Bonaparte, bearing gorgeous titles, richly endowed with spoils torn from their fellow-subjects. Making due allowance for differences in time, place, and circumstance, it seemed the old, old story: a large body of honest, well-meaning men brought by schemers between the upper mill-stone of partisanship and the nether mill-stone of fanaticism.

Some of my correspondents have tried to get me out of this frame of mind. One assures me that he sees in sundry leaders of the recent

convention, not a reappearance of those French architects of ruin, but a reincarnation of Abraham Lincoln and William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown. But I see a fatal difference. What should we have thought in 1860 of Lincoln had we discovered that he was even capable of becoming an attorney for the hunters of fugitive slaves? What would we have thought of Garrison had we found him deriving an income from rearing slaves? What would we have thought of John Brown had we learned that he was interested in the interstate slave trade? We should have thought of them then, just as sane men must think now of men who try to climb into power by denouncing ostensibly the corporations they serve secretly; or who urge legislation forbidding contracts in any metal save silver, while they refuse to receive their rents or interest in any metal save gold.

Despite then these suggestions of my correspondents, as I read the proceedings at Chicago, I recall those revolutionists at Paris who initiated the long series of sterile revolutions not yet ended; who thwarted all real efforts at rational reform; who brought in misery infinitely worse than that which they pretended to remedy, and despotism infinitely worse than that which they pretended to oppose. Their speeches come back to me with a strangely familiar sound; especially as I hear these men of to-day clamoring for fiat silver and foreshadowing fiat paper. I seem to hear Martineau demanding the emission of the first four hundred millions of *assignats*, and showing that such money is the best, "because it reposes on the will of the people." I seem to hear Mirabeau, who had only six months before spoken of fiat money as "a nursery of tyranny, corruption, and delusion; a veritable debauch of authority in delirium," advocating the very measure he had thus opposed. I seem to hear Gouy, a little later, advocate what he calls "one single operation—grand, simple, magnificent," which was the emission of twenty-four hundred millions more. Royer rises before me, insisting on the necessity of issuing five thousand millions more, and then the long line of demagogues, successful in pressing on the issues of billions more of fiat money, declaring it "the best currency in the world," insisting that the laws of nature did not operate in a free country like France, ascribing the rapid depreciation of this fiat money, and the wreck of business, to the corruption of the ministry, the perversity of merchants, the machinations of bankers, the intrigues of England,—to every cause save the right one.

I seem to hear Prudhomme declaring,—“Coin will go on rising until the people have hung a broker,” and Couthon, first carrying a

law punishing any person selling paper money for less than its nominal value with imprisonment for twenty years in chains, and next a law punishing those making investments abroad with death. I seem to hear the same demagogues who, when farmers refused to sell their produce for worthless fiat money, carried laws which obliged the farmers under pains and penalties to bring in their grain, the millers to grind it, and the merchants to sell it.

And all this financial debauch going on until the entire issue of fiat money had reached close upon forty thousand millions of francs, with the result that all thrift had been obliterated, all business vitiated, the working classes plunged into abject distress; the country given over to an aristocracy of stock-gamblers and money-changers; until finally a Bonaparte was needed to force the nation back to sound money. And I note that on July 16, 1796,—a hundred years, almost to a day, before the assembling of the convention at Chicago,—the whole fiat-money system in France collapsed, and the vast mass of thirty-six thousand millions of *assignats*, and two and a half thousand millions of *mandats*, issued “under the sanction of a free people,” all became refuse and were swept into the dust heap together.¹

All this panorama seemed to unroll before me as I looked upon that convention. But not at all because I expected these results here and now. Though they are the logical results of utterances and doctrines like those of Governor Waite, Senator Tillman, Governor Altgeld, and other men dominant at Chicago, I do not expect to see them realized in this Republic. For while there is a striking likeness between the workings of human nature then and now, there are sundry enormous differences, and some of these differences I now wish especially to show, in order to encourage patriotic and thoughtful men of both the old parties to unite and do their duty in this crisis.

While it is evident that we had at Chicago much the same everlasting breed of demagogues, phrase-peddlers, sensation-mongers, retailers of hollow oratory, shrewd self-seekers, and architects of ruin generally, who proved such a curse to France, another truth is no less evident, and that is, that we have some things which France had *not*, and therein lies a difference as great as it is encouraging. I shall try briefly to point out a few of these things, and to show the good use which can now be made of them.

¹ I have treated this subject at length and in detail in an essay published by D. Appleton & Co., New York,—“Fiat Money in France. How it came, what it brought, and how it ended.”

The great wars of religion, and especially the massacres carried out by various country and city mobs in the sixteenth century, and worst of all, the will of a vast illiterate majority carried out by Louis XIV in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the seventeenth century, had virtually rooted out the substantial, thoughtful, middle-class in France, which could be relied upon to resist revolution and to promote reform. That class—"the plain people," as Abraham Lincoln called them,—the rank and file of all political parties,—who not only love their country, but seriously reflect upon its needs; who are not given to ecstasies or hysterics; who do not purpose to follow Governor Altgeld in delivering over their country to mobs; who do not yield to Governor Waite's threats of bloodshed; who do not purpose to overturn the institutions and enterprises of their country, as Governor Tillman would turn over a pile of offal with his pitchfork; but who soberly think upon public issues;—this class has never been destroyed in this country. On the contrary, our institutions have steadily increased its numbers and developed its power. It is now here; here to stay; here to discuss and profit by the discussion of great questions on which the life of the country depends; here to restrain dreamers, fanatics, cranks, or plotters from destroying this government, either with the honest hope of curing temporary evils, or with the dishonest expectation of profiting by an overturn. Here is a fundamental difference between France at the end of the last century, and the United States at the end of this, and it is a difference immensely in favor of a right decision in the present crisis.

There is another difference in our favor. The French, quick-witted as they were, had not then had our experience of demagogues and fanatics. They took them at their face value;—or rather at their tongue value. But our people have learned the turns and tricks of these gentlemen. They applaud them, indeed, as they would applaud any other mountebanks; but the sober second thought comes in to check belief that at the waving of their wand real bread can be miraculously created, or real money miraculously multiplied. This fact the greenback advocates learned in 1878.

There is still another encouraging difference between the old revolutionary France and our own country at the beginning of the present revolutionary attempt; a difference yet more in favor of our people. In France the whole body of farmers and working men had probably everything to gain by a revolution: here they have certainly everything to lose. There were there and then none of those widespread

instrumentalities for developing thrift among all classes of people, and for guarding its results, which give so firm an anchorage to our institutions. Here and now we have these instrumentalities, and they constitute a vast popular conservative force arrayed against everything likely to bring a crash or panic or stoppage of business, and especially against any financial legerdemain which proposes to make people rich by palming off cheap money upon them.

Nearly five million people in the United States have deposits in savings-banks. A million and a half have interests in State banks, private banks, and trust companies. Close upon two millions of people have deposits in national banks. Very nearly two millions have interests in building and loan associations. Three and a half millions of people have put money into various mutual-benefit, cooperative, and fraternal associations. Close upon seven millions of people have put money into various industrial companies. Many millions more hold policies of insurance against fire or accident, and such vast numbers are interested in life-insurance investments that there are more than ten million policies now outstanding issued by New York companies alone, and these touch directly or indirectly twenty-five millions of people.¹ Here is a "creditor class" indeed, and one of which old revolutionary France never dreamed.

To these quotations from the latest reports may be added a summary made by the present Secretary of the Treasury:—

"The banks, trust companies, building associations, and other similar institutions owe the people of the United States to-day more than five thousand millions of dollars for money actually deposited, a sum nearly eight times greater than the total capital of all the national banks in the country, while the life-insurance policies held by the people in the various kinds of corporations and associations and in force to-day amount to more than ten thousand millions of dollars; a larger sum than has been actually invested in all our railroads and about fifteen times larger than the capital of all the national banks."

Here is a "debtor class" indeed. France in 1792 was not so fortunate as to possess it. When all these people who have deposits or interests in these institutions find that what the Chicago platform means, is that all these institutions into which they have put all these billions of dollars are to repay them, instead of the gold dollars they put in, each worth one hundred cents, silver dollars worth at best only somewhere between

¹ See the recent open letter of Mr. McCall, President of the New York Life Insurance Company.

forty and seventy cents ; and when these depositors realize that the nominee and the leading spirits in the so-called "Democratic" and Populist conventions clearly point the way to final payments in paper dollars worth nothing at all ; there will be a force arrayed against those platforms which will, in my judgment, not only bury them, but all who framed them or even advocate them.

The duty of thinking men of both the old parties is to bring these simple facts home to every member of this vast creditor class.

But this is by no means all. It has been supposed that the desire of farmers and others to pay off mortgages with a debased currency might lead them to support the Chicago platform. But apart from such an imputation of dishonesty to great numbers of our fellow-citizens, one thing seems to have been forgotten, and that one thing is that probably two thirds of these mortgages are past due ; that they may be foreclosed at any time, and that in all States where law prevails they certainly will be foreclosed between the coming third of November and fourth of March, if the Chicago nominee shall be elected. Then, too, there are all those relying on pensions and fixed incomes from small investments and salaries, which, under the operation of the Chicago platform, would be reduced by about one half. Here, then, are additional millions of men and women to whose plain interests an appeal can be made which not one in a thousand of them can disregard if they are made to understand it. Let demagogues of every sort stir their hatred for the moment : their sober second thought, like that of all the small capitalists above referred to, can be relied upon in a struggle for justice. This is another encouraging difference between the ground in which the French Jacobins planted their doctrines in 1792, and that which American revolutionists hope to plough, sow, and reap in 1896.

Closely connected with this is another difference no less encouraging. In the France of that period there was little of the business instinct ; but here and now that instinct is a factor widespread and efficient. This is true not only of our mercantile class and its myriads of employees ; it is no less effective in several vast bodies of salaried working men which did not then exist. Of these take for example the army of those engaged in the railway service. It is spread throughout the country ; its members are generally men of intelligence, many of high intelligence. They are trained to quick observation and decisive thinking. If patriotic men do their duty how long will it take this vast body of men to see the significance of the fact that the more

successful railways even now rarely earn above 4 or 5 per cent, and that the average dividend of them all is less than 1 per cent;—that the unlimited coinage of silver must force them to pay probably double rates for the bulk of their supplies while they are in various ways hindered from raising their prices for conveying freight and passengers? What chance will all these employees have of securing a large advance or indeed any advance of wages?

So too with the additional army of city and village railway employees. They must be paid out of the little silver and nickel coins received for fares; but what chance of increased wages when the purchasing power of these coins is reduced by about one half?

If the sound-money party does its duty in enlightening the simple business instinct of all these employees they may be relied upon against the proposed revolution;—and so too of vast numbers of other employees South as well as North, West as well as East.

And there is yet another great difference between that revolution and this now attempted. No declamations of mob orators can long conceal it. In France there was a caste, aristocratic by birth, separated by a wide and deep abyss from the producers of the country; a caste of about one hundred and fifty thousand, which regarded men engaged in trade or tillage or labor of any sort, whether of their hands or brains—in fact all others of the twenty-four millions of their fellow-subjects of the French Crown—as essentially different from themselves, and possessed of no rights which they were bound to respect. Say what men will of capitalists, no such condition of things exists in the United States. Nearly all the great capitalists have themselves been working men; indeed, a majority of them are working men still; and there is no thinking capitalist who can fail to have a fellow-feeling for men belonging to the ranks in which he once stood himself. I believe that the great majority of those once known as working men, but now known as capitalists, have a far deeper sympathy with working men than any of the tonguey demagogues who flourished at the Chicago convention have, or can have.

The interest of the capitalist is to promote the prosperity which gives him his opportunity; the interest of a demagogue is to perpetuate the distress which gives him *his* opportunity. It is reasonable to believe that the vast majority of capitalists feel deeply with the agriculturists of the West and South who are now suffering from low prices, and would gladly do everything in their power to promote wise measures which will revive industry and advance prosperity. I

have no special affection for great capitalists. I have more than once denounced the shortcomings of some of them and the shortsightedness of many of them. My chosen life-work has been mainly among the sons of men of small means, or of no means at all, and I have done what I could to make them, not pelf-grippers, but good servants of their country. No one can loathe more than I those capitalists who owe their fortunes to robbery, and no one can have a greater contempt for rich men who seek to thrust themselves among foreign aristocrats, to intermarry with them, or to ape their manners. No one can more heartily despise rich men whose one question is, how much money they can spend on themselves. But to denounce all alike, and especially those who by their great operations have brought the charges for transporting persons and products far lower than they are even in countries where railways, mines, and various manufactories are owned and managed by the government,—far lower, indeed, than in any other country in the world; who have improved and cheapened our manufacturing products beyond anything ever known until now; who have increased enormously by their invention, their foresight, their powers of organization, both the demand for labor and the remuneration for it; who have employed their general capital in upholding great enterprises in time of adversity, and in developing new opportunities for labor in time of prosperity; who have lavished their surplus capital in founding every sort of institution for the care, the comfort, the pleasure, the uplifting of the people at large: denunciation of these men is gross injustice. No other country shows such a line of benefactors, who having been, most of them, first working men, and afterward capitalists, have made donations more than princely—yea, more than kingly—for the benefit of their fellow men of all conditions. George Peabody, Peter Cooper, Johns Hopkins, Vassar, Cornell, Stanford, Sibley, Pratt, Case, Tulane, Packer, Purdue, Rose, Lick, Drexel;—these names are but a few out of the long list of patriotic, labor-loving capitalists—to say nothing of the great number of munificent public benefactors now living—such as no other country can show. These are the men who it is claimed are outdone in love of the working man, in love of country, and in appreciation of public necessities, by Altgeld, Waite, Peffer, Simpson, Tillman, and their like. These are they who especially have enabled us to see what we see about us every day: the son of the working man rising above the son of the capitalist not only by the force of character, and ability, but by every opportunity for advanced education. To abuse them all,

because some old rich men are grasping, and some young rich men dissipated, is unworthy of any thoughtful working man.

But these railway owners, bankers, manufacturers, mine owners, are far from being the only capitalists. The capital they hold, altogether, is insignificant compared to that held by the great army of small capitalists of the country; the depositors in banks of deposit, savings-banks, life-insurance and other insurance companies, mutual-benefit associations of all sorts, trust companies, loan associations, and the like. Every man who has deposited a dollar of his hard-earned savings in any of these enterprises is a capitalist, and as he deposited an honest dollar worth a hundred cents, he has a right—which, if we do our duty, he will discover before this campaign is finished,—to have a dollar of equal value returned to him when he asks for it.

Yet these even do not form the great army of capitalists. Every working man belongs to it; and especially the day laborer, whose capital is his pick, his shovel, and his good right arm. For the question of questions with him is really whether there is or is not to be a proper employment for his capital; whether juggling with the national credit shall be allowed to do its inevitable work of reducing remuneration for his strength and skill; whether chronic panic shall close manufactures, stop public works, paralyze private enterprise, on all of which he depends for the use of his capital. The whole demand is to bring the truth to bear on these capitalists, lesser and greater.

It will require no great effort to show to laboring men the truth that in times of inflation wages never rise so fast or so far as prices of commodities; and that wages are likely to fall rather than rise if employers are crippled—as they certainly would be by such a wrench in our finances as is proposed by the misnamed Democrats and their Populist allies.

In view of all this, what is the best course for those who favor evolution rather than revolution; stability in our industry and currency, rather than perpetual fluctuation; progressive reform rather than an overturn with repudiation and dishonor? I would submit to thinking men in both the old political parties, the following considerations.

First,—common sense and courage. Leading men in both the old parties, who preserve their reason and patriotism, should in this great crisis sink their differences and unite in the support of Mr. McKinley, the only candidate, whom it is possible to elect, who resists a revolutionary panic and crash; who would promote the interests and respect the rights of both labor and capital; who would uphold honesty, jus-

tice, individual, and national honor. Democrats to-day should emulate the example of the war Democrats of the civil-war period. Republicans to-day should emulate the example of the Republicans of that time, by welcoming patriotic Democrats now as Republicans welcomed John Brough, Stanton, Dix, Dickinson, Sickles, Alvord, and many like them then.

And just here is another difference between the struggle against the old revolution and the new, which may well encourage us. An eminent Frenchman once said to me,—“What I like best in your country is to see your men of opposing parties meeting on friendly terms, and in emergencies making common cause. In France men always adhere fanatically to their own party and will have nothing to do with men of the other.” The Frenchman’s insight was good, and never was this more evident than now, when great numbers of men, who have formed the bone and sinew of the Democratic party, may be relied upon to support the only Presidential candidate who has any hope of election on a platform of honesty, honor, and prosperity.

Second,—if the Republicans in the former crisis elected John Brough, a war Democrat, as Governor of Ohio, and John A. Dix and Thomas G. Alvord, war Democrats, as Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of New York, and if they welcomed Edwin M. Stanton and other war Democrats to places in the Cabinet, why should not Republicans henceforth gladly welcome to similar positions such sound-money Democrats as shall boldly come out on the side of the country in this crisis?

Third,—as to nominations for Congress. Between a fifty-cent Republican and a dollar Democrat, Republicans should certainly choose the latter.

Fourth,—as to the tariff question. Mr. McKinley represents more than any other man in this generation, to the working men of this country and to the world at large, the policy of developing our industries by duties laid for that purpose; but, on the other hand, the Democratic doctrine was, for many years, and those the most successful period of the party, a tariff for revenue with incidental protection. The difference between these two doctrines seems a difference rather in degree than in kind;—rather metaphysical than real. It is practically a difficulty easily bridged by good sense and good will. Let it be understood that while Mr. McKinley stands for the development of American industry, whatever tariff is hereafter established shall be the result of calm inquiry by experts, with the idea of establishing a policy which fair men of both parties, after this crisis is over, may maintain

as a finality ; let sound men of both parties thus unite in giving our industries not merely an impulse but a stability which they have never yet had , and we shall enter, as I fully believe, into a period of prosperity more solid and enduring than any we have ever known ; a period in which the ravings of the financial schemers and fanatics will be lost among the shouts of the onward marching army of industry.

What are to-day the causes of our worst troubles? They are mainly two. First, want of stability in our industrial policy ; second, want of stability in our financial policy. This double want of stability depresses both labor and capital. In such a union as this which I advocate ; with no doctrinairism on either side, but a recognition by the old Democracy of the fact that the nation must have more revenue, and that we may well obtain it in such a way as incidentally to stimulate industry ; and a determination on the Republican side that whatever changes are made in the tariff shall be made for the purpose of securing adequate revenue, and at the same time developing and strengthening industries which really need support, and these alone ;—honestly, faithfully, without concessions to any individuals or corporations whatever, beyond what the industrial development of the country really needs ;—such a union of Democracy with Republicanism would prove to be, not merely a settlement of our present difficulties, but a bulwark against future anarchy and communism.

When we note in the Chicago platform and in the utterances of its candidate and supporters the demand now for a silver dollar worth half its nominal value, and the foreshadowing of a paper dollar worth nothing at all ; when we note the paragraph relating to the Supreme Court, the best bulwark of the Constitution ; when we see that great reform in the civil service—one of the noblest conquests both for true Democracy and true Republicanism, the only system which in place of the old favoritism gives the son of the uninfluential poor man an equal chance at office with the son of the influential rich man—marked for destruction, both by the utterances of the platform and of the candidate ; when we observe the virtual demand for free riot, and the stoppage of the United States mails by any mob which can seduce a governor or scare a mayor ; we see both socialistic and anarchistic elements mingling to form a party which is neither Democratic nor Republican, nor indeed American, and which Democrats and Republicans and all Americans of every party should oppose by all legitimate means in their power.

The crisis is indeed a great one. These questions now presented

are more serious than any since 1861 ; perhaps in some respects more serious even than those. For had our nation then been divided, though that would have been a fearful loss to civilization, to liberty, and to humanity, there would have been no indelible disgrace to popular government like that involved in a repudiation of its honest debts by the richest and most enterprising people the world has ever seen.

But while the questions at present involved are of vast import, those looming up just beyond are infinitely greater. For those concern the continuance of this Republic.

It is a time which calls for hard work and much of it. It is to be, indeed, "a campaign of education." There is, as I have shown, everything to encourage us. Eighteen years ago, when the fiat-money craze beset the country, it seemed about to carry everything before it, even in our eastern States. Especially was this true in the State of New York. The demagogues and fanatics seemed to have it all their own way. They filled vast halls with delighted audiences who cheered their orators to the echo ; but Conkling, Garfield, Schurz, and men like them, came through the country, appealed to the sober second thought, and, at the election, the fiat-money party was completely overwhelmed. The present crisis, though more serious, is of the same sort, and can be met in the same way. It is not to be settled by men like Governor Waite, with his Jacobin threat of "blood to the bridles of the horses," or Governor Altgeld's concessions to anarchy, or Governor Tillman's sectionalism, or the programme of socialism, or a candidate foreshadowing a deluge of paper money which shall transfer great masses of private property to an oligarchy at Washington ; but by strong, thoughtful reasoners, who, not only in the city centres, but in every school-house, and at every cross-roads, shall bring the simplest truths involved home to the hearts and minds of the people.

The question immediately involved is the prosperity and honor of our country. The question remotely involved is the continuance of this Republic. Our greatest encouragement in this crisis is that these questions are to be settled, not as in 1793 by "The red fool-fury of the Seine," but, in 1896, by appeals to reason and patriotism addressed to the sober second thought of the American people.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

FIRE AND SWORD IN CUBA.

JUST a year ago "Harper's Weekly" published a short letter of Don Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Spanish minister to the United States, in which after declaring that the "American press does not want the truth" [concerning Cuba] he says:—

"The American people is made to believe that there is in Cuba a nation fighting for liberty! instead of a few thousand adventurers taking for the moment advantage of the rainy seasons. Maceo is a mulatto, Maximo Gomez a Dominican, Miró a Spanish bandit [from Spain, Europe], and the only Cubans are Massó and Santa Lucia, two enthusiasts. Is that a people?"

I am about to show what a "mulatto," a "Dominican," a "bandit," and "two enthusiasts" have accomplished against the power of Spain.

Martí initiated the Revolution which began on February 24, 1895.

Late in April the long-exiled leaders—Martí, Gomez, the brothers Maceo, Crombet, Guerra, and others—landed in Cuba and met at the plantation of Mejorana, in the province of Santiago, to draw once more the swords they had sheathed for a Spanish lie. For seventeen long years every man of them had hungered for this hour, and now it was neither fantasy nor dream; through the wide windows of the Mejorana dining-room they could look out under the verandah eaves and see the matchless Cuban moonlight silvering the fanning fronds of palm. Yes it was the sad, blessed Island again! Martí the recognized leader organized a formal council of war around the dinner table and Gomez, whose deep-moving mind had already thought out a whole year's plan of operation, developed his startling project for invading the body of the Island, which was enthusiastically approved.

With the Invasion this article has to do, and it is desirable at the outset that I should frankly state my sources of information. I learned of the present Insurrection, long before it occurred, from Cubans who knew my fervent sympathy for their cause. I have the personal acquaintance of many leaders and have travelled the Island widely. A year before the council of war just mentioned I succeeded in getting a pass from the military authorities at Santiago to visit in his prison my old friend Guillermon, the black lion whom the Spaniards had

arrested and cast into a cell for safe keeping. When the sentinel paced into the dungeon toward us, Guillermon talked in ordinary tones of a recent coal discovery, but when the soldier retraced his steps, strode out of the room and across a wide corridor, the old fighter's eyes blazed and his lips poured into my ear the secret of the coming war. Poor Homeric hero! The poisonous Spanish dungeon succeeded where regiments had failed. He reached the patriot camps a dying man and gave his last breath for Cuba.

From that hour I have watched the unfolding of the drama,—both the military movements on the Island, and the slow masterly spinning of diplomatic cobwebs by the Spanish Minister in this country about the executive arm of the United States Government. For the facts of the Invasion I have been favored with the campaign notes of Gen. Miró, Chief of Staff to Gen. Antonio Maceo, which are soon to be published. Having this as a basis I have made careful notes during many hours' personal conversation with Maceo's gallant Adjutant-General, who fell desperately wounded in Pinar del Rio; with an aide-de-camp of Gen. Gomez, and with two officers of the forces acting in the province of Havana. The details I am about to give come wholly from honorable Insurgent sources, and they tally perfectly with the general movements and results of the campaign which are a matter of public knowledge even as far as the Cortes in Madrid.

While Gomez's bold project of Invasion was being adopted at Mejorana, Field-Marshal Martinez Campos, who had come from Spain as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of Cuba, was assuring Madrid that the rebellion was locked up under martial law in the Eastern provinces where he proposed to hold and crush it. To isolate Santiago, the very *nidus* of revolution, he strengthened a zone of military occupation across its western boundary, reinforcing the cities of Manzanillo, Bayamo, Holguin, and Las Tunas, besides occupying many intermediate points by fortified block-houses along main roads, and open encampments at a number of prominent plantations; thus disposing about ten thousand troops—an ample force well handled to accomplish Campos's purpose. At Mejorana were all told about six hundred Cuban soldiers, mostly cavalry; of these Gomez took two hundred to act as his escort, and with Martí started westward for Camagüey to aid in organizing the Insurrection, leaving Santiago under the command of Antonio Maceo, whose first duty was a purely strategic move to enable Gomez to pass the Holguin Zone. Gomez marched by Cauto Abajo toward Descanso de los Muertos (Rest of the Dead)—name of ill omen—near which in

the little fight of Dos Rios, Martí fell as Flor Crombet had perished a few weeks before. While Gomez, after the irreparable loss of Martí, cleverly outflanked the Spanish force, Maceo tore through the forests and plantations straight for the city of Holguin, which his bold approach threw into panic ; the Spanish commander withdrawing his outside block-house detachments, hurrying in the garrison of Las Tunas, and disposing for defence. Maceo for a couple of days swept completely around the city, threatening it from all sides and keeping its commander in a fever of alarm and perplexity. The main force of the northern part of Spanish Zone being thus crowded into Holguin, Gomez rode across the deserted lines passing safely into Camagüey, and Maceo countermarched to Cauto Abajo.

Here, on July 5, while he was organizing and training his gradually augmenting force, Maceo learned that Martinez Campos, who had come to Santiago in his naval yacht, would soon arrive at Manzanillo, the southern seaport of the region, and probably visit Bayamo itself. Accordingly the yacht anchored at Manzanillo on July 11 and on the 12th Campos marched out on the road which led by Veguitas and Peralejo to Bayamo.

Maceo had hurriedly drawn reinforcements, calling Goulet, Guerra, Massó, and the redoubtable Rabí, the last man left of the Siboney Indians, that delightful tribe who peopled all Cuba when Diego Velasquez landed and began the 400 years of murderous oppression. As Hatuei their chief was among the first victims of fanatical Spanish butchers, one can but pray that the brave Rabí will live to see the last Spaniard driven from Cuba.

Gen. Santocildes who commanded at Manzanillo got news of the concentration and advance of Maceo, and, before the landing of Campos, advanced eastward toward Bayamo to locate the Insurgents and estimate their numbers. Maceo, as Santocildes learned, had a total of 1,400 men, quite enough to overpower the 700 soldiers whom Campos had ordered for his escort ; accordingly the Spanish general fell back to intercept and strengthen Campos. They met on the road, Campos making light of the "rebels" and telling Santocildes he could take care of himself. In the end, however, Santocildes' warnings were heeded, and on the next morning (the 13th) the column was moved up the road in the following order: first a small band of about thirty "explorers," then, after an interval, Santocildes with an advance guard of 500 soldiers, then Campos with 700 men, and finally a strong rearguard.

By ten o'clock they reached the Savanna of Peralejo just beyond which the road divides; the main, southern (right hand) fork passing on through forest toward Bayamo, and the little-used left path swinging to the north for a few miles, then curving back to a junction with the main road some miles before the united tracks reach Bayamo. Woods and thick tropical brush-growth cover the ground included between the two branches, and along the right of the main road stretches a high wire fence backed by forest. At Peralejo the black guide who had conducted the column caught sight of Maceo's pickets and immediately Santocildes formed his force in the open and prepared to fight. Campos sent forward the order to press the pickets back, and the general of the vanguard moved forward, when suddenly from ambush not fifty yards from his right flank the Insurgents under Goulet poured a rapid and well directed fire into the Spaniards. For an hour they had it hot, the royalists from their exposed position suffering seriously and finally showing signs of disorder: then Maceo's cavalry formed under cover among the trees back of the wire fence, drew their machetes, came forward in line, hewed down the wires, rode out into the open, turned to the left, and charged straight for Santocildes with perfect steadiness and terrible momentum. Both forces reeled under the shock, but the Cubans re-formed like lightning and again with machetes flashing in the air dashed themselves against the enemy, this time crumpling their formation into a disordered rout. Before this last onslaught the Spaniards fell in scores. Dead on the ground lay Santocildes and all his staff except a captain and lieutenant; dying and wounded cumbered the road. Picking up their dead commander, the Spanish retreated to where Campos was halted, still under the distant fire of the Cubans. He took instant command, forming his men into a hollow square with himself and staff and the body of Santocildes in the middle, at once advancing eastward to fight his way past the Insurgent position.

Maceo, calculating that Campos would follow the main road, had moved about 700 men under cover of the trees to a point something more than a mile beyond the forks and concealed his force behind the wire fence in the tangle of a dense tropical wood. Campos advanced to the forks under fire and took the fatal road, moving on until his whole command had entered, and his rear rested on the point of divergence. Then suddenly he faced his column about, converted rear into advance, and as fast as his men could go turned up the left-hand road and fled for Bayamo, with the impassable wood between

the two roads as a complete protection against the force of Maceo. It will never be known whether the old negro mountaineer who guided Campos all day saw from tracks in the road or other sign that Maceo was ahead of them, or whether Campos looked on at the dark shadows of the wood, or caught some glimpse of man or horse which led him to suspect the deadly ambushade Maceo had prepared for him; or whether he had one of those strange intuitive premonitions of danger which had made him a psychological puzzle in all his former wars. Had he gone ahead not a man could have survived. As it was, even this quick manœuvre required him to pass his men through the field of fire. When it came his turn to run his own chance of death the Commander-in-Chief made use of a trick, clever, justifiable, but hardly valiant. Knowing that the Cubans make it a point of honor never to fire upon, or in any way molest, a gravely-wounded enemy, he had himself slung in a hammock, improvised of a blanket lashed to a pole cut by the roadside, and carried on the shoulders of men. Thus disguised as a wounded man he passed unscathed across the field, the Insurgents watching his swaying body, painfully borne along, the face and uniform covered up to conceal his identity; but they never offered to shoot him. Saved by this ruse Campos got beyond danger, dismounted from his litter, and with his negro conductor hurried ahead, getting separated from the Spanish force, wandering for hours mile after mile in lonely forest paths, and finally, half dead with exhaustion, staggering through mud and darkness into Bayamo at ten o'clock at night. After his quick change of route when he rushed his troops up the left-hand road, leaving dead and wounded on the field, Maceo, unable to press through the wood and brush between the two roads in time to cut off the retreat, could only fall on the royalist rear and fire. All the way to Bayamo he thus harassed them, and Spaniard after Spaniard fell out of his place dead by the road. I have sketched this fight at Peralejo because the presence and procedure of the Captain-General lend it a certain personal interest and the episode of the blanket recalls the immortal *Sancho Panza*—who also became the governor of an island.

Other early combats—Jobito, Arroyo Hondo, Sao del Indio,—were quite as decisive Insurgent victories, but it was on the whole a meaningless warfare. The ill-supplied Cubans, then only at the beginning of organization, fought, as veterans should, with force and bravery. One may say that all the honors of war were with them. The Spaniards made no movement which showed the remotest notions of

military precision or any evidence of strategic combination. Now and then a strong column marched out of some fort or other stronghold in a casual, seemingly inadvertent way, floundered about more or less helplessly, got whipped or out-manceuvred, or hungry, and went back to cover. The commander of the Eastern province seemed possessed of no higher aim than to nag. Campos after Peralejo never took another risk. He remained in Bayamo until an irresistible force was assembled, then got back to his yacht, and betook himself to Havana. Once at the capital he marked out a plan of campaign to be put in execution in the late autumn. That plan, as came to be publicly known, was: (1) To distribute sufficient force at commanding points over the Island to suppress any further attempts at insurrection; (2) to concentrate troops enough on the west of the province of Santiago to effectually wall in the "rebels" and confine them to their then limited field of action; (3) to drive the eastern "bandits" to bay, crush them, and end the war.

He continued the indefatigable activity which he had practised since assuming command, working incessantly to get his army into perfectly effective shape. Havana, on the contrary, which had never learned any more of Peralejo than Campos's jaunty and laconic despatch had told, rather looked on his example of ceaseless effort as fussy and martinetish. The theatre of actual hostilities was so far, so many hundreds of miles, away off in the half-unknown mountain wilderness of the East, and the rains pouring in deluges so effectually deferred all active fighting till November, that the war made little impression on summer Havana. At worst it seemed a mere business annoyance which might have been lost sight of altogether had not the unusual show of battalions marching through the streets offered its daily reminder of an unsettled question. Finally, everybody but the toiling Captain-General got tired of considering the insurrection seriously, and it became the butt of wits. Summer society in the capital and at Marianao had never been gayer; it glittered with the uniforms of countless young officers; and gray generals, stiff with glory and armor-plated with orders and decorations, became centres of cheerful ostentation in every *sala*. Spanish military music floated away on the trade-wind at all hours. Officers and soldiers kept the town smiling with camp jests and tales of the droll "nigger bandits," as they called them, whom they had fought in the field and were to finish off in the autumn. The climax of the comic however occurred in July, and kept Havana in a ripple

of laughter for weeks. It was a solemn, lofty proclamation issued by Maximo Gomez, the Insurgent General-in-Chief, at some obscure place in remote Camagüey, forbidding the carrying of articles of commerce into cities of Spanish occupation, and prohibiting, under threat of direst penalty, the cultivation, cutting, or grinding of sugar-cane. In short, commanding the industrial heart of Cuba to stop beating.

To gay Havana nothing could be more quaint and amusing than this "mock-heroic" personage who stood four hundred miles away in the woods, waving his machete and publishing edicts which were in the style of epic poetry and savored strongly of Cervantes's invincible knight. "Don Quixote de Camagüey," was going to "have at" the sugar-mills. Exquisite drollery!

Campos, never doubting his power to crush the Insurrection, reassured the planters and guaranteed that the sugar crop should be gathered without molestation, and for months tranquillity reigned.

Nothing more was heard of "Quixote."

At the other end of the Island Antonio Maceo, at Banabacoa, received notice from Gomez that a provisional constitution had been adopted by a duly qualified constituent assembly, representing every province, and on its foundation a civil government constituted. He learned also that Gomez had been commissioned General-in-Chief and himself (Maceo) Lieutenant-General. With this came formal but secret orders from Gomez to Maceo, directing him to organize a column for the *invasion of the body of the Island!* Maceo who had awaited this signal since the council of war held at Mejorana, marched to Baraguá, where he succeeded in uniting a force of 500 infantry under Quintin Bandera, a black veteran of the former war, and 700 cavalry under Luis Feria.

History has its occasional touch of poetry, and time his moments of dramatic justice. At the end of 1878 Gen. Campos had met the Insurgent commanders under a flag of truce, and in the name and on the faith of Spain, promised a liberal measure of that liberty for which they had struggled during ten bloody years. Gomez and the other commanders signed the treaty of Zanjón, and the war ended. Antonio Maceo alone refused to affix his signature, and retired to his mountains. Campos followed him to Baraguá and pleaded with him, but all in vain. Maceo knew the stuff of which the royal promises of Spain are made better than his brother commanders. Spain characteristically broke her plighted faith, and fate led Maceo again to that self-same Baraguá and bade him gather his braves to march once more against Campos!

On October 11 there arrived at Maceo's camp a party of horsemen consisting of the venerable President Cisneros Betancourt, Marquis of Santa Lucia, Vice-President Bartolomé Massó, the entire Cabinet, and Gen. Gomez with a small escort. All the generals having taken the oath of allegiance to the civil government and Antonio Maceo being formally designated as Commander of the Column of Invasion, a review of the force was held. Then on October 22, the column marched westward, and on November 1 entered the "Jurisdiction" of Holguin where they were reinforced by 500 cavalry, being parts of two new regiments under Generals Miró and Santana, thus raising the total to 1,700 men. From Mala Noche, on November 3, the column made its formal start.

Since Dupuy de Lôme has branded Miró as a "Spanish bandit," it is desirable at this point of the narrative to puncture that iridescent bubble. Miró in Spain was a Carlist and openly fought with the rest of his party against Spain. Captured in battle by Concha he was banished to Cuba with other regular prisoners of war, and at the collapse of the Carlist movement honorably set free. He was given an important office of trust by the Spanish bank in Cuba, from which he resigned on account of his open sympathy with the Separatist propaganda. On joining Maceo he was appointed his chief of staff.

Campos, as the rainy season wore on, completed his preliminary disposition of forces, and got his army and navy into condition and position to make short work of the half-organized "rebels." His army numbered, all told, somewhat above 200,000 men. "El Año Politico," a statistical annual lately published in Madrid, places the Peninsular forces then in Cuba at 172,295. Besides this the Cuban royalist volunteers recruited from Spaniards in Cuba numbered about 50,000; and in February following 16,000 more Spanish regulars reached the Island, so that with the most liberal allowance for losses the Spanish army in Cuba has not fallen below 200,000.

The finishing touches having been put on military and naval forces, there came a period of impatience in Havana. Officers and soldiers eagerly waited for the rain to cease. Finally, in November, the heavens shook themselves free from the burden of summer vapor and came out in that liquid, luminous blue that overarches Cuba during half the year; but the Island was soaked—roads were quagmires. From headquarters the cry went up: "All we want is four days of north wind" to lap up the water from flooded fields and drenched roads. With difficulty they restrained themselves from rushing out into the mud to take their long-deferred initiative.

Campos, calmer than the rest, was still waiting for the north wind when suddenly there appeared afar off on the eastern horizon a small moving speck, which slowly resolved itself into the very same group of personages which Minister Dupuy de Lôme had sneered at three months before in "Harper's Weekly." There rode the "two enthusiasts": the Marquis of Santa Lucia, now President, and Bartolomé Massó, Vice-President of a new-born republic. There rode Gomez, "the Dominican," hot with the boldest military project of the century;—by his side Maceo, the "mulatto," his machete flashing, and with him his chief of staff Miró, "the Spanish bandit from Spain, Europe." Behind them marched a little column of only 1,700 men, blacks and whites, but one and all solemn with the resolve to strike for Cuba or die for freedom. They had awaited no Spanish "initiative," delayed for no north wind, but they came out of the veil of rain and through the tropical mud moving on swift and confident. It puzzled Havana. Was "Don Quixote of Camagüey" really going to charge a sugar-mill? Ridiculous! Impossible!

From the starting point in Holguin "Jurisdiction," the Cubans marched out on November 3 intent first of all to pass the Barrier Zone, held just ahead of them with 10,000 troops. In two days, scouts discovered the Spanish general Echagüe with 3,000 men under Cols. Nario and Ceballos in position at Pelonas and Arenas to dispute their westward march, and the Insurgent commander dispatched Gen. Capote with 300 men to make a rapid feint on the city of Las Tunas. This slight movement was enough to send the Spanish column rushing back to the city to defend it. The field in front being cleared the Insurgent column moved swiftly on through Arenas unopposed, the Spanish forces remaining in the rear, anticipating a general attack. Capote followed on the Cubans' trail. When Echagüe saw himself thus outflanked he started in hot pursuit, but whenever he caught up, Capote chose some advantageous cover and compelled him to halt with a rain of shot.

On entering Camagüey, Gomez, with a small escort, departed from the column on a return march to Najassa and Puerto Principe. He had started the little Army of Invasion under his trusted general, Maceo, and promised to rejoin it a month later after moving through the north country raising the standard of Cuba and inspiring men to revolt and take arms. Maceo and the Cuban column moved rapidly westward closely followed by Echagüe, who doggedly marched a hundred miles, making a really splendid effort to retrieve his blunder at

Las Tunas. But the Spaniards were no match for the Cubans, and Echagüe at length gave up in despair and moved down to Santa Cruz del Sur, on the Caribbean coast, with his numerous wounded.

In Camagüey Maceo's forces were slowly but constantly augmenting, both by daily individual accretions and the joining of considerable bodies like the cavalry squadrons of Rodríguez and Tamayo, Camagüeyan chiefs who fell into the invading column.

Toward the end of November, Maceo, still urging his rapid march westward, passed the strongly garrisoned capital city of Puerto Principe at such a speed that the Spanish had their breath taken away, and only made a *pro forma* demonstration far in his rear.

Sixty miles west of Puerto Principe, is the formidable "Eastern Trocha," constructed in the former war from Moron, a town near the northern coast, to Jucaro on the south or Caribbean shore, and now occupied to intercept the Insurgent Invasion. From the north coast to Moron are about eight miles of lowlands and lagoons, with swamps and no lines of east and west travel; moreover, a river flows from near Moron northward to the sea, which forms a natural line of defence, as it is practically unfordable in its lower reaches, and always easily held by a small force. From Moron to Ciego de Avila, a distance of about twenty miles, covering the main zone available for travel or military operation, a railway was formerly constructed, and is now repaired, reequipped with new rails and telegraph, and provided with armor-clad cars. Along the whole railway is a double line of small forts planted at short distances. Moron and Ciego de Avila are both fortified, and garrisoned by from five to six thousand troops each. From Ciego south a very wide military wagon-road leads straight to Jucaro which is defended by a chain of block-forts. As, however, it passes for a considerable part of its course through a difficult region of forest and "monte" (thick brush-growth), with formidable stretches of morass, and hence unsuited to rapid movements of even Insurgent troops, this lower section of the "Trocha" was not very strongly manned. Finally Jucaro, the southern terminus, is well garrisoned; it lies, moreover, on flat ground under the guns of war-vessels which ride at anchor on the roadstead before the town.

When Maceo so easily traversed the military zone of Holguin and flanked Puerto Principe, Campos thought to stop his advance by means of the "Trocha." Including the garrisons of Ciego and Moron, about 16,000 troops were brought together to bar the Cubans. Part of this concentration was from the west, part from the east. Among

the latter was the column of General Echagüe, who, when he gave up the pursuit of Maceo and hastened to Santa Cruz del Sur, loaded his troops on war-vessels and steamed west to Jucaro, arriving long in advance of the Cubans. From the difficult character of the ground north of Moron and south of Ciego, it was correctly reasoned that the Column of Invasion would attempt the passage of the "dead line" somewhere in the interval of twenty miles between the two cities. The Spanish commanders were in undisturbed telegraphic communication. All eyes were on the lookout, the whole Trocha alert. But the Spanish expected to be treated with some consideration, to be given plenty of time, and early notice of Maceo's intentions.

Suddenly on the morning of November 29, at the impudently early hour of six o'clock, the Insurgents were discovered coming on a straight course for Ciego at a speed which left no time for any gathering in of reinforcements. Dispositions of defence were all that could be made; as a matter of fact, they were still incomplete when Maceo, directly before the town, swerved abruptly north, turned west again, and crossed the Trocha between two small forts. With flag flying, the band playing the Invasion march, and before the Ciego garrison recovered their senses, Maceo cut rails and wires and swept westward.

It is amazing that this piece of elementary strategy had now succeeded for the third time; but the eastern combats, which, for want of space, I have only named, had taught the Spanish generals that the Cubans were capable of any sort of desperate onslaught, so that every time Maceo made one of his swift rushes at a place they were in a dilemma. If they stretched out a military net on either hand, wide and strong enough to catch him in case he swerved, the meteoric chieftain was quite capable of raising that horrid cry, "Al machete," and storming the weakened town. To be hacked to death in their own stronghold was far the worse of two evils, so every commander of them gathered his full force about him, shotted his guns, held his breath and—let the Cubans pass. The second barrier of Campos was thus left behind. On the whole, probably, the Spanish generals adopted the prudent and better course.

Although Campos had failed with two combinations, the Holguin Zone and Trocha, to cause Maceo a half-hour's delay, all the conditions were seen to be in Cuban favor. Throughout the Provinces of Santiago and Camagüey roads were few, indirect, and bad; telegraphs impossible to maintain in a land of woods and pastures, and the

population was both sparse and hostile to Spain. Every league westward improved the conditions and chances of the royalists.

In the afternoon after the crossing of the Trocha, Gomez, having passed the barrier farther north, rode into Maceo's camp accompanied by Gen. Roloff, secretary of war, and Gen. Sanchez, and with his same little escort of only 200 men; and now immediately came a touch of that gallant unselfishness which is one of the most deeply ingrained traits of the Commander-in-Chief. Although the Invasion was a project originating with himself, although the column was emerging from a thinly-peopled, easily-traversed region and about to run the gauntlet, through a network of hostile railways, of eighty thousand Spanish troops in a campaign calling for every intellectual resource, although abundant glory would crown success (and where is there a true soldier careless of glory?), yet Gomez had not the heart to supersede his beloved Maceo, but confirmed him as Commander of the "Army of Invasion"—"*The Army of Invasion!*" High-sounding name indeed for 5,000 poor patriots grimly walking into the jaws of death. Gomez declared his purpose to accompany Maceo, reserving for himself a relation equivalent to that of an admiral to the captain on whose ship he unfurls his flag. The sentiment of these two men for each other is not merely one of admiration but of profound affection.

On December 2, after two days of much needed rest, the Cubans were on the march at dawn, moving due west. They were hardly under way when Suárez Valdés disputed the road. Maceo attacked him with 80 infantry and a couple of squadrons of cavalry, held him engaged while the main body of the Cubans by a narrow and unseen road passed on toward Trilladeritas, holding the field till Valdés showed that he had no intention of advancing, and then he rejoined Gomez. As the force was daily being rapidly augmented Gomez decided to detach, from the invading column, the whole body of infantry—then numbering about 1,000 men,—under Quintin Bandera, with orders to move down into the rich, fertile valley of Trinidad which opened to the Caribbean, there to recruit, organize, and drill as he marched, and generally to keep near the south coast, following the margin of the great chain of cienegas or wooded swamps whose almost impenetrable intricacies afforded a safe refuge to the crafty woodsmen, in case they should be overpowered by the Spanish. How effectively and admirably Bandera succeeded was seen when two and a half months later he rejoined Maceo with 4,000 well disciplined and fairly-armed soldiers.

On December 3, concurrently with Bandera's departure, Gomez and Maceo crossed the river Jatibonico, leaving the Province of Puerto Principe behind and entering the populous, rich, cultivated territory of Las Villas. The General-in-Chief led the advance, Maceo remaining at the ford to protect the rearguard from surprise, and direct the crossing of men and horse. On the Las Villas side, unknown to the Insurgents, Colonel Segura with a Spanish column of 800 men and a convoy was returning from the fort of Iguará to Sancti Espiritu.

Spaniards and Cubans were approaching each other on roads which met at right angles. Segura saw Gomez's advance before the Insurgents saw him; ambushed his men in one of those tropical woods which, besides the cover of gigantic trees, is hung with veils of vines and parasitic vegetation, a wood in which a herd of war elephants could be completely hidden; and as the first of the column came along opened fire. Instantly Gomez moved the President's party forward to a place of safety, and then set his cavalry in position on Segura's flank and rear. Maceo, hearing firing, came galloping up with the cavalry rearguard and formed on Segura's other flank.

Although the Spanish were quite within the forest, Gomez and Maceo both charged, urging 300 cavalry over brush and fallen logs into the heart of the forest, fighting hand and hand. Segura and his troops fled to the fort of Iguará leaving 19 dead and many wounded, and losing to the Cubans 54 rifles, 800 cartridges, and 20 fully-equipped pack-mules. Although only an hour elapsed between the attack and flight of the Spaniards there fell, on the Insurgent side, thirty-two wounded and five killed, among the latter Col. Andrés Hernández, Chief of Maceo's escort, a highly-valued commander. To the thick woods which impeded cavalry fighting the Spanish owe their escape. Had Quintin Bandera remained with the column but one day longer there might not have been a Spanish survivor. As it was, the entry into Las Villas was signalized by this small but very complete victory.

At this point the Presidential party bade the column Godspeed and turned northward to resume the extension of civil government. Before going they unfurled and presented to the column a war flag embroidered by the women of Camagüey, and bade Maceo carry it to the Ultima Thule. Disencumbered of the slow-moving infantry, and freed from the anxiety of protecting the civil officers, they stripped for the great race before them.

Havana began to chaff again at the news of Gomez's advance, but as the Cuban column dashed past Santa Clara the laughter was plainly a

little hollow. "Don Quixote de Camagüey" had moved uncomfortably near the great sugar-mills, and machetes are now known to provoke Spanish mirth inversely as the number in sight, and directly as the square of the distance.

Campos had seen his Barrier Line and Trocha broken like cobweb, but now came the chance of his life. Once the Insurgent column should pass Santa Clara and enter the square bounded by that city, Cienfuegos (the great Caribbean port), Colón, and Sagua, he had it in a "rat-trap," as he said.

Campos now established his headquarters at Cienfuegos to personally direct a combination of troops which should stop this irritating invasion, with what result we shall presently see. The cities were crowded with troops abundantly supplied, on every railroad engines stood panting to rush troop-trains and armored cars from point to point; the whole country was thickly patrolled by powerful columns which were in complete touch. So close were the bars of the "trap" that even this strange, incalculable enemy could not possibly squeeze through. On came the Cubans, making incredible zigzags and curves in their line of march. Coming straight for a town till you could hear the tramp of their horses, then seemingly vanishing from off the earth, only to reappear miles away at some utterly unexpected point. Campos learned of the passing of Santa Clara and waited anxiously for the "rebels" to penetrate his quadrilateral. Into the great square Gomez and Maceo calmly advanced, leaving Santa Clara on their right and then in their rear. Click went the door of the rat-trap. Campos "had them." Not only did they walk into the trap but they moved straight west toward Las Cruces, near the middle of the quadrilateral, an important railway junction where a combination of columns was gathering to give the *coup de grâce*.

At dawn on the morning of December 15 the Cubans, by this time 5,000 strong, broke camp, and at a swinging gait struck westward on the main road to Aguada de Flores, arriving about eight o'clock in the neighborhood of Mal Tiempo. In sight ahead was a grove of guava trees stretching along the road, and beyond rose the plantation buildings of Teresa. Maceo, leading the van, discovered through scouts that a strong Spanish force was massed under cover of the guavas, extending as far as could be seen along both sides of the road. Gomez was with the rear of the main column, and Diaz still behind, with Zayas and 500 cavalry some miles on the flank. The advance body of the Insurgent force was rapidly brought into line, facing the Spaniards,

Maceo on the left and Gomez at the extreme right. The fight opened at once, the Spaniards firing from their grove and the Cuban cavalry replying from their saddles. As the engagement grew hotter Maceo pushed forward enough to see that a high wire fence stretched all along the margin of the grove in front of the Spaniards, and that in front of that again was a railway cut of a yard or so deep carrying one of the plantation cane-roads. Although the Spaniards were under a sort of cover the guava has always an open growth, and this proved a poor protection against the superior aim of the Cubans. Their line wavered, and Colonel Molina was seen to begin preparations for a careful retreat. At a signal Gomez and Maceo made concerted charges, leaping down into the railroad cut and up the other bank, hacking down the wire fence and plunging into the grove after the wavering Spanish.

Molina with great rapidity and admirable coolness formed a hollow square, which immediately went to pieces under the impact of the cavalry. Again he succeeded in re-forming but to no purpose, and finally he made a third, last, brave stand, but Gomez and Maceo were at him with a rush and a rain of machete strokes. Fierce hand-to-hand fighting lasted for five minutes, and then the Spaniards broke and fled, running like rabbits into Teresa plantation and on into the thickets of the sugar-cane, where of course they were safe from cavalry pursuit. In full possession of the field, the Cubans counted the Spanish fallen, which numbered a captain, the column surgeon, two lieutenants, and 210 soldiers dead and wounded. They had captured the regimental colors, 110 Mausser and 30 Remington rifles, 10,000 cartridges, besides the adjutant's archives, from which it was learned that the column was composed of part of the infantry regiment, "Canarias," and a detachment of the Treviño cavalry.

Among the documents was a highly-interesting order from Gen. Campos censuring officers for their ridiculous battle reports. These despatches, sent in from scenes of skirmish or the butchery of "pacificos," had all along been such palpably bombastic lies that they sickened Campos, who, scholar that he is, cannot have failed to remember that delightfully comic figure—the Braggart Captain—in Plautus's comedy of "Miles Gloriosus." "In my long experience as a military man," he says in the order, "I am convinced that it is impossible, so shortly after a battle, to find out the number of the losses of the enemy. And while our losses are concealed from me, you give me details of repeated victories over the Insurgents, tales I have never seen verified in the reports sent in later."

The Cuban wounded had but just received the first offices of field surgery when firing was heard on a road which joined the main road from the south, near where the morning's fight had opened. Immediate reconnoissance developed a strong Spanish column under command of Col. Arizon rapidly advancing to the support of Molina. Directly south of Maceo's position the road on which Arizon was coming passed over a detached ridge. Maceo as usual formed his plan in an instant, and dismounting about 200 cavalry armed them with captured rifles and cartridges, the excess of men continuing to use their carbines. He deployed them in line along the brow of the ridge under command of the brothers Ducasse and awaited Arizon. Seeing from the topography that Arizon, if checked, must either retreat or turn the eastern point of the ridge, he placed himself and his cavalry on good open ground in that quarter. Arizon came on and was met by the infantry fire, which was maintained with great rapidity from the abundance of Molina's cartridges, and held him checked. While under this staggering fire, and before he could move hand or foot, Maceo swung his cavalry around the point of the ridge, charged full into the Spanish ranks, and completely routed them, Arizon retreating and leaving sixty dead and wounded on the field.

While Maceo was conducting this fight Gomez had discovered a band of Spanish guerilleros in his rear, and at once began to play with them. He had only his staff and escort, but with them he pushed and threatened and moved the guerillas slowly along to gain time, cuffing them occasionally and following on to see whether they were falling back on some superior force. By ten o'clock he made a junction with Zayas, for whom he was waiting and who came up in the nick of time, and with a total force of 700 cavalry drove the Spaniards back, as he suspected, upon a main column which was coming up as Arizon's had, to join Molina. Gomez, one of the most elegant and dainty of tacticians, manœuvred the enemy nearly all day till he secured the advantage he required, and at four in the afternoon fell on them and whipped them completely, the Spaniards leaving their eighty dead and wounded on the field. A mule load of rifles and cartridges was the fruits of the action.

Meantime Diaz, who had commanded the extreme Cuban rear fought and checked a fourth of the concentrating columns.

By ten at night Maceo camped at the appointed place, Aguada de Flores, Gomez and Zayas coming later, and at last Diaz. All the Spanish troops, amounting to seven or eight thousand, were evidently

to have made a junction at or near Mal Tiempo, but the Cubans as usual had travelled at such a pace that only Molina had arrived in advance. Once in camp at Aguada the Cuban forces were well to the west of Molina, and when they flung themselves into their hammocks the whole Spanish force, although sent to intercept them, was far in their rear. As a result of the day, three Spanish columns were beaten, with a loss in killed and wounded of about 400; a fourth checked, with unknown but small loss; the supply of arms and ammunition handsomely augmented, and a capital dinner of Spanish provisions was sacrificed to a victor's appetite.

In passing into Las Villas the Cubans had flung themselves into the crisis of their campaign. Havana lay only a hundred and twenty miles to westward, and there the island was but twenty-five miles wide; where they bivouacked after the fight of Mal Tiempo it was only fifty. This narrow area of operation is well supplied with railroads, and no serious obstacle opposed the rapid movements of large bodies of troops. Garrisoned cities formed everywhere for the Spaniards ideal bases of supply and refuges for retreat. It is the garden of Cuba and of the world. League after league the whole surface is one mosaic of pale-green cane-fields inlet in wandering pattern in the darker tint of pasture and palm-clad hills. The landscape is unique because of the Royal palms which everywhere dominate all other growths. Either in straight avenues or in self-sown groves it is a tree that cannot fail to arrest the eye. The lofty trunk is absolutely vertical and as smooth and straight as if turned. No scars of growth mar its marvellous Ionic shaft, which is of a delicate pale gray (white in sunlight) up to the great tuft of long, flexible, sensitively-balanced fronds of deep, highly-polished green. The slightest breeze sets their great plumes waving and singing. Cane cultivation ceases only at the edges of the towns, whose red roofs and sunlit stucco walls are half buried in masses of golden green. A town is a garden shaded with one broad roof of trees above which here and there are uplifted the towers of a church or a green crown of palms.

In this paradise Campos had planted full eighty thousand troops, chiefly infantry, of course, but with more than sufficient of the helpless sort of cavalry Spain had sent him, and more field artillery than he could find use for, although the roads were dry and firm.

Gomez and Maceo with their bold six thousand had, while marching on the 16th, the usual enlivenment of a skirmish, and far behind, the Spanish columns pulled themselves together after their detailed

defeats at Mal Tiempo and began a dogged pursuit. For three days the Cubans, as Miró wittily expressed it, were "escorted in the rear by 8,000 Spaniards," but "heart failure" slowed down these tardy followers and at length they drew off to be borne ahead by train.

In this interval Lacret, with a few squadrons of cavalry, was ordered to proceed by forced march into the heart of Matanzas and the edges of Havana to create a diversion, cut railways, and burn stations, just as Diaz and Zayas were to operate near Santa Clara and Cienfuegos.

On the night of the 20th Gomez and Maceo moved still deeper into the sugar-paradise, which had now become a great military park, crossed the river Anabana into Matanzas and camped at the plantation of Desquite. Suárez Valdés, who had been ordered out to prevent the passage of the river with artillery, got there too late, but he struggled through the night and by eleven next morning encountered the Cubans just as he was wallowing his cannon through the muddy ford of a small stream. Under the sharp fire of the little infantry force commanded by the Ducasse brothers he succeeded in getting the guns on firm ground when the Cuban cavalry came thundering down "Al machete." Valdéz could not hold his men, who fled precipitately, cannon and all, into a providential wood and were not seen again by the Insurgents.

On pressed the Cuban column, making a splendid pace for seventeen hours and camping at midnight by the plantation of Santa Elena. The pickets around the camp in the gray of the morning discovered a Spanish column which had come into a palm grove close by. Springing from hammock to saddle the Cubans charged victoriously and the baffled foe fled, and, their road thus cleared, the Insurgents rushed on, now flanking and then skirmishing, but managing to avoid the delay of a severe fight, as they had an immediate point to gain. This day's march, one of the most important of the whole campaign, was managed with a brilliant skill which no one appreciated more fully than Martinez Campos. Colón was his temporary headquarters and there he was gathering in troops with superhuman effort, calculating himself to be so far west of the Cubans that he could concentrate for a decisive blow. The memory of Holguin, the Trocha, and Mal Tiempo destroyed his faith in his generals and he went to Colón himself. Telegrams gave him the approximate position and direction of the Insurgents, who could not, as he supposed, cross the meridian of Colón before midday of the morrow.

Late in the afternoon Gomez and Maceo were known to be developing their spasmodic zigzag changes of course which no Spaniard has

ever been able to master. Night fell, when Spaniards cease from troubling, and then the Insurgents under cover of darkness pressed on, on, on, till at midnight they noiselessly pitched their camp within two miles of Colón and Campos. All night the tired Cubans alternately slept and listened to the sharp whistle of the arriving troop-trains, and all night scouts and spies gathered the information Gomez and Maceo had come to obtain. By fading starlight the Insurgents were in motion, making their way in the dim dusk with the utmost caution among farms and fields out into the open, and then spurred west. All night the arriving regiments had poured out of their trains and lain down anywhere and everywhere to sleep as best they could. To-morrow 7,000 troops were to wipe out the rankling memory of Mal Tiempo.

When the sun came up Colón discovered that the "rebels" had slept under their guns and vanished before they awakened. The Colón combination was naught! He, Campos, was too late! Rebels and stars had gone out together. The Spanish commander, nothing daunted, resolved to load his force on the trains again and make one last desperate effort to head the Cubans near Coliseo, a point on the Matanzas railway, a good strategic station which he could reach by rail far ahead of the Cuban march. He telegraphed Havana and Matanzas to hurry an overwhelming force to meet him, and began to labor for his move.

Then Campos saw a dark portent in the heavens. To the west a little Cuban spark touched a cane-field, roared into a fierce conflagration, and towering above it in the still morning air rose a straight black column of smoke standing on the green earth like a gigantic exclamation point. Campos knew its meaning too well! One followed another. They sprang up in every direction till the midday sun went out. The Cubans sped westward, their vanguard bearing the torch, and the children of Gomez, following the pillar of cloud, marched into the promised land.

Once free from suburban obstacles, Gomez with 1,500 cavalry made a forced march for Roque, a town near the Matanzas railway, and Maceo, with the remainder, headed straight for Coliseo, where the two generals were to join on the following day, the 23d. Roque received Gomez with open arms, but even the enthusiastic welcome did not detain him or long delay his ride to the railway. Reaching the line he seized a station and agent, placed an expert telegrapher within sound of the instrument, and learned from the military despatches flying between Campos and Havana the whole story of the great junction of troops to

be made near Coliseo for his annihilation. The next twenty-four hours saw the greatest military race of the year, Campos with his superabundant resources by rail, Gomez and Maceo on horseback and afoot over the country roads.

Campos planted cannon in the main streets of Colón, left 2,000 men for its defence, and with 6,000 proceeded by trains fifty miles westward to Palomar, a station just beyond Coliseo. En route he was reinforced by Prat with 3,000 troops, and on the morning of the 23d, on arriving at Palomar, was met by 4,000 more. To this point he had ordered 25,000 men from Matanzas and Havana, intending to concentrate in all a force of about 40,000 for the complete annihilation of the Cubans. At Palomar the telegraph announced the great body of reinforcements as coming swiftly, but suddenly the wires became mute; hour after hour passed, and nothing more was heard or seen of them.

They reached Cabeza thirty miles west of Campos only to find the railway just destroyed and wires cut by Amieba and Roque, who attacked them so boldly that the Spanish believed Maceo's whole force to be before them. Toward noon Campos saw that his concentration had failed, and in desperation resolved to fight Maceo with the force in hand, but still hoping for the arrival of his main body he detached 2,000 men to defend a railway base at Limonar, a station a mile or so west of Palomar, and with 11,000 moved eastward along the railway, extending his line for over three miles in length parallel to the rails and a few hundred yards in front. Thus placed, his line stretched from near Palomar to a mile beyond Coliseo; Palomar, and the village of Sumidero being a quarter of a mile behind his right flank, and Coliseo, the main town of the neighborhood, an equal distance in the rear of his left centre. On both sides of the railway are very extensive cane-fields, which extend in all directions, surrounding and enveloping the towns and leaving only roadways through the sea of green.

The main country road on which the Cubans were approaching traverses the cane, and crosses the railway at right angles just east of Coliseo. Campos's line of battle had its centre on this road, extending a full mile and a half each way. The general himself took a position near the road where he could direct the battle and then made his whole line crouch down in the cane till not a man could be seen. The ambuscade was absolutely perfect. At last Campos was in time, and in a perfect position of his own choice.

Maceo, unconscious of the ambuscade, but on the alert, was advancing in five parallel columns. First came a band of fifty explorers,

and a few hundred yards after them the general himself following the road at the head of the main column of 4,000 men. A half-mile out on either side were two light flanking columns of 250 men each, that on the left commanded by Col. Rodriguez, the right by Tamayo. Still exterior to these were two other flanking columns, each a thousand strong, marching, the left under Gen. Perez, the right under Lacret, at about another half-mile distance, thus making a column front of two miles. All four flanking bodies were wholly of cavalry. Before them were only level stretches of innocent-looking cane with Coliseo and Sumidero in full view just beyond. Marching steadily on, the explorers passed between the two divisions of Campos's line almost within touch of the commander himself, crossing the railway and moving into the cane-country beyond. Campos maintained his silence and concealment till they were gone, and Maceo's column came within two hundred yards; then the Spaniards sprang to their feet and delivered their fire. At that moment the two generals were not a hundred yards apart. Maceo instantly deployed a part of his column to the right and part to the left, forming a line of about 1,500 men, and answered Campos's fire. From the Spanish extreme flanks began to come forward two great wings of about 2,000 men each, intended to envelop the Insurgent force. Then Maceo flashed out a sudden lightning-bolt of genius!

He dispatched two aids, one to the right and one to the left, ordering the two left-hand flanking columns to unite, rush at full speed around the enemy's right, set fire to the village of Sumidero, and charge the Spanish rear. The right flanking columns received orders to plunge through the caneways, turn Campos's left, sweep around to Coliseo, set that on fire, and charge. Off flew the two cavalry bodies at break-neck run, and in twenty-five minutes both towns were burning. The almost incredible swiftness of this move turned the scale. While Perez and Lacret were charging the Spanish rear the explorers fired the cane all along the railroad, and Maceo kindled a line of flame across the whole of Campos's front.

Meantime Gomez came up from his two days' raid on Roque and took a position with the main Cuban line, leaving Maceo free to move out westward with a few cavalry squadrons. Campos was hopelessly involved between two lines of cane-fire. Suddenly, from out the smoke and above cracking musketry and the roar of flames, sounded Campos's bugle blowing for retreat! Two thousand men of his extreme left were ordered to fall back on the town of Jovellanos: all the

remaining 9,000 withdrew westward to Palomar, Perez and Lacret slashing their rear and Maceo falling on their flank.

Scourged by the cavalry, Campos, on reaching Palomar, formed his whole force into one big hollow square, each face made of four ranks, with himself and his absurd cavalry in the middle. In this shape he retreated on Limonar and its garrison. Then the victorious Cubans re-formed in order of march and passed westward, leaving the Captain-General in his square, baffled, outgeneralled, stunned, and wrapped in a winding-sheet of smoke.

This is the end of Campos!

He got back to his train and escaped to Matanzas and Havana, rails torn up and wires cut down behind him, the air growing blacker and gloomier with a hundred conflagrations. Smoke columns rose north, south, east, and west—close to Havana and Matanzas, along the shore of the Atlantic, and in every valley. Fires lighted up the Caribbean shore,—they were everywhere,—till two whole provinces were burning together and weaving their smoke into one great black pall that hung over Cuba for weeks, veiling the stars and quenching the sun to a murky ball of rayless red. Sixty million dollars of cane became drifting ashes and blackened sky!

“Don Quixote de Camagüey” had enforced his proclamation—Spain, Havana, Campos, two hundred thousand soldiers, and a navy to the contrary notwithstanding!

Expecting for months to see the Cuban Invaders stopped and killed, Havana suffered a rude shock when Campos entered the city on Christmas day, leaving conflagration without only to find panic within. Not the admirable activity he displayed in putting the capital in a state of competent defence, nor the perfunctory, almost ironical, “triumph” prepared by his devoted sons and loyal adherents, could placate a humiliated nation. His resignation came promptly. In his farewell order there breathed the spirit of a gentleman-soldier which compels an impulse of sympathy. When he learned the appointment of his successor he exclaimed: “Weyler! When *he* comes the very dead will rise against him!” One has not to look far for the cause of Campos’s discomfiture. He had every resource but—generals! While against him in Gomez and Maceo were genius and valor. Thus ends a single chapter of the deeds of Minister Dupuy de Lôme’s “mulatto,” “Dominian,” “two enthusiasts,” and a “bandit.”

CLARENCE KING.

ANTITOXIN TREATMENT OF DIPHTHERIA A PRO- NOUNCED SUCCESS.

DIPHTHERIA Antitoxin is a "specific" in animals; how far has it now been proved to be in man? The answer to this question is based upon the results of a collective investigation, conducted by the American Pediatric Society, in which nearly 6,000 cases were brought together in a report.¹ A contributor to THE FORUM in a former number² and the writer of this paper were members of the committee having the work in charge. Before submitting the answer we have to make to this question, it is necessary to remind the reader of the many features of the case. The treatment of diphtheria has, by no means, been reduced to the nicety of a machine, but is rather comparable to the action of quinine in malaria. In this instance quinine can be expected to act only against true malaria, associated with the presence of the "plasmodium" in the blood. A patient may have, in addition to malaria, tuberculosis or rheumatism. Because the tuberculous malarial patient is not made well by quinine is no final argument against quinine as an anti-malarial medicament. It is necessary to make these points definite, before we can consider what Antitoxin is expected to do in man. The real question is how far the specific curative action of Antitoxin in artificially induced diphtheria in animals has been found to hold good in man.

Diphtheria is a disease caused by the growth and development of the bacillus diphtheria, that is, it is a specific infectious disease. But there are in the mouths of all persons, especially of those living in cities, other varieties of micro-organisms which may develop under circumstances favorable to their growth and modify the course of the disease due to the diphtheria bacillus. In this respect diphtheria developing in man may be modified so as to differ materially from that developed artificially in animals with the isolated pure culture of the diphtheria

¹ The Report of the American Pediatric Society's investigation into the treatment of diphtheria in private practice. "Archives of Pediatrics," July, 1896.

² "The Antitoxin Treatment of Diphtheria," Dr. L. Emmet Holt, THE FORUM, March, 1895.

bacillus. This it is necessary to bear in mind at the outset. There are also two factors which determine the character of a given case of "pure" diphtheria,—the virulence of the bacillus and the susceptibility of the individual. It is a struggle between the person and the bacillus. It is not uncommon to see, following a case of supposed ordinary tonsillitis, a case of undoubted spreading diphtheria in another member of the same family, contracted presumably from the first. It becomes apparent, from many experiences, that the bacillus of diphtheria, of the same virulence, may give rise in one to symptoms of ordinary tonsillitis and in another to spreading diphtheria of severe type.

A typical case of diphtheria limited to the tonsils and adjacent mucous membrane has usually certain characteristics, among which is the grayish-white pellicle or false membrane covering the affected part. The bacillus diphtheria most often shows evidence of its first work upon the tonsils, where it finds conditions favorable for its growth: these are moisture, just the right temperature, a free circulation of air, and a proper "nutrient medium." The presence and growth of the bacilli in this favorable medium cause death of the cells covering the surface. These dead cells, plus the bacteria and coagulated albuminous materials from the blood, undergo a change which results in the formation of a continuous patch of dead superficial tissue. This cell death and subsequent change constitute the "local lesion" of the disease. In this local lesion the growth and development of the bacillus diphtheria produce a soluble poison, which is slowly absorbed into the system. The bacilli are limited to the local lesion, and do not enter the system. They elaborate their poison in this limited laboratory. The absorbed poison of diphtheria causes degeneration and final death of cells in different internal organs. Upon a moderate degeneration of a limited number of cells of the kidney, heart, and nervous system, or upon an extensive death of such cells, will depend largely the fate of the case, or the amount of after-harm, or sequelæ, such as sudden heart paralysis, kidney inflammation, or late "post-diphtheritic" paralysis. The amount of harm done in a given case depends, then, not directly upon the local lesion, but upon the amount and quality of the poisons produced in the throat laboratory, the continuance of their action, and the ability-to-withstand of the individual system. Bear in mind, when we come to speak of the number of days a patient has been sick, that days in an almanac can only approximately measure the amount of harm the cells of the heart or nervous system may have sustained. Virulent bacilli in a weakened individual know no dates.

In animals, where the bacilli are inoculated into a mucous membrane, the "three days," so often spoken of, have a somewhat definite meaning. The local lesion in this case of pure diphtheria elaborates its poison, which is slowly absorbed into the system and can be relied upon to do a somewhat definite amount of damage, in a given time, to the susceptible cells of heart, kidneys, and nerves.

How is it in human diphtheria? Virulent bacilli are received into the throat of a susceptible individual. In the throat are already present small, round, pus-forming micro-organisms, pneumococci, etc. These are probably always present, especially in adult city-dwellers, and when, for any reason, the soil becomes favorable, are ready to grow and develop abscesses or broncho-pneumonia. It is believed that the bacilli and these cocci may have a mutual influence upon each other to favor the growth of each. The associated cocci interfere with the fair struggle between virulent bacilli and the individual. The cocci are like the corner roughs that mingle in a strife between police and strikers. They are waiting for any disturbance and demoralize the strife. All this should be thought of in discussing the poison developed in human diphtheria and the results of the use of Antitoxin.

In animals, then, a pure diphtheria can be induced by inoculating them with the bacillus. But from what has already been said, it is evident that not the bacilli themselves but the poisons or toxins developed from their growth are the direct agents in the production of the systemic effects of diphtheria. For the purposes of exact experiment this fact is taken advantage of. The bacteriologist allows a selected pure culture of diphtheria bacilli to grow upon an artificial culture medium and with proper moisture, warmth, etc., develop its soluble poisons or toxins. These toxins are then injected into a guinea-pig, and the pig is at once the subject of a fully developed diphtheria, whose beginning can be noted on the watch.

In experimental work a healthy guinea-pig, two and a half to three months old, weighing about 250 grammes, is selected. A fatal dose of toxin is one that will kill such a guinea-pig in seven days. These points are fixed, and further work depends on keeping them unchanged. Having determined the uniformly fatal dose, the next step is to learn what will save the life of such a poisoned guinea-pig. If the life can be saved from a uniformly fatal dose, if the life can be saved from a hundred times the fatal dose, if the life can be saved from a thousand times the fatal dose, what then? Whatever will save that animal's life must nullify uniformly the fatal effects, in a very susceptible subject,

of the toxins developed by the growth of the diphtheria bacillus, and must therefore be a specific remedy for diphtheria in that animal.

Let us watch the course of two guinea-pigs, both of which have received a fatal dose of diphtheria toxins, but one of which has also received an accompanying dose of Antitoxin. For a few hours both seem perfectly well. Then the one having received no Antitoxin is noticed to become quiet, to lose all desire for food, to try to huddle itself close to its companions, as if to derive comfort or warmth from their contact. It becomes more and more drowsy and weaker; the symptoms progress and at the end of one or two days, without apparent pain, the pig seems as if too weak to live, and with a few gasps dies of heart paralysis. Meanwhile the other pig has remained plump, lively, greedy for food, in fact seems just as well as the pigs that have received no diphtheria poison. This course is absolutely invariable; the pig receiving the toxins alone always dies; the pig receiving the accompanying Antitoxin always remains unaffected. These results are true for one hundred times the fatal dose, provided the dose of Antitoxin is proportionate in amount. They are true for a thousand times the fatal dose, provided the Antitoxin is correspondingly increased. Antitoxin is then a specific against diphtheria in guinea-pigs.

It has been possible to attain this complete scientific demonstration of the specific relation of Antitoxin to diphtheria in animals; in man, on the other hand, no such demonstration is possible. We cannot control the virulence of the invading bacillus or the time of the invasion. The Antitoxin cannot be administered until some hours, and it may be days, have passed since the bacillus began its work of poisoning the patient. The varying ability-to-resist of patients of different ages and conditions disturbs the calculation, and finally the presence and action of other varieties of bacteria than the diphtheria bacillus complicate the problem and in many cases seriously affect the outcome of treatment. The only course open has been the systematic application of the serum treatment to all cases of diphtheria which could be identified as true diphtheria by the evidence of clinical symptoms and the presence of the bacillus of diphtheria in the local lesion, as demonstrated by the method of cultures. The accumulated results of this practical experience justify the claims made for its specific action. The most conclusive evidence of this character is undoubtedly embodied in the report of the American Pediatric Society already referred to.

The Society believed that cases occurring in private practice

would furnish a much more trustworthy estimate of the value of Antitoxin treatment of diphtheria than cases finding their way into the public hospitals. It must be remembered that many of the latter come from overcrowded tenements. Cases are transferred to diphtheria hospitals from other hospitals where they have been under treatment for other diseases. The writer has had in his service at the Willard Parker Hospital children with tuberculosis-hip-joint disease, syphilitic disease of bones, children recovering from pneumonia, and most of all children who had been insufficiently fed. So much has been given to the press concerning the failure to demonstrate the great benefit of Antitoxin in this particular hospital, that it is not out of place to refer to what has already been said as to the specific action of quinine in malaria. Antitoxin is specific only against the toxins produced by the growth of the bacillus diphtheriæ, not against tuberculosis, not against syphilis, and not, sad to say, against the complications, broncho-pneumonia, abscesses, etc., except as an early administration conserves the strength of the patient and lessens the liability to these complications. Moreover, this investigation was designed to extend over a large area of the United States and Canada, to involve as many different physicians as possible, in order that deductions should be made from a large number of cases from a large number of men, and thus reduce the errors in percentage to the lowest possible point.

Ten thousand circulars were sent out by the members of the Society. The total number of cases treated by Antitoxin, outside of hospitals, collected from all sources, was 5,794. Of this total, 3,628 cases were reported in reply to the circulars of the Society; 942 were cases treated by the inspectors of the New York Board of Health at their homes; 1,468 were cases treated by the inspectors of the Chicago Board of Health at their homes. Of the cases reported to the committee 244 were excluded from the statistical tables. These were cases in which the disease was said to have been confined to the tonsils and the diagnosis not confirmed by culture, and therefore open to question. The remaining 3,384 cases of undoubted diphtheria reported to the committee were submitted to a careful analysis; in these the diagnosis was confirmed either by bacteriological culture, two thirds of all, or by the fact that other cases in the family were similarly affected, or by the characteristics of the given case presenting such marked symptoms as to preclude any error. These cases occurred in the practice of 613 different physicians, in 114 cities and towns and in 15 different States, the District of Columbia, and the Dominion of Canada. Tonsillar

diphtheria cases, not confirmed by bacteriological cultures, the mildest form, were excluded.

It is the consensus of opinion that the type of diphtheria during this year has been of the average severity. The report embraces a rather larger proportion of severe cases than are usually brought together in statistics, and for these reasons; the physicians in their remarks upon their cases have said that they resorted to the Antitoxin treatment only in severe cases or when ordinary methods had seemed to fail. Some hesitated from lack of conviction as to its efficacy or fear of unfavorable effects, and others had failed to use it early, and in mild cases, on account of the difficulty and expense of obtaining it. Again, the serum produced in the early days of its introduction was weaker in strength, required large injections to attain the best effects, in fact larger doses by injection than the profession had been accustomed to give of any therapeutic agent, and as said above was difficult to obtain and was expensive. As a consequence too small doses were administered, were administered only in severe cases and too late to attain its best effects.

In the last of the year the Antitoxin produced by the New York Board of Health was many times stronger, requiring doses one fourth the original amount, was abundant in quantity, and in price moderate to those able to pay, and gratis to the poor. The New York Board of Health was the first in the world able to develop the Antitoxin of the highest present strength (700 units to each cubic centimeter). This was because they happened by chance to obtain a bacillus producing a stronger toxin than any formerly obtained. In this connection it is interesting to note that this bacillus was obtained from a case of diphtheria so mild that it was looked upon as a probable simple case of tonsillitis. This indicates to what a great degree the susceptibility of the patient influences the severity of any contagious disease. That is, we have always two factors,—the virulence of the germ and the ability-to-resist of the patient. This virulent bacillus from a tonsillar case of moderate severity apparently was capable of producing a most virulent diphtheria in another patient. This bacillus of rare strength is now producing toxin for the production of Antitoxin in many laboratories in the world and still remains as virulent as at first.

The results of the committee's investigation may be briefly summarized as follows:

Of the 3,384 cases reported to the committee 450 died, a mortality of 13 per cent. Of the 942 New York Board of Health cases, 169

died, a mortality of 17.8 per cent. Of the 1,468 cases treated by the Chicago Board of Health, 94 died, a mortality of 6.4 per cent. The total 5,794 cases gave 713 deaths, a mortality of 12.3 per cent. From what has been said as to the sources of the cases included in the report, it would be manifestly unfair to quote the mortality in diphtheria hospitals previous to the introduction of Antitoxin—which, in the instances quoted by Dr. Holt varied from 40 to 56 per cent,—as a basis for comparison with these figures. But we may justly set beside them the reports of all cases of diphtheria occurring in New York city, which, for six years preceding the introduction of Antitoxin, from 1889–94 inclusive, give a mortality of 30 per cent—the lowest mortality during that period being that of 26 per cent in 1889. The result of any comparison that can be made is a decisive verdict in favor of the Antitoxin treatment.

As to the influence of age upon the results of treatment, the report speaks as follows:—

“After the second year there is noticed a steady decline in mortality up to adult life. In many of the reports previously published the statement has been made that no striking improvement in results was observed in adult cases treated by the serum. Our figures strongly contradict this opinion. Of 359 cases over fifteen years old, which were returned, there were but thirteen deaths. . . . Four of them were moribund at the time of injection, no one of them living over twelve hours. Two, both sixty years old, were already crippled by previous organic disease, one of the heart, and the other of the kidneys. Only two of the cases were injected as early as the third day; three of them on the fifth day; and one on the ninth day. Omitting the four moribund cases the mortality of 355 adult cases treated with the serum is 2.5 per cent.”

However unsavory reading these details may be to the laity, they are details that must be taken into consideration in estimating what Antitoxin is expected to accomplish in this dreaded disease and in appreciating what it can be shown to have accomplished. To the committee editing the report the two things which brought most comfort in the returns was a contemplation of the successful results in operated laryngeal cases and the study of fatal cases. The latter were so truly monstrous in their malignancy as to allow from the earliest observations no hope of recovery.

The circular letter asked for information upon the following points: Age; previous condition; duration of disease when the first injection was made; the number of injections; the extent of the membrane—tonsils, nose, pharynx, and larynx; whether or not the diagnosis was confirmed by culture; complications or sequelæ, viz., pneumonia,

nephritis, sepsis, paralysis; the result; and remarks, including other treatment employed, the preparation of Antitoxin used, and general impression drawn from the cases. It will be seen that stress is laid upon the age of the patient, and extent of false membrane. A child under two years is a poor "subject" for diphtheria. The location of the false membrane has much to do with the outlook of the case. When limited to the tonsils, generally speaking, the outlook is good; when involving the nasal and pharyngeal cavities, much less favorable; when involving the larynx, most grave. It may well be said that a diphtheria of the larynx giving rise to stenosis (narrowing, "membranous croup") is among the most serious illnesses to which a child is exposed. If there is any difference of opinion concerning this last statement, it is only necessary to add the word "stenosis" which requires operation (intubation or tracheotomy), and all the world will agree.

The results of the analysis of the most dangerous class of cases, the laryngeal cases, are most interesting. Of the 3,384 cases reported to the committee, the larynx is stated to have been involved in 1,256 cases, or 37.5 per cent. This proportion is somewhat higher than is usual, and is partly explained by the fact that several physicians have sent in the reports only of their laryngeal cases. These laryngeal cases occurred in the practice of 379 physicians. In 691, or a little more than one half the number, no operation was done, and in this group there were 128 deaths. In forty-eight of them laryngeal obstruction was responsible for the fatal issue, operation being refused by the parents, or no reason for its being neglected having been given. In the eighty remaining fatal cases the patients died of other complications, and not from the laryngeal disease. In the 565 cases, therefore, or 16.9 per cent of the whole number, there was clinical evidence that the larynx was involved, and yet recovery took place without operation. In many of these cases the symptoms of stenosis were severe, and yet disappeared after injection without intubation. No one feature of the cases of diphtheria treated by Antitoxin has excited more surprise among the physicians who have reported them, than the prompt arrest, by the timely administration of the serum, of membrane which was rapidly spreading downward below the larynx.

In establishing the value of the serum, nothing has been so convincing as the ability of Antitoxin, properly administered, to check the rapid spreading of membrane downward in the respiratory tract, as is attested by the observations of more than 350 physicians who have sent in reports.

Turning now to the operative cases we find the same remarkable effects of the Antitoxin noticeable. Operations were done in 565 cases, or in 16.7 per cent of the entire number reported. Intubation was performed 533 times with 138 deaths, or a mortality of 25.9 per cent. In the above are included nine cases in which a secondary tracheotomy was done, with seven deaths. In thirty-two tracheotomy only was done, with twelve deaths, a mortality of 37.4 per cent. Of the 565 operative cases, sixty-six were either moribund at the time of operation, or died within twenty-four hours after injection. Should these be deducted, there remain 499 cases operated upon by intubation or tracheotomy, with 84 deaths, a mortality of 16.9 per cent.

Of the 2,819 cases not operated upon, there were 312 deaths, a mortality of 11.3 per cent. Deducting the moribund cases, or those dying within twenty-four hours after injection, the total mortality of all non-operative cases was 9.12 per cent.

Let us compare the results of intubation in cases in which the serum was used, with those obtained with this operation before the serum was introduced. Of 5,546 intubation cases in the practice of 242 physicians, collected by McNaughton and Maddren (1892), the mortality was 69.5 per cent. Since that time statistics have improved materially by the general use (in and about New York, at least) of calomel fumigations. With this addition, the best results published (those of Brown) showed in 279 cases a mortality of 51.6 per cent.

Let us put beside the cases of McNaughton and Maddren the 533 intubations with Antitoxin, with 25.9 per cent mortality. With Brown's personal cases let us compare those of the fourteen observers who have reported to the committee ten or more intubation operations each in cases injected with serum. These comprise 280 cases with sixty-five deaths, a mortality of 23.2 per cent. In both comparisons the mortality without the serum is more than twice as great as in the cases in which the serum was used.

But even these figures do not adequately express the benefit of Antitoxin in laryngeal cases. Witness the fact that over one half the laryngeal cases did not require operation at all. Formerly 10 per cent of the recoveries was the record for laryngeal cases not operated upon. Surely, if it does nothing else the serum saves at least double the number of cases of laryngeal diphtheria that has been saved by any other method of treatment. The great preponderance of intubation over tracheotomy operations shows how much more highly the profession in this country esteems the former operation.

The lay reader is scarcely able to correctly appreciate these words. The writer of this paper operated upon nearly a hundred cases of laryngeal croup in the days when the very best results to be expected were 25 per cent to 29 per cent recoveries. Note that it was the custom then to mention the percentage of recoveries; now we speak of the percentage of deaths. Witness the reports of some individual observers concerning intubation *with the serum*: Neff, New York: twenty-seven operations, with twenty-seven recoveries; Rosenthal, Philadelphia: eighteen operations, with sixteen recoveries; Booker, Baltimore: seventeen operations, with seventeen recoveries, including one aged ten months, and one seven and a half months; Seward, New York: eight operations, with eight recoveries; McNaughton, Brooklyn: "In my last seventy-two operations without serum, mortality 66.6 per cent; in my first seventy-two operations with serum, mortality 33.3 per cent." O'Dwyer, New York: "In my last 100 intubations, first seventy, without serum, mortality 73 per cent; last thirty, with serum, mortality 33.3 per cent."

Of the 450 fatal cases in the committee's report, 229, or one half, received their first injection of the serum on or after the fourth day of the disease, and 152, or more than one third of these, on or after the fifth day. There were fifty-eight cases in which it was stated that the child was moribund at the time of injection, the serum being administered without the slightest expectation of benefit, but at the earnest solicitation of the parents.

In stating the difficulties which are met in attempting to demonstrate the specific action of Antitoxin in man, the influence of delay in the administration of the remedy, a delay which allows the absorbed toxins to exert their harmful action upon the cells of the internal organs, has already been noted. The influence of this consideration is startlingly borne out by one of the statistical tables prepared by the committee. This table shows that of 4,120 cases injected within the first three days of the disease, there were 303 deaths, a mortality of 7.3 per cent, including every case returned. If from these are deducted the cases which were moribund at the time of injection, or which died within twenty-four hours, evidently hopeless cases, there were 4,013 cases with a mortality of 4.8 per cent. Behring's original claim that if cases were injected on the first or second day the mortality would not be 5 per cent, is more than substantiated by these figures. On the other hand, of 758 cases injected on the fourth day, 147 died, a mortality of 20.7 per cent; and of 690 cases injected on or after the

fifth day, 244 died, a mortality of 35.3 per cent. Stronger evidence of the danger of delay could hardly be asked.

In this connection the excellent results attained by the Chicago Board of Health, using at that time Antitoxin prepared by the New York Board of Health, are worthy of note. The Chicago Health Department early recognized the value of bacterial cultures in the diagnosis of diphtheria, recognized the value of Antitoxin, and set the new machinery in motion at once. From the outset it worked without a jar. The New York Health Board, on the other hand, encountered an element in a most unexpected quarter in the medical profession, which element assumed to know apparently by intuition, so early did it come out, that the scientific minds of Germany, France, and England were mistaken. They flew into a frenzy, and, worst of all, their intuitions were carefully recorded in the public newspapers. At every outburst in the newspapers the work of the Health Department was embarrassed in that the ignorant and unreasoning objected to having put into their blood what the head-lines in their newspaper had warned them was liable to cause death in-itself. Chicago on the other hand administered Antitoxin on the first visit in cases of undoubted diphtheria. See the results of timely injection: On the first day 106 cases, no deaths; 336 cases injected on the second day, with 5 deaths; 660 cases on the third day, and 18 deaths.

The tuberculin of Koch as a cure for tuberculosis was prematurely taken up by the public. It was another of the new things in medicine which was a failure. Close upon it followed another promised specific, and, prophetic coincidence, its name ended with *in*. This time the great name of Koch was not behind it. And certain wise men, with no one to advise them, caught an inspiration. With index finger aside the nose they reflected: it is new; it ends in *in* as tuberculin did; we will wait one week. One case in a public hospital, whether promising or not, died. Two or three others did no credit to the new remedy, and away went the dogs of war. No argument to await trial, no consideration as to whether the new remedy was produced in New York in appropriate strength or given in appropriate dose, no loyalty to hospital or to colleagues. The distrust consequent upon free publication of these adverse views among the laity in New York allows Chicago, using the same serum, to surpass us in recovery percentages.

In conclusion, emphasis may be laid upon the following facts:

Of 4,120 cases injected during the first three days, excluding moribund cases, the mortality was 4.8 per cent.

The most convincing argument, and, to the minds of the committee, an absolutely unanswerable one in favor of serum therapy, is found in the results obtained in the 1,256 laryngeal cases (membranous croup). In one half of these recovery took place without operation, in a large proportion of which the symptoms of stenosis were severe. Of the 533 cases in which intubation was performed the mortality was 25.9 per cent, or less than half as great as has ever been reported by any other method of treatment.

The committee in editing its report, sought to exercise a judicial fairness while submitting Antitoxin to a most exacting trial. Tonsillar cases of mild type unconfirmed by bacteriological culture, recovering, were excluded as doubtful. Fatal diphtheria cases, whose diagnoses were unconfirmed by cultures, were included.

Animals are susceptible to the diphtheria of man. Antitoxin is a "specific" to this diphtheria in animals. There is every reason for believing it is "specific" in man. If it could be conceived humanly possible for a healthy baby one year old to receive by injection ten times a fatal dose of diphtheria toxin, produced by a virulent bacillus, and at the same time a proportionate dose of Antitoxin, there is every reason to believe that the baby would suffer only the transient pain of injection; would in fact behave exactly like the guinea-pig.

More than 600 physicians in their reports pronounced themselves as strongly in favor of the Antitoxin treatment of diphtheria, a great majority of them being enthusiastic in its advocacy.

Finally, to him who still feels distrust, who avers that statistics bring no conviction, that strong men are on either side, I would say: when he has seen one severe case of diphtheria clear up like darkness into daylight, he will look for no more argument. Since the days when Lister proposed antiseptics in surgery, medicine has not taken so great a step in advance.

W. P. NORTHRUP.

MR. WHITE'S "WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY."

THE monumental work entitled "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology"¹ which ex-President White has at length brought to a close, is not likely, at first, to receive the attention it deserves. However accomplished and versatile the professional reviewers may be, it is manifestly impossible for them to bestow the somewhat dissipating courtesy of even a passing glance upon a score or more volumes a week, and at the same time keep in condition to make a careful and discriminating examination of those works of exceptional interest and importance with which from time to time our literature is enriched.

The work of Mr. White is, unquestionably, one of such exceptional interest and importance. It is the fruit of more than twenty-five years of investigation in the more or less obscure historical records of ancient and modern Europe. The author's equipment for his task has been all that could be desired. Several years of study in the universities of France, Germany, and Italy gave him easy command of all the most important European tongues; and, what has been of quite as much importance, brought to his service the vast resources of classical and medieval Latin. His private fortune enabled him to procure whatever he has needed in the prosecution of his work, and this process of accumulation brought together one of the richest private collections in the country. It is more than doubtful whether the notes in the volumes here published could be verified in any other library in the United States than in that noble collection of about twenty-five thousand volumes which the author some years ago presented to the library of the University with which he has been so prominently and honorably connected from its very beginning.

While Mr. White was Professor of History at the University of Michigan, he retained a political residence at his old home in Syracuse, New York. In consequence of a curious turn of political affairs in 1863, he was asked to accept a nomination for State senator. As-

¹ New York: D. Appleton & Co., 2 vols.

sureing himself that he could make temporary provision for his professorship at Ann Arbor, he accepted the nomination and was elected. In the senate he very naturally became Chairman of the Committee on Education; and in this capacity he was thrown immediately into close intimacy with Ezra Cornell, who interested him, not simply as a fellow member of the senate, but more particularly on account of the educational problems which were now beginning to take definite form in his mind. Mr. Cornell was not only a philanthropist by temperament and practice, but the possessor of a newly acquired fortune, accumulated in the construction of the first telegraph lines established in the country. His generous impulses resulted in a proposition to the State of New York to give half a million dollars for the founding of such a university as accorded with the ideas of Mr. White and himself, on condition, however, that the legislature should establish the institution at Ithaca, and should devote the income from the Morrill Grant of Congress to the same purpose. This generous offer, resulting, as it did, in the establishment of the University which perpetuates Mr. Cornell's name, made it the duty of Mr. White, as Chairman of the Committee on Education, to frame the charter of the new institution. Mr. Cornell and Mr. White—the former reared as a Quaker, and the latter as an Episcopalian—agreed in thinking that the new University should be entirely free from denominational bias. Accordingly, a clause was introduced into the charter declaring that at no time should a majority of either the Board of Trustees or the staff of instruction be of any one religious denomination, or of no denomination, and that no trustee, professor, or student should ever be elected, admitted, or excluded because of any peculiarity of religious or political belief.

While the position thus taken in this charter was substantially the same that has uniformly been taken by the State universities, the limiting conditions were a little more positive in their nature and the result was much more pronounced. The opposition of the denominational organs began at once. Mr. White says of it:—

“In the State Legislature it confronted us at every turn, and it was soon in full blaze throughout the State—from the good Protestant bishop who proclaimed that all professors should be in holy orders, since to the Church alone was given the command ‘Go, teach all nations,’ to the zealous priest who published a charge that Goldwin Smith—a profoundly Christian scholar—had come to Cornell in order to inculcate the ‘infidelity of the *Westminster Review*’; and from the eminent divine who went from city to city denouncing the ‘atheistic and pantheistic tendencies’ of the proposed education, to the perfervid minister who informed a denominational synod that Agassiz, the last great opponent of Darwin, and a devout theist, was ‘preaching Darwinism and atheism’ in the new institution.”

What Mr. White calls "the period of sweet reasonableness," was soon worn out. He became convinced that there was a radical antagonism between the scientific view of the universe and the theological view, and that such antagonism could only be reconciled by a readjustment of religious methods of dealing with scientific questions. Accordingly, when invited to deliver a lecture in the great hall of the Cooper Institute he chose as his subject "The Battlefields of Science," and announced as the object of his lecture the establishment of the following thesis:—

"In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably; and, on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and of science."

This lecture proved to be what *Mrs. Balme*s no doubt would have called a "bumpshell" in the camp of Mr. White's enemies. The lecture awakened instantaneous outcry and opposition, and the many platforms on which he repeated it served only to increase the ferment. While Mr. White received, no doubt, abundant private assurances of approval, the criticisms of the denominational press and of the pulpit showed as much ignorance as bitterness. The attacks, moreover, were directed very largely against the University which the author represented. It was hardly to be expected that the lecturer would let the matter rest. The platform utterances which had stirred so much opposition were fortified at various points and published as two magazine articles. A little later these articles were still further amplified and issued as a small volume, which, besides attracting much attention at home, was republished in England and in several of the languages of Continental Europe. But the farther Mr. White went, the more he saw that the question could not be disposed of by anything less than a very comprehensive investigation. It must have been about 1885 when his thoughts in regard to an elaborate work assumed definite form. From time to time he has published in "The Popular Science Monthly" what he has called New Chapters in the Warfare of Science; and finally he has brought together the results of his twenty years of literary activity in the two handsome volumes now given to the public.

In estimating the value and importance of a work of this kind, it is essential, first of all, to obtain the author's point of view. The fact that these volumes have grown out of an effort to establish a thesis or

doctrine, tends to cast a shadow of suspicion across the mind of the reader in regard to their historical importance. It is to be admitted that the early writings of the author on the subject were strongly polemical in their nature. Twenty years ago he wrote with a fiery zeal and with an obvious consciousness that he had to deal with an uncompromising enemy; but in the present volumes there are abundant evidences of a complete understanding that the battle has already been practically won, and, consequently, that it is unnecessary to continue the polemic method. Occasionally the author lapses into his earlier form of speech, but, taken as a whole, the spirit of the work is one to be most heartily commended. It is, perhaps, enough to say in this connection that, although the author writes in a reverent spirit and with entire freedom from bitterness, he shrinks from no conclusion to which he is brought by his researches. He shows no lack of respect for what he regards as the fundamental elements of religion, but he believes the creeds generally have been the result of imperfect knowledge and of the acceptance as fact of much that is merely allegorical and mythical. He holds, as did Cardinal Nicholas in the fifteenth century, and as so many thousands have since held, that the Scriptures are to be studied and interpreted precisely like any other book, and that insofar as they cannot be maintained in the face of ascertained fact and truth, they must either be interpreted anew, or be abandoned. Just as in the light of modern science we have been forced to accept the Biblical account of the creation of the world as merely allegorical or mythical, so without hesitation we must be ready for a similar modification of belief whenever the more common interpretation fails to accord with definitely established knowledge.

The application of this spirit to the Scriptures of the Old Testament results in a great number of interesting conclusions, many of which, no doubt, will be somewhat startling to conservative believers. A good illustration of his method of treatment is shown in his account of the Pillar of Salt into which Lot's wife is represented as having been converted. It was believed for two thousand years or more that the pillar was still standing at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and scores of medieval authors described the statue, or referred to it, as a fact not to be questioned. But when the matter came to be looked into, it was found that not a single one of these writers had ever visited the spot to make a personal examination. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the true nature of the facts was revealed. When, only a few years ago, Lieutenant Lynch and, a little later, the

Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff visited and explored the Dead Sea in a scientific spirit, they found a high bluff of rocky salt, formed very naturally by the process of evaporation that from time immemorial had been going on. It was found that the rains periodically washed out channels and left intervening columns, or pillars, of salt, in which a fertile imagination has no difficulty in detecting some resemblance to the human form. On near approach, however, one of them resembles Lot's wife about as much as, from a near inspection, the "Old Man of the Mountain" resembles George Washington. In a similar way, when subjected to the test of actual inspection, the famous Apples of Sodom, instead of turning to ashes in the mouth, are found to be a well-known kind of pomegranate, containing a large number of small seeds, which, somebody may have said, were as dry as ashes.

These, and a host of similar examples which Mr. White presents, have brought him to the conclusion that the early history of the Jews was much like the early history of every other race, and that much of what is narrated as fact in the Old Testament is no more to be regarded as historically accurate, than are the stories of Homer, or, in fact, the story of "Alice in Wonderland." They are all intended for people of about the same stage of intellectual and scientific advancement.

Perhaps no more typical illustration of the author's method of treatment can be given than that which is afforded by his examination of the growth of the legends in regard to St. Francis Xavier. This great Jesuit missionary to India and Japan has been accredited by the Catholic Church with having performed a vast number of miracles, many of them consisting of a miraculous healing of the sick and the raising of the dead. Mr. White examines the history of Xavier with critical thoroughness, looking through all his letters, the letters of his associates, contemporary histories, and a multitude of subsequent biographies. All the authorities which he uses are Roman Catholic and are published with the sanction of the church. The result is curious indeed. In the writings of Xavier, which are so minute in their details as to enable the reader to follow him closely, there is no hint or semblance of any miracle. The same is true of the writings of his contemporary missionaries and of the contemporary historians; but within a few years after his death reports of miracles wrought by him begin to accumulate. Many of them can be traced to some incident of more or less typical significance. For example: Xavier relates that in the beginning of his career, during a journey with an ambassador, one of the servants, when fording a stream, got into deep water and was in

danger of drowning. Xavier says that the ambassador prayed very earnestly for the safety of his servant, and that the man finally struggled out of the stream. But in the narrative a hundred years later, we find that the prayer of the ambassador has become the prayer of Xavier, and that this simple affair is magnified into a miracle, dressed out in glowing colors. The earlier biographies represent Xavier simply as miraculously saving the young man, but the later ones describe him as lifting the horse and rider out of the stream by a clearly superhuman act. Another illustration of the way in which these stories grew is given by an event that happened at Lisbon. When Xavier arrived there, he found his great colleague, Rodriguez, ill of fever. Xavier writes in a very simple way that Rodriguez was so overjoyed to see him that the fever did not return. It was a clear case of the influence of a powerful emotion over disease; like that which brought Melancthon to his feet from what was supposed to be his deathbed, when, after long delay, he was visited by Luther; like that which expelled the disease from Frederick the Great, as Carlyle says, "like a hiccough," when that monarch heard of the death of the Emperor of Austria. But Xavier's biographers regard the event as a miracle. A few occurrences of this kind in the writings of Xavier and his contemporaries form absolutely the only basis for the miracles attributed to him.

In all the letters of the numerous missionaries associated with Xavier and his immediate successors, though they are filled with most loyal and minute accounts of his work, including the note of every instance of Divine favor, there is not a single reference to anything claiming to be the exercise of any miraculous power. But there is more than this negative evidence. Not only is there no reference to any miracle wrought by him, but it is positively asserted by one of the greatest authorities, nineteen years after his death, that no miracles were wrought. Joseph Acosta, a provincial of the Jesuit order, Superior at Valladolid, and a little later Rector of the University of Salamanca, wrote a book on the conversion of the Indies, in which he refers with the greatest reverence to Xavier and holds him up as a model to all future missionaries; but, in accounting for the slowness of the world's conversion at the present time as compared with the more rapid methods of apostolic days, says that the cause lies in the fact that there is now no power of working miracles. Mr. White also calls attention to the fact that in all the proceedings of the Council of Trent, though there are frequent allusions to a multitude of things showing evidence of Divine favor in the East, not a hint is given of

any power to work miracles. But it was not long after this time that the work of accumulation began. In 1588, thirty-six years after Xavier's death, the Jesuit, Father Maffei, published his "History of India," in which he gives a biography of Xavier and shows that the period of legend-making had begun. Six years later, another Jesuit, Father Tursellinus, publishes a life of Xavier, in which he represents the saint as "not only curing the sick, but casting out devils, stilling the tempest, raising the dead, and performing miracles of every sort."

• Thirty-four years later, that is in 1622, came the canonization. In the formal speech of presentation to the Pope by Cardinal Monte, ten of the great miracles of Xavier were elaborately described. The Cardinal declared that Xavier, by the sign of the Cross, had made salt water fresh, so that his fellow-passengers could drink of it and quench their thirst; that he healed the sick and raised the dead in various places; that he had on one occasion been lifted bodily from the earth and had been transfigured before the bystanders; that to punish a blaspheming town, he had caused an earthquake and buried the people in cinders from a volcano; that on one occasion, having lost his crucifix overboard, it was restored to him by a crab; and finally, that his relics, after death, had caused holy water, when poured into the lamps, to burn, as if the lamps had been filled with oil. In the Bull of Canonization, the Pope dwells with peculiar pleasure upon the fact that the saint had made holy water burn like oil.

But the most elaborate presentation was yet to come. In 1682, one hundred and thirty years after Xavier's death, appeared the "Life of Xavier" by Father Bouhours. Though the author had access to no authorities that had not been open to all his predecessors, the number of miracles was greatly multiplied. According to Tursellinus, Xavier saved one person from drowning; according to Bouhours, he saved three. The earlier history says he raised four persons from the dead; the latter says he raised fourteen. The earlier, that he was transfigured twice; the later, five times; and so on through a long series. But he not only multiplied the miracles, he amplified them. According to the first account, Xavier simply lost the crucifix in the sea, and the biographer dwells upon his sorrow over the loss. In the later one, the missionary, when caught in a storm, threw the crucifix into the raging waters in order to still the tempest; and in the next century the miracle is repeatedly represented in this form. Among the illustrations of the books of devotion, the later writer represents the "pious crab" as not simply presenting the crucifix to Xavier when he landed,

but as having brought it "forty leagues from the depths of the sea," while Xavier was waiting and walking along the shore.

Another illustration of the same method of growth is shown in the representations of Xavier's methods of dealing with the various languages. The missionary in his letters dwells upon the difficulties he always had with the languages and dialects of the people he visited. He tells us how he surmounted these obstacles; sometimes he succeeded, with great difficulty, in learning just enough of a language to enable him to translate a few of the church formulas; sometimes by getting the help of others in patching together some pious teachings that could be learned by rote; and sometimes by employing interpreters. The letters show unmistakably that he had more than the usual difficulties in learning the Asiatic languages; but such a limitation would ill comport with the miraculous powers now ascribed to him. At first tentatively, and then confidently, it was asserted that he spoke to the various tribes with ease in their own language. The papal bull of canonization laid great stress upon the fact that he had the miraculous "gift of tongues." The legend was, of course, still further developed by Father Bouhours. This enthusiastic historian tells us that "The holy man spoke very well the language of these barbarians, without having learned it, and had no need of an interpreter when he instructed." The Rev. Father Coleridge, as late as 1872, echoing the statements of Bouhours concerning Xavier, says that "He could speak the language excellently, though he had never learned it"; and again that "He spoke freely, fluently, and elegantly, as if he had lived in Japan all his life."

It is impossible to give at length other illustrations. It must suffice to say that the volumes are teeming with examples of a similar nature; but some indication of the scope of the work should perhaps be given. In the chapter entitled "From Fetich to Hygiene," the author discusses "The Theological View of Epidemics and Hygiene," "The Gradual Decay of Theological Views regarding Sanitation"; "The Triumphs of Sanitary Science," and "The Relation of Sanitary Science to Religion." In the chapter entitled "From Demoniackal Possession to Insanity," he presents theological ideas of lunacy and its treatment, the beginnings of healthful scepticism and the final struggle and victory of science. In the chapter "From Babel to Comparative Philology," the subject is treated under the heads "The Sacred Theory in its First Form," "The Sacred Theory of Language in its Second Form," "The Breaking down of the Theological View," the "Triumph

of the New Science," and the "Summary," embracing full acceptance of the new theories of all Christian scholars. In the chapter on "Astronomy," he discusses the old sacred theory of the universe, the heliocentric theory, the war upon Galileo, the victory of the church over Galileo, the results of this victory, and the retreat of the church after its victory. In the chapter "From Signs and Wonders to Law in the Heavens," he presents the theological view, showing the attitude of the church, Catholic and Protestant, down to the present time, the theological efforts to crush the scientific view, the invasion of scepticism and the final victory of science. In a very interesting group of chapters, he discusses the antiquity of man, prehistoric archæology, the fall of man and anthropology, the fall of man and ethnology, and the fall of man and history. In the chapter which he entitles "From the Prince of the Power of the Air to Meteorology," he presents the growth of a theological theory, the diabolical agency in storms, the agencies of witchcraft, and Franklin's lightning-rod. In the chapter entitled "From Magic to Chemistry and Physics," after discussing the history entitled "The Supremacy of Magic," he advances to "The Triumph of Chemistry and Physics." In one of the most typically significant of all the chapters, that entitled "From the Dead Sea Legends to Comparative Mythology," he traces the growth of explanatory transformation myths, medieval growth of the Dead Sea Legends, beginnings of a healthful scepticism, theological efforts of compromise, and the triumph of the scientific view. The chapter entitled "From the Divine Oracles to the Higher Criticism," is divided into six parts: "The Older Interpretation," "Beginnings of Scientific Interpretation," "The Continued Growth of Scientific Interpretation," "The Coming Struggle," "Victory of Scientific and Literary Methods," and finally, the "Reconstructive Force of Scientific Methods."

It would be unfair to the author to attempt, by an abridgment, to indicate the conclusions which he has reached. These conclusions, however, he has clearly stated near the end of his work. In the second volume, at page 207, he writes as follows:—

"It may, indeed, be now fairly said that the thinking leaders of theology have come to accept the conclusions of science regarding the origin of language, as against the old explanations by myth and legend. The result has been a blessing both to science and to religion. No harm has been done to religion; what has been done is to release it from the clog of theories which thinking men saw could no longer be maintained. No matter what has become of the naming of the animals by Adam, of the origin of the name Babel, of the fear of the Almighty lest men might climb up into his realm above the firmament, and of the confusion

of tongues and the dispersion of nations ; the essentials of Christianity, as taught by its blessed Founder, have simply been freed, by Comparative Philology, from one more great incubus, and have therefore been left to work with more power upon the hearts and minds of mankind.

"Nor has any harm been done to the Bible. On the contrary, this divine revelation through science has made it all the more precious to us. In these myths and legends caught from earlier civilizations we see an evolution of the most important religious and moral truths for our race. Myth, legend, and parable seem, in obedience to a divine law, the necessary setting for these truths, as they are successively evolved, ever in higher and higher forms. What matters it, then, that we have come to know that the accounts of Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and much else in our sacred books, were remembrances of lore obtained from the Chaldeans? What matters it that the beautiful story of Joseph is found to be in part derived from an Egyptian romance, of which the hieroglyphs may still be seen? What matters it that the story of David and Goliath is poetry ; and that Sampson, like so many men of strength in other religions, is probably a sun-myth? What matters it that the inculcation of high duty in the childhood of the world is embodied in such quaint stories as those of Jonah and Balaam? The more we realize these facts, the richer becomes that great body of literature brought together within the covers of the Bible. What matters it that those who incorporated the Creation lore of Babylonia and other Oriental nations into the sacred books of the Hebrews, mixed it with their own conceptions and deductions? What matters it that Darwin changed the whole aspect of our Creation Myths ; that Lyell and his compeers placed the Hebrew story of Creation and of the Deluge of Noah among legends ; that Copernicus put an end to the standing still of the sun for Joshua ; that Halley, in promulgating his law of comets, put an end to the doctrine of 'signs and wonders' ; that Pinel, in showing that all insanity is physical disease, relegated to the realm of mythology the witch of Endor and all stories of demoniacal possession ; that the Rev. Dr. Schaff, and a multitude of recent Christian travellers in Palestine, have put into the realm of legend the story of Lot's wife transformed into a pillar of salt ; that the anthropologists, by showing how man has risen everywhere from low and brutal beginnings, have destroyed the whole theological theory of the 'fall of man'? Our great body of sacred literature is thereby only made more and more valuable to us ; more and more we see how long and patiently the forces in the universe which make for righteousness have been acting in and upon mankind through the only agencies fitted for such work in the earliest ages of the world—through myth, legend, parable, and poem."

At the very conclusion of the book, the author also says:—

"Thus, at last, out of the old conception of our Bible as a collection of oracles—a mass of entangling utterances, fruitful in wrangling interpretations, which have given to the world long and weary ages of 'hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness' ; of fetichism, subtlety, and pomp ; of tyranny, bloodshed, and solemnly constituted imposture ; of everything which the Lord Jesus Christ most abhorred—has been gradually developed through the centuries, by the labors, sacrifices, and even the martyrdom of a long succession of men of God, the conception of it as a sacred literature—a growth only possible under that divine light which the various orbs of science have done so much to bring into the mind and heart and

soul of man—a revelation not of the Fall of Man, but of the Ascent of Man—an exposition, not of temporary dogmas and observances, but of the Eternal Law of Righteousness—the one upward path for individuals and for nations. No longer an oracle, good for the ‘lower orders’ to accept, but to be quietly sneered at by ‘the enlightened’—no longer a fœtich, whose defenders must become persecutors, or reconcilers, or ‘apologists’; but a most fruitful fact, which religion and science may accept as a source of strength to both.”

It would be too much to say that in the presentation of this great historical exposition the author has left nothing to be desired. While the work shows a judicious moderation of statement quite unlike Mr. White's earlier utterances on the same subject, it will probably be the ultimate judgment of historical scholarship that he might have still further guarded some of his positions with advantage to the permanent value of the work. As the author himself would be one of the first to admit, it is certainly true that in the course of this warfare, religious men, and even clergymen, have often fought valiantly on the side of advancing scientific truth. In illustration of this fact, scores, and perhaps hundreds, of instances, might be selected from the book itself; but nevertheless the impression which will probably be left upon the mind of the general reader is not altogether the correct one. It is not made quite sufficiently distinct that the body of knowledge which we call science is nothing except as it exists in the minds of men. It is not an individual entity, standing apart and fighting its way alone in opposition to any other body of belief or doctrine. The same is true of theology. Both of these great bodies of thought and truth, if such they may be called, have been subject to all the limitations of humanity through the whole course of its development. Both have often been present in the minds of the same men. Copernicus was a canon of the church as well as a scientific investigator, and his views had even previously been held by Cardinal de Cusa; Sir Isaac Newton held his theological doctrines as firmly as any archbishop of Canterbury. Cotton Mather, notwithstanding his aversion to witchcraft, was really in advance of his time in being among the foremost to accept the Newtonian astronomy, to favor inoculation, and to throw overboard the superstition regarding the Divine origin of the Hebrew points. And so it has been throughout the whole history of scientific advancement. The clergy, however ignorant at times, have uniformly been at least as well educated as any class of their contemporaries. Education always makes men conservative; and, though conservative, the clergy have uniformly been quite as thoughtful as the representatives of any other class of men. It has followed, as a natural and inevitable conse-

quence, that they have sometimes opposed and sometimes approved new methods of thought. A typical example was Luther. No man ever lived who was less trammelled by current theological doctrines, and yet, while he accepted many of the advances of scientific truth, he held to many of the old doctrines, now regarded as absurd, with the greatest tenacity.

Within the guild of scientific men, the course of advancing truth has not been very different. When a new scientific theory has been promulgated, it has had to make its first conquests among scientific men themselves. Can it be said that Darwin was more bitterly opposed by the theologians than by his fellow-votaries of science? When the "Origin of Species" first appeared, Louis Agassiz is said to have remarked that he "should be ashamed of any Harvard sophomore who would write such trash"; and though he may have changed his view in regard to the average sophomore, he held to his opinion of Darwin's work to the last. When Sir William Simpson published one of his great works on Anæsthetics, his fellow professor of surgery, Sime, took the book before his medical class, excoriated it, tore it asunder, threw it upon the floor, and trampled it under foot, declaring it was a disgrace to Edinburgh University. Though Simpson returned gallantly to the charge and turned the laugh on his foe by such an argument as that the Lord caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam before he proceeded to the first great surgical operation, still it was not till the weapons were taken up by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers that the cause was won and the enemies were scattered. It is doubtful whether the *odium theologicum* has been more energetic than the *odium medicale*. Take the homeopathic question. Here the scientific men have been left to the monopoly of convincing the public whether the theory is right or whether it is wrong. It may well be doubted whether in this warfare the doctors of medicine have shown any larger measure of "sweet reasonableness" than has been shown during the same period by the doctors of divinity.

Nor can all the bearings of this great subject be fully understood without taking into account what may be called the tremendous power of the conservative element in human nature. We continue to wear buttons on the backs of our coats, because, it is said, at one time buttons were found convenient in holding up the sword belt; certainly buttons in such a place cannot now be defended either by utility or by the artistic canon that we may have "ornamental construction," but never "constructed ornament." We persist in using an awkward com-

plication of weights and measures, instead of a far more convenient decimal system, and we do it for the same reason that the British hold tenaciously to their equally awkward monetary system of pounds, shillings, and pence. We defend our historical orthography with all its absurdities, and we resist with energy even the slightest movement in the direction of reform. The reason for all these energetic resistances is the simple fact that in human nature there is a fundamental element that refuses to be moved to innovation by a simple preponderance of reason, but is inclined ever to insist that the last obstacle to change shall first be removed. It was this element which Shakespeare reduced to the well-known aphorism concerning our reluctance to abandon the ills we have. It is only in the light of this fundamental characteristic that the general attitude of the clergy toward advances in science, as well as in politics, can be adequately explained.

Perhaps the most impressive fact in the study of history in a large way, is the slowness with which the various processes of evolution have been carried on. We have recently become accustomed to the contemplation of vast periods of time in the study of natural history, but we have not yet fully adapted ourselves to the equally impressive fact that civilization itself is only one phase of the slow processes of evolution. Everybody admits that the advances in various directions have been the resulting effect of a large number of contending forces, but we are not quite equally prompt in seeing that human nature has, at any given period, been essentially the same, and that no one class has monopolized the spirit of advance or the spirit of resistance.

An adequate consideration of these facts would, in the opinions of many, no doubt have added not a little to the value of this great work. But the object of the author seems to have been the presentation of the overwhelming array of facts and their consequences, rather than any philosophical discussion of their fundamental causes. Perhaps in the supplementary work which he intimates he may yet present, these several questions may be taken into consideration. But for what the author has given us, all candid readers will surely be profoundly grateful. To one who has not the book before him, it would be impossible to convey any adequate idea of the wealth of learning here brought together. One is constantly reminded of the erudition shown in such works as Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," and in Buckle's fragment on "The History of Civilization." But here the sweep is broader, and the sources used are more comprehensive. The very nature of the work, tracing, as it does, each

one of some twenty different subjects through the whole range of history, calls for exceptional powers of judicious selection, and of discreet generalization. When tested by either of these exacting requirements, the volumes will not often be found wanting. Nor is the work made heavy by the weight of its learning. It moves on with the light but strong gait of a free and attractive style which tempts the reader to the end of the work. It is unquestionably one of the most important historical monuments yet reared by American scholarship, and whenever such an achievement appears, every scholar should give thanks.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

PROGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

ANY one who, during the last few years, has followed the accounts given by the Parisian press, would most naturally conclude that the women's rights movement in France is powerfully organized, with a rational programme, and doing good substantial work. Now, in deference to truth, it must be admitted that this is not the case and—in spite of the admiration inspired by the sincerity and earnest enthusiasm of many of the women who for a number of years past have been recognized as the leaders of the movement—it must be confessed that the exact state of affairs would be most correctly described by the old English adage “Much cry, little wool.”

Prior to the great revolution of 1789 Frenchwomen possessed many important rights which resulted from their social position. Under feudal rule they were invested with the same rights as men. They were raised to the rank of duchess, peeress, electress, judge, and ambassadress. They frequently sat in Parliament as peers of France and they retained their prerogatives in public ceremonies. We are told of Mahant, Countess of Artois and Burgundy, that she was present at the coronation of Philip V at the cathedral of Rheims, and that she supported the crown with the other peers of the realm. She also sat as judge at the trial of Robert d'Artois, as well as in several other celebrated cases. History tells us of young girls who, by right of inheritance, sat as judges at the assize courts; presiding at trials and wearing the plumed head-gear and the long robe before their assessors, who could not pronounce judgment in the absence of these youthful feudal knights. When the Countess of Narbonne complained to Louis “the Young” of being interfered with in the right of administering justice, the monarch defended her and maintained her jurisdiction. The signatures of three women appear on the Treaty of Cambray. And it was a woman, Claude Catherine of Clermont, who was commissioned to make the official reply to the ambassadors who came to announce the election of Duke Henri d'Anjou to the throne of Poland.

When in 1694 Louis XIV curtailed the rights of the women of the

French nobility in order to endow and give letters to his illegitimate children, he did more to hasten the French revolution which was, a hundred years later, to strike the death-blow of monarchy in France, than did Louis XV with all his abominable vices, or than poor, weak, prevaricating Louis XVI, in whose lifetime the crash came. This spoliation of women, this absorption of the nation's power into royal omnipotence, was one of the gravest of political errors. It destroyed the equilibrium of the state, and France has not yet recovered her balance.

The great thinkers of the revolutionary era saw the danger of excluding women from their just share in the duties and responsibilities of public life: Condorcet, for instance, vigorously advocated the cause of women; his clear, lucid mind perceived how illogical was the clamor for liberty, if half the nation was to be deprived of its benefits.

In the midst of the terror and turmoil of the first revolution, but few women ventured to assert their rights, and the doubtful reputation of those who did has been said to be the proof that virtuous women are content to submit to the subordinate position assigned to them. The names of Théroigne de Méricourt, Olympe de Gouges, and others have been handed down as a shame to their sex; as much for the vindication of their rights as for what was immoral in their lives. The inconsistency of this argument is patent, for modern French Republicans do not measure the Heberts, the Chaumettes, the Legendres, of the period by the same criterion. Nor is it fair to plead that, because women did not claim their rights, they were therefore indifferent to them.

The old customs of the French provinces show that women of the lower and middle classes belonging to trades guilds and corporations very frequently possessed the same rights as men. In many cases there was no distinction, the post occupied carrying with it certain advantages which were enjoyed by the holder, whether male or female; just in the same way that the women of the aristocracy, or of religious orders, had the right to perform the duties and take the benefits of the rank they had inherited, or which had been conferred upon them. The working women of France could not suppose that the Republic would deal more hardly with them than other governments had done! As for the women of the aristocracy, and the nuns, they cannot be reproached with not having taken the opportunity to claim the restitution of their feudal rights. At that time the clergy and the *noblesse* had much difficulty in saving their lives, and were bound to consider themselves fortunate if they escaped the guillotine. When, after a period of wild licentiousness, the inevitable reaction came, the French

legislators, imitating their Roman predecessors under similar circumstances, compiled the Civil Code, or Code Napoléon, which is still the civil law of France—and which classes woman amongst criminals and the insane, and gives her, when married, the legal status of an infant.

Subsequent revolutions have done nothing to improve the condition of women; indeed, the revolution of 1830 ousted them from some important places they occupied in government employ, as agents for the sale of salt and tobacco, both of which are state monopolies. The Republicans of 1848, in spite of—perhaps because of—the mawkish sentimentality which characterized the period, did nothing for women. They were too busy reclaiming their own enfranchisement, which they naïvely proclaimed “universal,” to concern themselves about female emancipation. After 1852 came long years of enforced silence when men, much less women, hardly dared whisper a word of discontent.

“Juliette Lamber’s” book, “*Les Idées Anti-Proudhonaiennes*,” published in 1858, was not a vindication of women’s rights, but a very clever retort to Proudhon’s coarse and virulent attack on women. It was the signal that another brilliant female writer had arisen on the French literary horizon; but, as her subsequent life and writings have proved, it by no means implied that Mme. Juliette Adam belonged to the little band of “advanced women.” During the Second Empire we find no trace of a women’s movement until 1866, when the leaven of divine discontent began to ferment. Early in the year a remarkable work entitled “*La Femme Pauvre au XIX Siècle*” had been crowned by the Academy of Lyons. Its author was Mlle. Julie Daubié, who in 1862 had taken her literary degree at Paris. The fact that such an important work was from the pen of the first woman who had taken a university degree in France, drew attention to the frequent deplorable ignorance of Frenchwomen as being one of the chief causes of their subjection. A society for the reclamation of the rights of women was consequently founded and an address drawn up and signed by about forty women,—amongst whose names we find those of Caroline de Barrau, Noémi Réclus, Maria Deraismes, and Louise Michel,—calling on their fellow countrywomen to “beware and take heed of the sorry position they held as wives, mothers, and citizens,” at the same time pointing out the necessity of a better education. To this end it was proposed that a school for girls should be opened in Paris, from which all religious teaching should be carefully excluded. The introduction of this proviso was undoubtedly a mistake. This mixing up of politics and religion with the women’s question has been one of the great reasons of the unsuccess of the movement in France.

Then again, proclaiming the women's movement to be Republican, was, to say the least, injudicious. Until women have got the franchise they can neither be Republicans nor Monarchists; it is therefore foolish to stamp them beforehand as belonging to this or that political camp. The Republic had done nothing to emancipate women, and the very name of Republican was bound to be distasteful to the *noblesse*, and calculated to alienate those women whose wealth and social position would have been such useful adjuncts to the cause. As we shall see later, the greatest obstacles to the progress of the movement have been the indifference and, in many cases, the hostility of Frenchwomen themselves. Since the beginning of the movement up to the present time women have been the greatest opponents to their own emancipation, and the majority of them in France are thus hostile, not only because they are profoundly ignorant of its signification, but because they disapprove of the socialistic and irreligious attitude of most of the leaders. It is all very well to say that in order to become good citizens women should first become Republicans and freethinkers—but if they are neither, what then? Besides, the argument is not applied to men!

The proposed school was, however, never founded; for before the necessary funds were forthcoming, the Franco-Prussian war broke out and the Third Republic was proclaimed, and then there was no need of a special school for girls. Free education was decreed for children of both sexes throughout the land, and to its honor be it said, and thanks in a great measure to the efforts of MM. Camille Sée, Paul Bert, and Victor Duruy, the Third Republic has done more for the education of women than any previous government.

It was about this time that M. Léon Richer started his paper "*L'Avenir des Femmes*," which was afterward put into pamphlet form with its title changed to "*Le Droit des Femmes*." Mlle. Daubié also founded a society called the "*Association for the Progressive Emancipation of Women*," but unfortunately she died in 1874 and the little society dwindled and ultimately disappeared. Meanwhile Mlle. Maria Deraismes—who for twenty years was to personify the woman's movement in Paris—was coming to the front and taking a prominent place as a public speaker; whilst her salon was rapidly becoming the rendezvous of the most advanced Republican and freethinking politicians of the day. Maria Deraismes's success was prodigious, and in consequence M. Léon Richer very appropriately proposed that she should be asked to become the president of the society he had founded for the

improvement of the condition of women. This she accepted, and until her death, in 1894, she retained the post.

Reports of the stir made in Paris, in regard to the women's movement, by Maria Deraismes and M. Léon Richer, went rapidly throughout France. Even in the distant provinces it was dimly perceived that something was in the air. In sober, staid households many girls—like Hubertine Auclert—were fired with enthusiasm and were all agog to come to Paris and revive the old traditions of the women of the first revolution. It is at this time that we perceive the first signs of one special trait of Maria Deraismes's otherwise excellent character, which, while it undoubtedly helped her to retain nominal authority at the head of the movement, was nevertheless frequently harmful to it. She was despotic, and lacked that primordial quality of great leaders,—a quality which has ever been one of the distinctive characteristics of all great generals,—the ability to recognize and utilize talent or merit in the rising soldiers of her army. Now, unquestioning obedience is the last thing to demand of women,—it grows rarer every day in men even, and still less are women educated to it. Women know nothing—at any rate in France—about discipline, excepting in convent life. Up to the present day women have not been educated to any great extent; they must by perpetual gropings adapt themselves as best they can to circumstances and environment. A leader who expects blind obedience from undisciplined troops must be in a position to enforce it, or the troops will desert in the midst of the fray. Being brave and single-minded, they will, as best they can, form little separate camps and from some vantage ground continue the fight; but there will be waste of powder and shot in futile skirmishing, and when fresh ammunition is most needed at some particular point, none will be forthcoming; so that defeat—at least partial and temporary—is the inevitable result. Others, eager to be taken into action, become discouraged because they never even see the smoke or hear the din of battle; they drop out of the ranks, lag behind and never again rejoin the main body of the army.

Hubertine Auclert was one of the first to break away and found a new society, "*Le Droit des Femmes*." She believed and still believes that women in France will get their civil rights only when they have obtained the franchise and have a voice in the making of the laws, and that the only effective mode of action was that employed by the women of the first revolution; not taking into consideration that the recollection of the uproarious proceedings of

those women was perhaps uppermost in the minds of the men who reelaborated the laws which will—until they are abolished—prove an insurmountable obstacle to the admission of women to the franchise. Each and every time since the first revolution, until Mme. Vincent and some others at the last electioneering period in 1893 attempted to get inscribed on the list of electors, the result has been the same. The municipal authorities have never, even when favorably disposed, been able to elude the special stipulations of the Civil Code by which “all persons under age, or of notoriously disorderly and immoral lives, all lunatics and persons of unsound mind and *women*” are excluded from the franchise and from all other political privileges.

Maria Deraismes had studied the laws of her country too well not to be aware of this obstacle, which stands like a stronghold between women and the suffrage. She knew that battlement after battlement must be demolished before women can take possession of their right of citizenship. Numbers of women do not know this, or, at any rate, do not sufficiently realize its importance and consequent influence on the tactics to be employed in the attack on the vast citadel which Frenchmen have so carefully fortified about their political rights. The International Women's Congress held in 1878, of which Maria Deraismes was president, would have given an excellent opportunity for making this clear. If, instead of preventing Hubertine Auclert from speaking at the Congress, Maria Deraismes and M. Léon Richer had “taken the bull by the horns” and fought the matter out there and then, much waste of time and energy might have been saved. Maria Deraismes's eloquence would undoubtedly have carried the day and perhaps assured some years of unquestioning obedience—the troops would have known how and where they were being led!

The rebuff Hubertine Auclert had received only served to confirm her in her opinion and stimulate her to further action, which, however, proved to be detrimental to the cause she so ardently and sincerely wished to serve. The following year, at the Socialist Congress held at Marseilles, she succeeded in getting the principle of women's political equality recognized and accepted as part of the electoral programme of the socialist working men of France. Thus encouraged by what she considered the greatest political power in the country, she made every effort to get women's names put down on the electoral lists. In 1886 she carried the question before the Council of Prefecture, went herself to plead her cause before the Council of State, and ultimately succeeded in getting above two thousand signatures to a

petition which M. Clovis Hugues laid upon the table of the Chamber of Deputies, asking "that unrepresented women (spinsters and widows) should be admitted to the exercise of their civil rights."

The Congress held in 1878 had demonstrated, if not the open hostility, at least the complete indifference of the majority of Frenchwomen to the question of women's rights. In order, therefore, to attract attention to, and arouse some interest in, the subject, Maria Deraismes addressed a circular to women in business, encouraging them to join their claims to those of the small shopkeepers and tradesmen, who were at that time agitating to obtain the right of vote at the elections of the judges of the Tribunal of Commerce. Seventeen thousand copies of this circular were sent by post to as many women merchants, shopkeepers, and tradeswomen; but to this direct appeal the committee received only *two* replies, one of which was slightly abusive. This was disappointing and embarrassing; so, after deliberation, it was decided not to let the state of the case be too widely known, but, inasmuch as a few deputies and senators were favorably disposed, to proceed boldly and not to be discouraged by present difficulties. So the work was undertaken and the battle fought with hardly any help from those who were to be benefited by it.

A few days before her death Maria Deraismes had the satisfaction of knowing that success had crowned her long and patient efforts. The bill admitting women in business to vote at the elections of judges of the Tribunal of Commerce, passed the Senate and became law just eleven years after the first reading at the Chamber of Deputies in 1883. The bill had not really passed when the Senate, by an act of courtesy, assured Maria Deraismes, as she lay a-dying, of its success. During the discussion of the new law in the Senate its grammatical accuracy was called in question and it was returned on that ground to the Chamber of Deputies. But unfortunately, although the bill was promptly sent back again, with its wording changed to suit the grammatical fastidiousness of the Senate, it was no longer the liberal measure its friends and advocates had hoped for. The new law, while it allows women to vote at the elections of male judges, specially stipulates that women shall not be elected as judges of the Tribunal of Commerce, whereas previously this was merely implied from the general tenor of other laws. There is therefore a new difficulty to be overcome when next the matter is brought before the French Parliament.

Meanwhile a more friendly feeling was gradually growing up—chiefly amongst Protestants—doubtless inspired by accounts of what

women were accomplishing in other countries, and fostered by women of talent like Mme. de Barrau and her sister Mme. d'Abbadie d'Arrast. This feeling was only latent, and but slightly lessened the hitherto undisguised opposition; still, while it did little to diminish the hostile attitude toward the recognized leaders of the women's movement, it at least admitted the justice of some of their demands.

The effects of this feeling were visible when, long before the opening of the Paris Exhibition, plans began to be laid for an International Women's Congress to be held in 1889. It was then proposed to Mlle. Deraismes that a vast women's congress should be organized, of which her special work should form a section, and of which some celebrated person should be asked to become the president. M. Jules Simon's name was proposed as it was well known that he approved of the women's movement, and his acceptance was thought likely to ensure recognition from the government and an official position for women in the great Exhibition of that year; and this conjecture afterward proved to be right. Maria Deraismes, however, declined to agree to this arrangement. She did not consider it compatible with her position as a freethinker to belong to any assembly or association under M. Jules Simon's direction or presidency. Nor was this view altogether illogical, for she was president of the French League of Freethinkers, and in 1882 she had been made a Freemason by the Freethinkers' Lodge at Pecq¹; whereas M. Jules Simon had not long before taken a decided attitude on the question of religious teaching in the national free schools for children, and had pronounced himself unhesitatingly in favor of "God in the school." So Maria Deraismes and her friends organized an International Women's Congress exclusively for the treatment and study of the women's rights question, whose meetings were held at the rooms of the Geographical Society. The organizers of the Official International Women's Congress were nearly all Protestants, and the societies represented were chiefly charitable and benevolent institutions directed and worked by women, of whom none was Catholic.

This question of religious differences cannot be passed over when treating of the women's question in France, because of the stress laid upon it by the women themselves. As I before pointed out, what-

¹ Whatever Maria Deraismes may have thought of the validity of her investiture as a Freemason, the Grand Orient of France treated it as irregular and for this departure from masonic usages the Pecq Lodge has been condemned to lie dormant ever since.

ever may be the religious attitude of *political* France, the majority of Frenchwomen are Catholics; whereas up to January, 1893, when the society "l'Avant-Courrière" was founded, the women's movement in Paris was ostensibly hostile to Catholicism, and the tenets of its leaders extreme Republicanism. To the initiated, the women's congresses held in 1889 were a clear demonstration of the state of the women's movement in France. First there was the official congress, presided over by M. Jules Simon, and composed of divers benevolent institutions under the direction of women, though but very remotely relating to the question of women's rights. Second, the non-official congress, held under the auspices of the "Society for the Improvement of the Condition of Women and the Reclamation of their Rights," and the "French League of Women's Rights," over which Mlle. Deraismes presided. This distinction was difficult for strangers to make and many mistakes have been made in consequence of the confusion. The two congresses numbered barely a thousand persons, the mass of the nation remaining ignorant of and indifferent to the subject, saving a few well-educated and intelligent women; and they were clearly hostile on religious or political grounds. The two congresses were active and energetic and did good work. Women came to know each other better, and with better knowledge came better feeling. Amongst the more thoughtful, too, it came to be pretty generally admitted that women are justified in most of their claims and that there was room outside Maria Deraismes's and M. Léon Richer's societies for some association of no special political or religious tendency: simply groups of men and women united on one point, namely, the amendment of laws concerning women, with perhaps no other point of contact of opinion; Catholics using their own and their friends' influence; Protestants theirs, as well as freethinkers', to help women of all classes and denominations to obtain justice where it is denied them. Unhappily this innovation received neither welcome nor approbation from Mlle. Deraismes, who, with most of her collaborators, looked upon it as disloyalty to herself and as so much energy diverted from what she considered the only true course of action, and likely, therefore, to be detrimental to the Republic itself. For twenty years and more her supremacy had been undisputed, and she could not endure this apparently harmful deviation of the women's movement.

A powerful association was nevertheless gradually forming. Among its earliest members were the leading journalists of Paris, deputies and senators of every shade of opinion, celebrated scientists and jurists,

and a few of the best-known female authors, amongst whom was Mme. Adam,¹ now for the first time taking part in the women's movement. Then, as if to give special significance to the new mode of action, a few women of the old French aristocracy, notably the Duchesse d'Uzès, joined the movement. With such a staff the actual work was comparatively easy and I willingly consented to direct the young association; and we started "*l'Avant-Courrière*" on January 30, 1893.

Taking into consideration that the Civil Code is the one great obstacle to the emancipation of women in France, we decided to attack it. Not, however, in its entirety, as had previously been attempted, but piecemeal, beginning by what appeared to be least defended by our opponents and therefore easiest of conquest; at the same time choosing the point which should logically come first, as the foundation of women's freedom. We were not long in coming to the conclusion that, financial freedom being the root of all liberty, we must first set to work to obtain for married women the right to their own earnings. After having decided what we intended to do, the next decision to be taken was how we should proceed to do it; so, after settling the preliminary questions of membership and funds, the first point on which we agreed was that each member should be free to choose his or her mode of action, each one working as occasion and situation might permit for the furtherance of the cause in hand. But, as a natural consequence of this freedom of action, each member was to undertake the entire responsibility of his or her acts and pay the cost thereof. Thus free scope would be given for individual initiative; while the society of "*l'Avant-Courrière*" only took the responsibility of whatever was the common action of the entire association and accepted as such by me.

Next, in consideration of the social odium thrown on the women's rights question, which threatened to deter a great many women from joining us, we stipulated that no name but mine should be published unless by permission. After nearly four years' existence we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on having made our rules so elastic. Each one of us has been able to do the work best adapted to her means and surroundings, and we have found help and encouragement on all sides. One great printing firm after another has printed for us without charge. The press throughout the length and breadth of the land has spoken good things of us. When we decided to placard all Paris and some of the provincial towns, our great, flaming posters cost us nothing but the stamp duty. The artist, A. Lepère, designed

¹ Editor of "*La Nouvelle Revue*,"

our emblem, a dreary barren landscape with the rising sun just visible above the horizon,—woman's land, with the glimmer of hope in the distance,—and one of the best known printers in Paris printed it for us on paper given by another friend. A gang of billposters worked all night, generously giving their help; and on the morning of January 18, 1894, the papers told the Parisians how the walls of their city were covered with an appeal in favor of women. Ever since, our work has continued in the same way. In March, M. Léopold Goirand, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, wrote me expressing sympathy and offering his aid. On July 7 he laid our Married Women's Earnings Bill on the table of the Chamber. In January, 1895, he was nominated *rapporteur* of the parliamentary commission charged with the study of the question, and on February 27, 1896, the bill, conferring upon married women the power of free disposition of their earnings, passed the Chamber of Deputies without opposition—the first time in French history that a women's rights movement has received support from the government. It is difficult to predict what reception we shall get in the Senate, yet even there we have many friends and therefore have the right to be hopeful.

This very important modification of the French marriage laws affects about 4,500,000 workwomen, not to speak of authors, musicians, painters, actresses, teachers, shop-assistants, and domestic servants,—in all about 6,000,000 women-workers who, if married, have, as the law now stands, no right to their own earnings, if that right has not been stipulated for by a legal agreement made at the time of their marriage. Otherwise the French wife may not even work, much less economize, for herself without her husband's leave. The wage of her labor belongs by right of law to her husband, and he alone has the right to spend or otherwise dispose of it as he pleases. The pecuniary position of the Frenchwoman, whose marriage contract is that of the communion of goods, is worse than that of the old Roman slave, for he at least had a right to his *peculium*.

The limits of this article do not admit of more than a brief enumeration of the employments and professions now open to women; nor, indeed, can the subject be legitimately included under the head of the women's movement. First, because these professions and employments have not become accessible to women through any direct action or intervention on their part, such as the claiming of a right; but have been gradually and, in some cases one may say, individually, opened to them. On the other hand, in opening some employments to women

men have been guided solely by motives of economy. Women are employed by the Post Office, Telegraph Office, Railway Companies, and many of the larger private companies, because they are paid about half what men earn for the same amount of work. The same may be said of the women employed by the state as teachers and schoolmistresses. Women are also free to enter any profession, provided the practice does not clash with any article of the Civil Code. Thus, a woman may study law, and take the highest degrees and honors at examinations; but she cannot practise, because the law requires that a barrister should be sworn into office, and this can only be done by a person in full possession of civil and political rights, and we have seen that women are named amongst those excluded:—"All persons under age, or of notoriously disorderly or immoral life, all lunatics and persons of unsound mind and *women* are excluded from parliamentary franchise and from all other political privilege"; furthermore, if she be married, "a woman can neither buy nor sell, nor can she appear in court save by her husband's authorization."

The practice of medicine does not offer the same difficulties, the healing art being considered as a private transaction between doctor and patient. Like other women, however, the woman doctor cannot give a legal signature to a certificate of birth or death. She may have attended a woman in childbirth, the mother may have died subsequently, and the doctor alone have been present at the birth of the infant and the death of the mother; yet she may not sign the certificates of birth and death. Her testimony is worthless. The Code classes this highly educated and cultivated woman with "criminals and the insane"!

I shall never forget the phases by which I came to realize the exact legal status of the Frenchwoman and the real attitude of the French masculine mind on the subject. More than a quarter of a century ago two or three English girls, of whom I was one, came to Paris in order to get the medical education denied us in our own country. It was with no small amount of delighted astonishment that we found everybody, up to the dean himself, ready and willing to help us. With the coarse brutality of the student mob and the undisguised hostility of some of the professors of Edinburgh University still fresh in our recollection, some of us jumped to the conclusion that the kindness of the Paris professors and the frank cordiality of the students were due simply to the recognition of women's rights. Such a belief was not unreasonable under the circumstances. We were breathing the brisk,

exhilarating air of Paris and at every turn our ears could catch the sound of the "Marseillaise," which everybody was singing—"Liberté, liberté chérie . . . !" The atmosphere was full of "Liberté, Egalité, and Fraternité"—especially in the Latin Quarter.

After a time, however, and by degrees, it became evident, even to the most enthusiastic amongst us, that the reception we had met with as medical students was not in the remotest degree due to a sense of equality or of justice, but simply one of the forms of French politeness to women: a mixture of gallantry and condescension, and that, saving the mode of expressing it,—a mere question of race and environment,—the animosity against "emancipated women" was quite as keen here as on the other side of the channel. This was fully demonstrated when Dr. Blanche Edwards tried to obtain the post of house surgeon in one of the Paris hospitals.

From what precedes it must not be inferred that in France women are intellectually behind those of other countries. The names of Rosa Bonheur, Madeleine Lemaire, Louise Abbema, the Duchesse d'Uzès, Mme. Coutan, Elisa Bloch, Augusta Holmes, Mme. Adam, Severine Arvède Barine, Jane Dieulafoy, Mlle. Klumpké, Mme. Moucheur de Mélotte, and Mme. Boucicault are amongst the foremost in art, music, literature, science, industry, and commerce, while millions of women form the rank and file in the vast army of women-workers. But it must be said that as a rule Frenchwomen have a tendency to avail themselves of exceptional privileges separately and gradually accorded them rather than to combine and fight for the principle of a right. This characteristic, however, should by no means make us despair of the future of women in France. The emancipation of women will be the work of men, and that some of the finer minds in the University of France realize whither they are conducting the rising generation of women, was strikingly indicated the other day in a speech made by M. Arnaud at the Cahors College for Girls. He said:—

"The woman's question is not the least important part of the social question in France, and our legislators are beginning to realize that equality of education implies equality of rights for women. As her place in the household and in the family becomes more and more important, so, as a natural consequence of progress, must woman's sphere outside the home circle be widened and elevated."

Such words as these, spoken by a high functionary of the state, are most comforting and encouraging; and if some seed has fallen by the wayside and some on stony places, let us hope that this will have fallen on good ground, and in the lives of these young students will

bring forth fruit a hundred-fold for the good of the Republic. With the higher education of women the old days are fast disappearing when earnest and active women who did not marry had no alternative but convent life, where their faculties were atrophied and all individuality and initiative were destroyed.

JEANNE E. SCHMAHL.

CARDINAL MANNING AND HIS BIOGRAPHER.

THE mass of conflicting opinions brought out by Edmund Sheridan Purcell's "Life of Cardinal Manning" is sufficient proof that this remarkable biography is both defective and inconclusive. It hardly needed the announcement of another book on the same personage to assure the public that efforts would be made to present a true portrait of the Cardinal of Westminster as an offset to Mr. Purcell's daring caricature. The caricature made necessary the speedy production of a speaking portrait by a capable artist; while the remarkable incapacity displayed by Mr. Purcell in the use of his material demanded a new and scientific arrangement of that material by more experienced hands.

From first to last the biography has scarcely a trace of the Cardinal, except in the extracts from his own letters and writings. The portrait is not the Manning of the Vatican Council, or of the great strike in London, but the Manning of the bath-tub, where greatness disappears in the healthful but ridiculous pastime of washing the human skin. It is a portrait of littleness and of meanness. Hence, it is not to be wondered at that the men who stood close to Manning from the beginning of his career as a Catholic, and who were intimately acquainted with the great movements of his life,—men like Cardinal Vaughan for instance,—should vigorously protest against the truth of Mr. Purcell's portrait. It is not a difficult task to explain this biographer, for his book has made him as obvious as it has obscured his unfortunate hero. *The task which he undertook was too large for him.* The cleverest writer might honestly hesitate before the difficult work of putting a right estimate on Manning's career, sure that it would thoroughly task his abilities. The Errington struggle and its effects, the single episode of the Vatican Council, the fight on the Temporal Power, the difference with Newman, the social activities of Manning, the educational struggle, the contrast between Catholic conditions in 1865 and then in 1890,—are themes for a strong mind and a mighty pen. Mr. Purcell touches them off as one would a rocket, and the reader of the "Life" finds them barren under Mr. Purcell's treatment as any stick.

With his abundant material he might have written the first and the last word, for all practical purposes, on Manning's career. The general refusal to take his work seriously is a fair measure of his success. Undoubtedly he meant well, as all such people do; *and he worked on a sound principle, of which he made the worst possible use.* For some centuries the department of biography among Catholics has suffered much from its chief tradition—that only ideal portraits are to be produced. In consequence the lives of many saints are as readable and as real as descriptions of the Chimæra; all clerical heroes are models for Bayard; and Catholics rarely know that St. Philip Neri and St. Charles Borromeo had occasional quarrels. A reaction has set in against this tradition, and Mr. Purcell wrote his biography on its topmost wave. He was evidently determined to present the human side of a great churchman as they view great churchmen in Rome, where men with their schemes and motives are seen by the Röntgen ray. This aim was laudable, but he did not attain it. *Environment was too much for him.* The Manning of his biography is human, but little and mean at the same time; and, though a prelate of rank and power, he is such a prelate as the diplomatic lobby in Rome imagine all prelates to be,—selfish wirepullers, visiting Rome to roast their chestnuts at the Pope's fire, secret as ostriches with their heads in the sand, at whom the lobby can laugh with impunity. So determined was Mr. Purcell that we should feel the human in his hero, that he will not allow us to reach a conclusion on any point of Manning's life unaided; and, lest we should imagine this or that move to spring from pure virtue, he is careful to expose the particular wire which the Cardinal was then pulling.

Incapacity for so severe a work, determination to avoid the ideal altogether, and the nasty, courtier habit of finding a very mixed motive for every human action,—these three things are the explanation of Mr. Purcell and his biography. The average critic is not aware of the influence exercised upon the biographer by the last two. It would be necessary for him to read the ordinary Catholic life of a saint or noted cleric, with its marked avoidance of all that was human in the subject, to understand how easily such a mind as Mr. Purcell's would rush to the opposite extreme; and also to live for a month *en famille* with the lobbyists of the Papal court, to learn how thoroughly these people strip uprightness, simplicity, and enthusiasm of their natural light and reduce saints and heroes to the level of the money-lender, as do lobbyists everywhere. Nevertheless the average critic might have taken warning from the inconclusive character of the book, the author's

inability to write English or to handle his material, and the strong protests of Manning's friends; if this had been done, such displays of temper and inaccuracy as were made by a recent writer in *THE FORUM* would have been avoided. Large as are Mr. Purcell's volumes, their contents do not warrant the statement that the "Life" is "a complete view of an extraordinarily imperfect nature," that the fact of popularity appealed to Manning always, that he was led by the lust of power all his days, and that his moral nature changed for the worse with his entrance into the Roman Catholic communion. Natures extraordinarily imperfect do not attain to eminence such as Manning's and hold it through a quarter of a century with the fierce light of controversial combat playing upon them. The deep and overpowering love of his fellows, which dominated Manning's career and piled up his labors mountain-high, is not the prerogative of even a slightly imperfect nature.

The completeness of Mr. Purcell's biography is denied on every side, and the denial finds good backing in statements of the kind just analyzed. It was hardly a love of popularity which led Manning out of the popular Anglican communion into the despised and insignificant Roman church in England, placed him in the Errington opposition, made him the target of English journalism in the disputes over Infallibility and the Temporal Power, the target of the English people in his friendliness and support of the Irish, and often the scorn of his own in his struggle on the Temperance and other social questions. He himself wrote:—

"If I had wished for my reward in this world, I should not have spoken out to the last syllable what I believe to be true. I have consciously offended Protestants, Anglicans, Gallican Catholics, National Catholics, and worldly Catholics, and the Government, and public opinion in England, which is running down the Church and the Holy See in all ways and all day long."

Purcell writes:—

"Mgr. Talbot was emboldened to suggest Manning as a candidate [in succession to Wiseman]. But Cardinal Barnabo at once repudiated the suggestion, and declared that from the letters and reports sent to the Propaganda it was evident that Manning's nomination would inevitably provoke dissension and schism in England."

Men who seek popularity do not choose to stand so completely alone, and the lust of power avoids isolation and seeks combination. There is no evidence of deterioration of the moral nature in a man who turned his back on an Anglican mitre for conscience' sake, put aside

the building of a cathedral that the poor might have both earthly and heavenly bread, spent thirty-five years in utter devotion to the wretched, which not even church politics could disturb, and in the midst of his labors wrote spiritual books quite beyond a hypocrite or an extraordinarily imperfect nature.

The same writer falls into numerous inaccuracies, which a careful reading of the "Life" would have prevented; such as the statements that Manning's advocacy of the doctrine of Infallibility made him archbishop, that he destroyed the strength of the English episcopate, that the Jesuits looked upon him as a renegade in the matter of the Temporal Power, and that Manning the philanthropist grew out of Manning the politician deposed by Leo XIII. The facts are just the opposite. The advocacy of Infallibility was but one form of Manning's devotion to the Holy See, which, by the way, did not secure him the favor of Cardinal Barnabo; and it was only when the notion of a general council was broached, and the questions to be discussed at the council came to be considered, that Infallibility became a burning question for him. If Mr. Purcell's biography is to be followed, it was a series of fortunate circumstances that sent Manning to Westminster, among which his advocacy of Infallibility was of minor importance.

Manning strengthened rather than weakened the power of the Catholic episcopate in England. It would be dry reading to explain this fact to laymen, but two things may be mentioned: he threw in all his influence against the establishment of another archiepiscopal see in England—there are four in Ireland—and encouraged the bishops to stand together on all matters pertaining to the general welfare. As a matter of fact he had all, or nearly all, the bishops with him in his one particular struggle with the Jesuits, and his victory was theirs. The Jesuits never at any time looked on Cardinal Manning as a renegade on any point whatever, and his difficulties with them began long before the opening of the Vatican Council, and on other matters than the Temporal Power. His opposition to the Jesuits may be called temperamental. It was in evidence a few years after his entrance into the Westminster diocese, and never ceased during his whole career, although the Jesuits, like himself, were Ultramontanes of the deepest dye. He demonstrated clearly that the popular superstition concerning the Jesuits and their wonderful power of secret and terrifying vengeance has no basis; for he practically shut them out of the London diocese, denounced their tenets and methods at pleasure, hindered their progress where he could, and yet lived and prospered.

Finally, it was not the accession of Leo XIII to the papal throne that developed Manning the philanthropist by extinguishing Manning the politician. Leo became Pope in 1878, and it was in 1865, immediately after his consecration, that Manning began his philanthropic career by flatly refusing to build a cathedral for his diocese (although part of the money required had been collected) until the twenty thousand children of the Catholic poor in London, "destitute, uncared for, untaught, running wild in the streets, without knowledge of the faith, a prey to apostasy or to immorality," should have been safely gathered within the fold. He gathered them in, built up a school and charity system for them, and never for an instant turned aside from this work for other things. He had enjoyed fifteen years of practical, personal intercourse with the London poor, and had acquired a valuable experience of life among the wretched, when public opinion in England grew sufficiently tender and intelligent to make use of his rank and his experience by giving him a place on the Mansion House Committee for the relief of the French in their disastrous war with the Prussians. This was in 1870, and from that moment until his death the Cardinal was the foremost man in England in the different movements for the improvement of social conditions. That is to say, eight years before the death of Pius IX, he had acquired his public reputation as a philanthropist, and for thirteen years before the accession of Leo XIII he had been deep in special labors for the London poor. What, then, becomes of the statement so recklessly made, that disappointment as a church politician turned him to philanthropy, that the disfavor of Leo XIII extinguished the politician and developed the social reformer? Mr. Purcell has written with criminal carelessness, but in this he has been surpassed by some of his critics.

Between biographer and reviewer the honest reader has no chance of coming to an understanding of the real Manning, the thorough-going Englishman who was for twenty years the delight and pride of the English-speaking world without regard to nationality or creed. Many of the reviews have taken Purcell seriously, as he has taken himself. They have allowed themselves to believe that the picturesque figure, which gave to this age the lively coloring of the days of Anselm, or Stephen Langton, or Thomas à Becket, which played so splendid and powerful a part in the Vatican Council, and stood so nobly before the world for the rights of the workers, was a thing of shreds and patches, a mean and contemptible soul directing a clever brain, ambitious, led by the lust of power always, facile to the point of dishonesty, persua-

sive to the undoing of truth, morally a degenerate, spiritually a fraud, and naturally an intriguer. Archdeacon Tiffany has deduced all these charges from Mr. Purcell's indictment of the Cardinal, charges which the biographer would be the first to deny as contained in his book. At the same time it must be admitted that the character drawn by Mr. Purcell is so revolting that unprejudiced men with some acquaintance of Cardinal Manning's career turn from the "Life" and its reviewers to their own impressions of the Cardinal's character and history. Long before his death Manning had become one of the popular heroes of the civilized world. The people often blunder as to the virtues of their heroes, blunders quickly avenged by the rapid descent of the exposed fraud into obscurity. I think it will be granted that no fraud, or hypocrite, or extraordinarily imperfect nature could occupy and hold in our day for so long a period Manning's high position in church, state, and the affections of the people; could live and die in such esteem, honor, and affection, and yet be the creature described by Mr. Purcell and inferred by Archdeacon Tiffany. And therefore I appeal confidently to that *sensus communis* which granted to Manning in his lifetime the tribute of affection earned by virtuous character and severe and disinterested labors for mankind, as against the incapacity of his biographer and the carelessness, to call it by its mildest name, of certain reviewers of Purcell's "Life of Manning." To sustain this appeal let us take one swift glance at the salient points of Manning's career, apart from the account of it provided by Mr. Purcell.

Some incidents in Manning's career and certain of his qualities are only to be understood and appreciated by Catholics, a fact which accounts in part for the blunders of the reviewers. I shall describe these first, because they are not lacking in general interest, and have been thoroughly misrepresented.

1. He travelled out of the Anglican Establishment and entered the Church of Rome by his own road. It is unnecessary to discuss here how much affinity his course had to that of Newman, or how deeply it had been affected by the Oxford movement. It was the strongest feature of Manning's character and career that he made his own road in everything he undertook, and, if he walked it alone at first, it was soon taken advantage of by the multitude. The point to be made in regard to Manning's departure from Anglicanism is the sincerity, the courage, the abnegation which carried him away from crowding honors, dear friends, an attractive field of labor, and generous fame, to the miserable conditions of the Roman Catholic Church of that day in

England. Neither the Anglican on the one hand nor the Catholic on the other can fully understand the anguish of mind which is the lot of such a character as Manning in the passage from one fold to the other, even when the material conditions remain unchanged; but when, as in his case, the palace is exchanged for the hovel, when the enthusiast leaves the court of Cæsar for the catacombs, what courage, what disinterestedness, what utter lack of ambition must not his character contain! And after entrance into the Roman communion, where the environment is so often unsympathetic, and even repulsive to the convert for many a day, only the clearest mind, the most determined will, the purest sincerity, can carry a man through the first discomforts to his proper place. The trial assuredly clarifies motives, and Catholics justly regard such men with reverence. They have tasted the first bitterness of martyrdom. Analysis of a man's motives for putting his head on the block, once he has declared them, is superfluous. The great sacrifice ends all doubt as to his sincerity and his courage.

2. No sooner had Manning found a firm footing in the Roman communion than he placed himself, led no doubt "by the lust of power," in quasi-opposition to the religious orders and in direct opposition to the main body of priests and laymen who counted Archbishop Errington as their leader. Having lost one sort of mitre in the Anglican communion, he was evidently bent on getting another sort by antagonizing the powers around him in the Westminster diocese. It is not yet a recognized principle with ambitious churchmen in the Roman communion, that the surest way of getting into the episcopate is by irritating the religious communities and baiting one's neighbors. Yet this in all honesty is what Manning did. In the case of Archbishop Errington, Manning found himself in opposition to the majority of the Westminster priests and to many of the Catholic bishops, besides putting himself in a rather hopeless condition, if Archbishop Errington, as coadjutor to Wiseman, should at any time succeed to the See of Westminster. Nevertheless he fought the battle in Rome in behalf of the new spirit which was stirring in the Church, against the advocates of a decorous peace and quiet which to Manning meant stagnation. His ability won the day; and for his reward Manning received the gratitude of Wiseman, and the hearty execrations of English Catholics. How closely his conduct in these two instances resembles that of an ambitious intriguer it may be left for others to determine.

3. The entire Catholic world to-day acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Manning for that profound devotion to the Roman See, which

marked his career from the beginning, and which he imparted to his own age. In Wiseman's time the Papacy had but feeble support in the Catholic countries of Europe, with the single exception of Ireland. The spirit of the Revolution was abroad, and independence had become a fashion of the hour. The Reds of the continent, far more appreciative of the necessity of the papal power to Catholic unity than were the Catholic leaders themselves, petted and flattered the audacious spirits who loved to flout the Pope, while expressing the utmost respect for his spiritual character and readiness to die in defence of his liberty. Manning was not duped at any time. Authority had been the principle which led him out of the Anglican into the Roman communion, and he began from the first to expound and to defend it far beyond the desires of those who were nearest to the papal throne. Naturally he dwelt on the themes of Infallibility and the Temporal Power, and with tongue and pen brought these important questions into the world's forum, forced discussion on all sides, roused the consciences and the spirit of Catholics, and struck the mask from the face of the Revolution. This is the way in which Catholics at present look upon Manning's services of that period, but the Catholics of that day were more than irritated at his exposition and its audacity. He made enemies by the score, and it may be surmised that, if his speeches and sermons on these matters won for him the mitre, they nearly cost him the dignity of Cardinal. His ringing words cheered the hearts of the Catholic communities of the English tongue in many a dark hour after the Italian occupation of Rome. Catholics everywhere had to face the most insulting remarks and predictions on the disaster of September 20, and its far-off consequences. The Reds flouted them with flamboyant joy, as before they had cajoled and caressed them. Protestant pulpits rang with felicitations on the near fall of the Church of Rome, and with delirious misinterpretations of the dogma of Infallibility. But Catholics, Protestants, and Reds alike listened with respect and emotion to the single voice of the English Cardinal warning the victors or encouraging the vanquished, by pointing to that near future in which so many hopes and disasters lie hidden. He lived to see his course justified. Before his death the Catholic world had fallen into line behind him, convinced by its enemies of the preciousness of Rome; European cabinets had learned the meaning of the Revolution and the meaning of Infallibility at the same moment; and even Mr. Gladstone was convinced that the Pope must have territorial independence if only for convenience' sake.

4. What he accomplished for the Catholic body in England may be learned by a comparison of conditions in 1865 and in 1890. Cardinal Wiseman did a great work by way of preparation in his day, just as Archbishop Hughes did in the American metropolis; but Manning was Wiseman and Hughes in one, both diplomatic and aggressive, tribune and cabinet minister. The timid and somewhat genteel group of bishops and laymen who were the leaders of the Catholic English body in 1865 could not bear "this forward priest." Their voices had not been heard any distance since the days of Pole, and the roaring of this lion, fresh from the refined circles of the Establishment, awed and mortified them. No one can blame them for their dread of publicity, after the physical and mental disembowelling inflicted on them by their precious government for three centuries. Manning found them in corners, afraid to raise voice or hand for the salvation of that heavy Irish contingent driven from Irish farms to English factories,—living, marrying, dying among themselves, shut out from healthful careers in business and politics; and almost with his single arm he lifted them, as this day bears witness, into such a position as the Catholic body of America holds, a normal and natural portion of the great English community, with no door and no road closed to them. He repeated this service for the timid diocesan clergy, whom hard circumstances had left in a nerveless condition. Between them and the priests of the cloister existed, and always has existed, a certain irritation born of lofty claims of superiority on the part of the religious orders. The Jesuits in particular not only claimed preeminence, but were able in a measure to vindicate their assumptions by a larger proportion of educated men, able preachers, clever professors, and by the influence they exercised over the influential, the nobles, the educated, and even the common people. This state of things was particularly odious to Manning, and he was early at work in behalf of his diocesan clergy, rating them for their supine submission, insisting on their taking up every form of spiritual labor, appealing to Rome in their behalf, and vigorously denouncing the assumptions of the religious orders. For the Jesuits he entertained a particular dislike, and never permitted them to develop in his diocese, though he had much in common with the famous Society. Undoubtedly he was over-severe toward them and other orders, and went beyond the needs of the occasion in his opposition; nevertheless his spirit aroused the diocesan clergy to a proper sense of self-respect, their activities were multiplied, and the people were made to see the strength of Manning's contention that between

the two classes of priests there was only a difference of condition, not of power. The Cardinal went farther than this in his writings, and maintained the superiority of the "law of liberty" over the law of the vows, a contention which is still holding the interest of the schools. It brought him into conflict with the religious orders and their friends, a rather perilous conflict for "an extraordinarily imperfect nature,"—"led by the lust of power all his days,"—who still had the winning of the red hat before him, and yet displayed not a trace of that prudence so necessary to the ambitious priest.

All these things endeared Manning to priesthood and people in every part of the English-speaking world. They were the outcome of a spirit which displayed itself with leisure and thoroughness in the books that came from his fervent pen. These productions have been widely read, and will long be favorites among Christian readers. They prove that the Manning of the forum, of the pulpit, of the sanctuary, are one and the same; that the forum cannot bear witness to an intriguer in the disguise of a prelate, or the pulpit to a soul which showed "numerous signs of spiritual degeneration," or the sanctuary to a priest "more unscrupulous in his methods, more malignant in his animosities, more daring in his ambition" than in his Anglican days. No such spirit could have produced that lofty ideal of the sacerdotal life, "The Eternal Priesthood," so nobly conceived and so touchingly written. Let us now pass from those matters of his career, which are of deep interest to Catholics, to those which interested the whole world in the personality of Manning, and made him, in spite of circumstances, the best-known and most popular churchman of this century.

1. There was no shining reason why he should have become a popular character. Personally he was rather chilling, and often hard, and he had fought friends and foes in regular order impartially for many years. The Catholics of the United States had a popular prelate, John Hughes of New York, who left the stage in 1865, just as Manning, archbishop, was making his entrance; and they were among the first to perceive in this English bishop a man of the Hughes temper, and to welcome his audacities. His challenge of every public falsehood against his Church, his steady instruction of the public in the true meaning of Catholic doctrines, his deep interest and severe labors in behalf of the poor Irish of London, his devotion to the Holy See, won the attention and the applause of American Catholics, and informed them of the rise of a great leader for the English-speaking peoples long before Englishmen had perceived him. Manning's interest in the con-

dition of working men made his name famous at home and in the New World, as his contest in behalf of Infallibility gave him a reputation on the continent. The agents of the Revolution had watched and feared him as a member of the Vatican Council, but their fears rose higher with his fame and influence among the working people. He began his work in behalf of the laborers and the poor the very year of his consecration to the See of Westminster. His work in the dock strike was only its latest phase. The first took shape in his refusal to build a cathedral, which was to have been a memorial to Cardinal Wiseman, until the 20,000 Catholic children running wild in London had been brought under Christian discipline. He spent years and thousands of pounds in rescuing these unfortunates. The second phase was his work among the Irish immigrants, who had settled in England and were in a sorry condition at the very doors of their ancient enemies. One can imagine the violence an Englishman had to do to his race feelings to admit that these evicted aliens were entitled to his best services, not alone on the ground of charity, but on that of justice, as the main support and largest portion of the Catholic Church in England. It took many of the bishops a long time to accept this view of the situation, but Manning reached it with almost a single stride. And with that thoroughness and honesty characteristic of him, he not only took up the work of organization for them, but blessed their milder political aspirations, and gave honest encouragement to their parliamentary party, in spite of the black looks and hearty condemnation which he won from his true-English brethren. It was chiefly for them he established his wonderful and successful League of the Cross, and through its agency carried on a vigorous war against intemperance; for them also he built up his system of Christian education; and through them he came into association with the general London poor, which finally led to his regular connection with all the great movements for improving social conditions. The world is very well acquainted with Manning the philanthropist, and there is no need to dwell on this part of his career. But for the benefit of Mr. Purcell, who seems to have overlooked the matter altogether, and for the benefit of Archdeacon Tiffany, two striking facts must be named. He himself built the road to eminence, to the honors of the purple, by taking up the cause of the Holy See when it was most unpopular in Europe, when its advocacy brought him only odium, and when even the friends of the Papacy thought his methods uncalled-for and his aims inopportune. The event justified his foresight and his enthusiasm. He himself

built the road to popular favor by his lifelong interest in the people, and in time had the honor of seeing among its travellers the Pope of social reform, Leo XIII. First and foremost he made the social feature of Pope Leo's social programme possible and natural. It was not necessary for his daring nature, that it might win the highest honors of the world, to play the sycophant and dance attendance on the humors of a king or a people. He anticipated all his honors long before they arrived, and the mean insinuations of biographer and reviewer in this regard simply light up the more thoroughly their own carelessness. In the natural order of events, as a supporter of papal policy under Pius IX he should have accompanied its exponents into the oblivion provided by Leo XIII; but Manning was not a courtier, a dependent on personal favor, he was a statesman; and Leo XIII found him as necessary as did Pius IX. All this is contained in the "Life," though quite unknown to the biographer and certain of his reviewers.

2. The English-speaking world felt justly proud, and the "Life" will increase that feeling, over Manning's distinguished part in the Vatican Council. Apart from creeds, it was a real pleasure to see the temper, the ability, the political genius displayed by a representative of the English-speaking nations on so conspicuous a stage, face to face with the ablest churchmen and cleverest diplomatists of the world. And his success was simply tremendous, almost incredible. For a decade he had made the question of Infallibility his own, and had talked England, both Catholic and Anglican, into a fever over it; yet the question was actually ruled out of discussion at the Council, was not allowed a place in the scheme of action. Here is Manning's own account of the situation: "After a long discussion there were at last only two bishops, I and another, who persisted in presenting petitions for the Definition, or in other ways urging the question, of Infallibility. We were adjured to obey the will of the Council; we were rebuked for wilful and obstinate obstruction." Still, the dogged English prelate persevered, and his obstinacy won the day. The question was admitted,—which really meant victory unless European Governments interfered. The interference was planned by Dr. Döllinger, who asked the King of Bavaria, his friend, to form a coalition of the Powers whose Catholic subjects might suffer from the threatened Definition of Infallibility. Prince Hohenlohe, present Chancellor of the German Empire, then Premier of Bavaria, made in behalf of the king a formal proposal to the English Government, that it should invite the Powers to intervene at the Vatican for the protection of their Catholic subjects. Mr.

Gladstone was in favor of intervention. He had been primed by Lord Acton, Roman intimate of Archbishop Darboy of Paris and other Inopportunists of the Vatican Council, and was eager for effective interference. However, Manning was ahead of him. He had supplied Lord Clarendon, the foreign minister, with the proper information regarding the temper of the bishops at the council, through Lord Odo Russell, English minister at the Vatican; and one by one Gladstone's arguments were discounted at the sitting of the cabinet. The English Government replied unfavorably to Prince Hohenlohe, and Infallibility was carried. Thus Manning played his great part in that memorable council, and won distinction sufficient to have placed the tiara on his head, had he been Italian or England been Catholic. As a matter of fact Cardinal Bilio suggested his name as successor to Pius IX.

3. It is no disparagement to Leo XIII to say that had Manning become Pope his reign would have been only a degree less brilliant than Leo's own. At the death of Pius IX he was the idol of the English-speaking Catholic world and its only real representative in Rome. Moreover, Manning had outgrown his diocese and his nation, and even the Sacred College, even Leo XIII in the first days of his pontificate, could not compare with Manning in world-wide fame. He had become the world's Cardinal. It crowded his doors, bringing every cause and every theory that man's restless brain can invent, for approval and blessing. His delight was to be with the children of men, and their delight was to be with him; and prudence of the clerical sort stood mourning in the street while the motley procession went in and out of the Cardinal's doors, undisturbed, unchecked, until that day when it followed him weeping to his grave. Let us stop here. This is the Manning the world knew: the gracious, noble, exalted figure, whose native dignity the world's honors could never obscure, and to whom a world turned with confidence and love.

His greatest mistake was his treatment of Newman. For the misunderstandings of the two Cardinals he is most to blame, and the severest things yet to be said of him will be contained in a candid and capable life of Newman. Manning was the leader in the cabinet and the field, and it was his business to have found a place for that beautiful soul lost in the lonely desert of Brompton: instead of shutting him off from every avenue of usefulness and distinction whose gates he was able to close. He has been punished already for his hostility or indifference, or whatever it may be called. His influence fades, while Newman's increases. At the same time it is impossible to draw con-

clusions on this matter from Mr. Purcell's book. It lights up only one fact, that differences existed between Newman and Manning, which we already knew : but it does not explain the sources of these differences, nor their proper action.

Mr. Purcell has had no discretion either for his hero or himself. His book, according to the testimony of its readers, leaves a taste of meanness in the mouth, and in the soul a hopelessness for human nature which could soar so high in Manning's case only to descend with Simon Magus into the abyss. Whatever Mr. Purcell's intentions may have been, this is the terrifying result of his labors. If his creation be the true Manning, then in our age hypocrisy and meanness have learned new arts and attained new heights of honor. He must bear the responsibility of this impression. His presentation of his material alone would create it ; but, lest it might fail, he assumed the office of guide through the mass, and insinuated low motives where candid minds would have found pure honesty. The chief ecclesiastical personages of the drama, Pius IX, Manning, Searle, Barnabo, Talbot, Grant, and Ullathorne, seem either fools or knaves ; none of them commands any sympathy, and all appear busy, like phantom Penelopes, in the glorious work of unravelling by night what they had woven by day. Hence, says Cardinal Vaughan, "the publication of this 'Life' is almost a crime." Fortunately, though it will do immense harm, it carries with it convincing evidence of the author's incapacity and its own incompleteness. It has not explained Manning's relations with Newman, with Pope Leo XIII, with the Jesuits. The most important paper with regard to the last named was deliberately suppressed. It treats the splendid episode of the Vatican Council, and all its serious consequences hinted at in Cardinal Bilio's suggestion that Manning be a candidate for the Papacy, with childish indifference to their importance. The two immense volumes merely hint at these things, without conveying any information. The note of incapacity is everywhere. The book, however, helps to confirm the old conclusion, at which so many observers had long ago arrived : that Manning was the greatest churchman of his day, and the most splendid figure which English Christianity has given the world in five centuries. And indirectly it helps to a new one : that he was very much greater than he or his contemporaries suspected ; otherwise he would not have chosen his biographer, and Mr. Purcell would not have dared to compose what the majority of Catholic Americans will call "his voluminous libel."

JOHN TALBOT SMITH,

THE THREATENED ANNIHILATION OF THE JUDGE-AND-JURY SYSTEM.

THE judge and jury are on trial at the bar of public opinion. The continual tendency to denounce the ideas and methods bequeathed to us by our ancestors has found its latest expression in various proposed modifications of the existing system of trial of cases. There is a constantly increasing pressure upon Congress and our State legislatures to provide by statutory enactments for suppositional improvements. Novelists and the press, from Dickens down to the reporter in yesterday's daily, insist that the jury system is faulty in theory and practice, and that the whole structure should be swept away and rebuilt. The following recent incidents will serve to illustrate the present situation.

During the last session of Congress bills were referred to the Judiciary Committee which provide : that in any trial by jury in the courts of the United States the charge of the judge shall first be reduced to writing, shall conform to the State practice in the respective States, and shall be confined to the law applicable to the case ; that federal courts shall not hereafter punish for contempt of court except by a fine not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding forty-eight hours ; and that the trial of indirect contempt may be by jury. Various provisions designed to hamper the judge in the discharge of his duties have recently been pressed upon the attention of State legislatures. The appellate court in California recently decided that the judge who presided over the Durant trial had no authority to punish the manager of a theatre for defying the order of court and producing during the trial a play entitled "The Crime of a Century," purporting to represent the facts of Durant's alleged crime. The appellate court in this case expounds and applies the law of newspaper publications to this theatrical production, apparently ignoring its effect in exciting popular prejudice, and thus denying to the accused the constitutional right of trial by an impartial tribunal.

The newspapers of the city of New York have lately published utterances emanating from a prominent reformer charging certain members of the judiciary with disgraceful rulings from the bench inspired

by sympathy with crime, and reflecting on the integrity of a judge because he failed "to crowd a jury to a verdict." It may be noted in passing that one of the State courts of last resort has just decided that a judge may summarily punish such offenders for contempt of court. Recent newspaper editorials on the subject are entitled "Criticism of Judges," "An Attempt to Blackmail a Judge"; others present the issues under suggestive legal captions such as "*Parkhurst vs. Cowing*." Still more recently, a native-born American summoned for jury duty refused to serve, alleging as a reason: "I don't believe in the American jury system as administered in the courts of the city of New York."

If the bills above referred to had become laws they would have marked a new departure in federal legislation. Ever since the original grant of judicial power and reservation of trial by jury, the relations and respective functions and duties of judge and jury have been defined, regulated, and developed by the federal courts themselves. Even the act of 1872, which adopts the procedure in the State courts, does not trench upon the common-law powers of the judge in the discharge of his personal duties. Generally speaking, the causes which are tried by a jury are those where simply a payment of money is required in discharge of a debt, or as redress for a wrong done or injuries suffered through negligence, or where it is sought to obtain possession of real or personal property. Cases tried by a judge alone are usually those involving the equity powers, so-called, of the court, and in such cases something other than the payment of money or possession of property is usually required. These include foreclosures of mortgages, suits for specific performance of agreements such as for the conveyance of property, and especially applications for injunctions against the doing of some wrongful act.

I do not propose to discuss the recent exercise of the powers of the court as illustrated in the railway-strike cases, but it is interesting to note that the proposed legislation in regard to contempt would, in most instances, virtually abolish the power of the federal courts to enforce injunctions. Briefly stated, the relations of judge and jury in the federal courts, under the common-law system as administered, are as follows:

The judge, during the trial, determines what evidence is proper to go to the jury, and in his charge states what are the essential elements of the case before them and what are the material issues of fact to be determined, and notes the evidence which bears upon them. When the evidence is manifestly insufficient to prove a fact, or when the

weight of evidence is clearly on the one side or the other, he may say so. Questions of fact, upon which honest men might come to different conclusions, must be left to the jury to decide, although even here the judge may express an opinion if he thinks it advisable so to do. If the plaintiff has manifestly failed to prove his case, or if he has proved his case and the defendant has wholly failed to make out a sufficient defence, the judge may instruct the jury to bring in a verdict accordingly. If, in his opinion, a verdict is clearly contrary to the evidence he must set it aside and grant a new trial. Thus the judge and the jury have practically a veto power upon the acts of each other.

There are two reforms specially urged in regard to such trials as are now had by judge and jury; one, to abolish the jury and have all cases tried to a judge; the other, to confine the powers of a judge to preserving order in court, passing on the admissibility of evidence, and charging the jury as to the law.

Those who would abolish the jury insist that the system is cumbersome and costly; that jurors are blinded by prejudice or passion; that they are sometimes misled by perjured testimony, perverted eloquence, and the tricks of the legal trade; that they are occasionally obstinate or corrupt; that they are not always competent to fully understand and fairly dispose of the true issues raised and facts presented. Perhaps the strongest arguments against trial by jury are founded upon the ignorance, partiality, or prejudice of jurors. An English writer has said, "Our jurymen quit shops for courts of justice, march straight from weighing of candles to weighing of testimony, from measuring out of tape to measuring of fate, from dealing in bacon and cheese to dealing with lives, liberty, and property of men." Blackstone, however, has entitled the jury system "the palladium of English liberty, the glory of English law, the most transcendent privilege which any subject can enjoy or wish for." The federal Constitution and those of all the States have maintained inviolate the right of trial by jury. Certainly this system has all the presumptions in its favor raised by authority, precedent, and immemorial usage. The main questions to be discussed are whether the present distribution of power in trials by judge and jury should be materially changed, and if so whether such change should be effected by the courts or by legislation.

To the advocates of trial by a judge as a panacea for the evils cited by the opponents of the jury, it may be replied that the objections urged are inherent in any system dependent upon the wisdom, judgment, or integrity of our fellow men. A juror is the most independent

individual imaginable. His period of service is not determined by politics or fear or favor, his deliberations are secret, his conclusions of fact are unaffected by precedent or authority, his reasons and opinions are locked within his own breast, and for his acts he is answerable only to his conscience and his oath. As to partiality or prejudice, even of Lord Mansfield it was said that he was eminently sound and just in his decisions "when his political convictions were not involved." The explanation offered by Chief Justice Marshall's biographer of the claim that he interpreted law according to his notions of political expediency and made federalist law in nine cases out of ten is that "It is one thing to be impartial, and another to be colorless in mind." Even Lord Ellenborough allowed his fondness for turbot and lobster sauce to lead him to hold that lobster catchers were exempt as *deep-sea* fishermen from impressment in the admiralty.

A further danger exists in judge-made law. The constant tendency of judges to usurp the functions of the legislature and to seek to counteract bad laws by making bad law, is matter of history and experience. By the doctrine of *stare decisis* the evil is continued; by the conflict between legal interpretation and judicial legislation the stability of law is undermined, and the determination of its legitimate limitations indefinitely postponed. That the jury are at least equally liable to error in these regards may, for the sake of the argument, be assumed. But the verdict of the jury does not make a law of general application for all time; it merely finds the facts in the particular case; succeeding bodies of jurors act independently of their predecessors without prejudice to the rights of the community. And while it may be admitted that it is the duty of courts to enforce an odious law and thus secure its repeal, yet, in view of the often repeated failure of judges to follow this course, there is something to be said in favor of the power of juries so to find the facts as to mitigate the rigors of an unjust law and prevent an interpretation not intended by the legislature. Their refusal to enforce the oppressive provisions of the copyright law, the rigorous imposition of which would have bankrupted the newspapers and magazines of this country, and the recent amendments of that law, are forcibly suggestive in this connection.

There is heredity in systems as well as in families. To understand the spirit of the jury system and its proper limitations we must examine its origin and the theory on which it was founded, just as in determining the scope of a law we look to its underlying principles.

The jury in ancient times was a company of men gathered from the

vicinage, who were supposed to know the facts in dispute. There was neither judge nor lawyer to assist in the trial. The parties stated their claims and brought witnesses to vouch for their character, standing, and trustworthiness. At a later period, witnesses to the facts were allowed, but these witnesses constituted the whole or a part of the jury which was to decide the matters at issue, and they learned the facts from each other. When, later, the jury heard the witnesses, trials were still irregular and disorderly. This led to the introduction of the judge who passed upon the law and directed the order of the trial. Care in the selection of juries has always been considered a necessary element in the system, but the methods have often been faulty. The bulwark of our liberties is not found in the substitution, for the twelve witnesses sworn to do justice, of a body of men whose sole qualifications are that they are ignorant of the facts and devoid of intelligence. The introduction of carefully prepared testimony, skilfully presented under the artificial rules of evidence and elaborately argued by eloquent counsel, would be liable to be subversive of justice if the court were so trammelled by precedent, practice, or legislation as to be but a mere mouthpiece to deliver the requests to charge formulated by the attorneys.

If the present system is to remain, it is essential, not only that the powers of the jury should be protected, but also that the common-law powers and duties of the judge should be inviolably preserved. Attempts to interfere with the judge in the exercise of his proper functions in advising the jury and aiding them to render a verdict according to the law and the evidence, while ostensibly designed to increase the powers of the jury, really tend to the obliteration of the system. If by reason of perjured testimony, incompetent or insufficient evidence, or perverted eloquence, the passions or prejudices of the jury may be used to secure a verdict which is a tribute to the skill of the advocate rather than to the justice of his cause, suitors are, in effect, relegated to the doubtful issue of trial by battle, to relieve the hardships of which the royal boon of jury trial was conferred. It is absolutely necessary that the court which enforces the rules of evidence should be further permitted to assist the jury in giving to the evidence its proper weight, so that they may so far as possible be placed in the position of witnesses of the material facts, rather than judges with unguided discretion, to determine not only the truth of conflicting statements, but the importance of the essential matters proved. Otherwise the position of the judge is such as to justify Horne Tooke's statement to the jury, when Chief Justice Kenyon offended him, that the only three efficient

parties to the trial were the jury, Mr. Fox, and himself. "As for the judge and the crier," said he, "they are here to preserve order; we pay them handsomely for their attendance, and in their proper sphere they are of some use, but they are hired as assistants only; they are not and never were intended to be controllers of our conduct."

The practice in those courts where the judge may assist in the examination of witnesses, direct verdicts, frame special questions, comment upon the evidence, and in certain cases and under special limitations express his opinion upon the disputed facts,—provided that the statement of such opinion is advisory only, and not put in the form of a direction as a matter of law,—seems to furnish the best possible solution of the problem of the preservation of the system and the attainment of justice. A judge should not hesitate to tell the jury which way he thinks the verdict ought to go on the evidence if they would otherwise be misled. In Mr. Justice Gray's opinion,

"Trial by jury in courts of the United States is a trial presided over by a judge with authority not only to rule upon objections to evidence and to instruct the jury upon the law, but also, when in his judgment the due administration of justice requires it, to aid the jury by explaining and commenting upon and even giving them his opinion upon questions of fact, provided only he submits those questions to their determination."

If, now, the various objections to existing jury systems be admitted, is it wise to legislate in favor of either party? Is it safe to impose any rigid and statutory bounds either upon the judge or jury? I think not. Let me briefly state my reasons.

The objections to trial by jury are not inherent in the system, but are developed by the environment of the jury or the conditions of litigations. And while the rural jury, as the embodiment of the theory of trial by one's peers from the vicinage, may not be the ideal tribunal to determine testamentary capacity or patentability from expert testimony, or to grapple with large commercial transactions, this does not justify the reconstruction of a system which is capable of securing such triers as the ordinary jury in many of the State and federal courts. The conflicting notions of the proper functions of judge and jury, arising from the variety of issues presented, the constitution of the panel, the competency or insufficiency of the evidence, the inequality of opposing counsel, and the effect of passion or prejudice, already considered, demonstrate that judge and jury are tenants in common of a considerable portion of the field of evidence, and that no fixed metes or bounds can be defined which will separate their

respective domains; that each may use and occupy or at least receive light and air from this common field without trespassing upon the rights of the other. These varying conditions cannot be provided for by legislative limitations, but only by the exercise of a sound judicial discretion. Such discretion may not be arbitrarily exercised, but must be governed by the well-settled rules of law. The theory that the judge should state the law, the jury find the facts, is one easily formulated, but insufficient for the test of actual practice. Thus the Supreme Court of the United States has refused to apply the rule that the construction of a written instrument is for the court, where the question arose between the specifications and claims of conflicting patents. Reasonableness of time, while ordinarily a question for the court, is sometimes a fact to be found by the jury. The difficulties in the way of defining the respective provinces of judge and jury are emphasized by mixed questions of law and fact and by the complicated and conflicting tests of reasonableness of conduct in negligence cases. The jury are only justified in finding matters of fact when evidence legally sufficient is submitted to their consideration. Therefore, in the great majority of cases it is helpful to the jury if the court comment upon certain lines of testimony, suggest the comparative weight of certain classes of proof, and state the bearing of significant or uncontroverted evidence, in order that "the balance of their judgment may be kept in equipoise and their vision clarified." As Lord Bacon, in his advice to Mr. Justice Hilton, says: "You should be a light to open their eyes, but not a guide to lead them by the noses."

An illustration of an improper expression of opinion is furnished by the charge of a judge in Alabama, when, in an action of trespass, he told the jury that they might give exemplary damages if the trespass was accompanied by circumstances of aggravation,—“Such damages as would teach the old gentleman not to violate the Sabbath, nor injure his health by riding in the night, nor interfere with the rights of others.” The verdict was set aside, the Chief Justice saying that the above remarks were “calculated to impress the jury with the belief that the judge thought the facts such as would require them to give exemplary damages.”

Within the last six months, in one of the federal circuit courts, in an action against an insurance company by the widow and child of the insured, the court opened his charge by stating that when women and children were connected with a case, he made it a rule to say as little as possible to the jury because his sympathies frequently got the better

of his judgment. Later, he said that he tried to close his eyes to the interests of the woman and child, but added : " I cannot always do it ; I do not suppose you can. It is not to be expected. If a man can do that he is no better than a brute. He is as bad as the heathen is supposed to be and worse than the horse thief is thought to be. If he could close his eyes to that fact, lose all sense of decency and self-respect, he would not be fit for a juror." The Court of Appeals in reversing the judgment held that the natural and inevitable effect of such a charge was to excite the sympathies and warp the judgment of the jury, and was an open invitation to them to render a verdict upon a consideration of the question whether or not the insurance companies could afford to lose the amounts of the policies better than the woman and child could afford to do without them. The judge should, of course, do everything within the scope of his powers to prevent the jury from being misled by passion, prejudice, sympathy, or mistake as to the real points in issue, and where a verdict results from what Judge Lacombe in the Second Circuit has called " an acute attack of that species of mental hysteria to which jurymen in sexual cases are so peculiarly liable," it is clearly the duty of the court to set it aside.

It is impracticable to formulate in advance any rule of general application as to the extent to which judges should comment upon evidence. Much must be left to judicial discretion. When it is exceeded the remedy may be applied by the appellate court. But a hard and fast rule, such as is suggested in the proposed act of Congress, forbidding an expression of opinion in any case, could hardly fail to sometimes be absolutely subversive of justice. The varied and constantly changing conditions of causes, counsel, court, and jury require such elasticity of practice, such reciprocal aids and checks, and such adaptability of procedure as cannot be provided for by the rigid bounds of statutory enactments. If the jury system is to continue to find favor it must keep pace with the development of society and be adapted to the exigencies of particular cases. It must be free from the trammels of legislation.

In conclusion let me raise a question, not of expediency, but of right. Is there not involved in the constitutional right of trial by jury the right to such trial substantially as it existed at common law ? And does not such guaranty extend equally to the powers of the judge ? If this be so it would not be competent for the legislative authority to so abridge his powers as to deny him the common-law right to advise the jury as to the evidence and to comment or express his opinion on the

facts. This question, so far as I can learn, has never been judicially considered, although it has been touched upon by such eminent jurists as Mr. Justice Brown and Judge Cooley, and I have not space to discuss it here. I submit, however, with all seriousness in the light of recent events that it is one which in the not distant future is likely to be raised, and that upon its determination may depend the survival of the judge-and-jury system.

There should be no antagonism between judge and jury. They are not adverse parties to a cause at issue, but joint parties in a common cause, harmonious co-workers in furtherance of the ends of justice. It will be found that any possible jealousy or antagonism which may formerly have existed between judge and jury has very much decreased, and as a consequence failures to agree are much less frequent now than formerly. This result is in great measure due to the increased flexibility of the system as now practically administered. With such a system developed by such modifications as the courts may from time to time adopt, I am a firm believer in the omniscience of a petit jury to discern, and its omnipotence to secure, the essentials of substantial justice.

The evils of existing systems, in so far as reform is possible, may be remedied by the courts themselves. And inasmuch as it is within the power of the judicial department to find and apply the necessary relief, recourse should not be had to the executive or legislative departments of our Government. Every attempted reform from without involves interference with harmonious development from within. Rigid legislation cannot provide for the exigencies of particular cases. Furthermore, there are certain manifest objections to interference with the administration of a system of law by legislatures often consisting chiefly of laymen. One of these objections arises from the inconsistency and instability of such legislation. The individual with a grievance frames his bill to meet his case, regardless of the general welfare. As a result the rights of parties are uncertain, decisions conflict, and an artificial jealousy is created between judge and jury as to the scope of their respective rights and duties. The result of legislation affecting the relations of judge and jury may be, not growth and reformation of the system, but annihilation. Whatever deprives the judiciary of dignity, authority, or individuality, tends not merely to obliterate the judge as a factor,—it undermines the foundations of justice as administered by men. Judges ought not to be liable to have their personal character and integrity attacked by sensational agitators because they have refused to violate the settled rules of law.

As illustrating the power of the court to modify its procedure, it might follow the practice adopted in some States of instructing the jury before the commencement of the arguments. Personally, I have found it useful to invite counsel to exchange requests to charge before argument and, if they desire, to permit them to be heard thereon, not in the presence of the jury.

The advisory power of the court should be especially exercised in expressing its opinion in cases on the border line between sufficient evidence and the scintilla of evidence which justifies a direction of a verdict, or where the great weight of competent and satisfactory evidence is opposed to doubtful or indefinite evidence. That the court may advise the jury that they ought to try to reach an agreement, but must not attempt to coerce them, is so well understood as to require no comment.

Two rules adopted in the federal courts seem to be admirably adapted to promote the administration of justice. The first of these requires that all exceptions to the charge must be specifically noted before the jury retire, and the other, that when portions of a charge are excepted to, the whole charge must be printed.

Under the present common-law system the judge and the jury harmoniously act and react upon each other; the artifices of the advocate are exposed by the judge; the passions and prejudices of the jury are calmed by his dignity or guided by his advice; his partiality is tempered by the jury; his common law adapted and applied by their common sense; if both fail, the record is subject to review in the appellate court. Amid the complaints of legislative corruption, corporate abuses, the greed of monopolies, the fallacy of political platforms, and the hollowness of alleged reforms, may we not apply to such a jury system the language of a learned commentator on the laws of England, and say:—

“It is therefore, upon the whole, a duty which every man owes his country, his friends, his posterity, and himself, to maintain to the utmost of his power this undoubted birthright, this best inheritance of every Englishman, to restore it to its ancient dignity, if at all impaired or deviated from its first institution, to amend it wherever it is defective; and above all, to guard with the most jealous circumspection against the introduction of new and arbitrary methods of trial, which, under a variety of plausible pretences, may in time imperceptibly undermine this preservative of English liberty.”?

W. K. TOWNSEND.

EARLY AND RECENT CURRENCY LEGISLATION.

IN every coinage act of the United States, from the first, passed April 2, 1792, to the act of February 12, 1873, restoring, and not, as is generally supposed, establishing for the first time, the gold standard, the currency principles laid down by Robert Morris, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson were almost religiously respected, and incorporated, as they are, and necessarily must be, in every sound monetary system, whether it be monometallic or bimetallic. Any one who has carefully read Alexander Hamilton's "Report on the Establishment of a Mint," written in 1791, must have noticed that, although he recommended the double standard, he had a preference for monometallism and for the gold standard, and that he favored the double standard only because the adoption of gold monometallism would have been to "annul the use of one of the metals as money and to abridge the quantity of the circulating medium"—which, during the closing decade of the last century, this country could ill afford to do. Even this preference of Hamilton for gold and the single standard found expression in our coinage legislation so soon as the grounds he had urged against the employment of only one of the precious metals in the coinage—namely, its insufficiency to furnish a currency abundant enough to meet the wants of trade—were removed by the copious flow of gold from the mines of California. The supply began to come in 1849, and the act of February 21, 1853, gave the United States the gold standard.

The people of the United States, at that time, did not stop to inquire very anxiously which of the monetary metals was likely to be the more stable in the future. Silver had been leaving the circulation, by export and otherwise, for more than fifteen years, while gold had been flowing into it, first in consequence of the mint ratio adopted by the acts of June 28, 1834, and January 18, 1837, and then by the discovery of the rich placers on the Pacific; so that, in 1853, there was sufficient of the latter metal alone to meet the country's entire demand for a metallic currency. The people had suffered very severely from the effects of the double standard ever since 1792, and, therefore,

rid themselves of it, with great determination, at the first favorable opportunity. The choice of gold in 1853 as the standard was scarcely a voluntary one. It was *forced* on the country *by the operation of laws both natural and economic*. But the country gladly submitted to the result, and it made no mistake in accepting the decree of nature that gold should be the metal of which its standard coins were thenceforth to be manufactured, because, after 1853, its value continued reasonably uniform as compared with that of silver. Since the unprecedented production of the latter, beginning about 1876, gold has been infinitely more stable, as Hamilton had surmised it probably would be.

Every coinage act of the United States since 1792 has respected the second currency principle impliedly laid down by Hamilton in his Report, namely, that the double standard was to be preferred to the single standard so long as there was not enough of gold or silver exclusively to supply the country with all the metallic currency that it needed. This was the case, in Hamilton's judgment, in 1791 and 1792. It was likewise the case in every other country at that time, or, at least, was supposed to be, if we may judge from the fact that up to 1791 and for a quarter of a century thereafter no country had provided that its standard coins should be made from one only of the precious metals. It continued to be the case, in the United States, until about 1853, when by operation of the ratio selected in 1834 and 1837 and of the limitation of the legal-tender power of fractional silver by the act of February 21, 1853, the silver dollar, although not expressly demonetized, was excluded from our circulation.

The third Hamiltonian principle of coinage—applicable where the standard is double, and where the intention is that it should so continue, namely, "that there can hardly be a better rule for any country for the legal than the market ratio" and that, therefore, as Robert Morris expressed it, the coin when melted should sell as bullion for just as much as its weight in coin—that is, that it should owe nothing of its value to the stamp of the mint and everything of its value to the weight of the pure metal it contained and which the imprint of the Government serves only to guarantee, was conscientiously followed in the acts of April 2, 1792, June 28, 1834, and January 18, 1837, or at least it was the intention of the framers of those acts faithfully to follow it. The acts of 1834 and 1837 were passed to amend that of 1792 so as to make the gold and silver coins of the United States conform to this principle. They failed to secure that end,

simply because it is not in the power of man to hold, by coinage or otherwise, the value of gold and silver in a fixed ratio to one another commercially. This is the rock against which every bimetallic system has, at some time or other, struck and been shattered.

Having made two unsuccessful attempts—the first in 1792 and the second in 1834 and 1837—to adjust the mint to the ever-shifting commercial ratio, and to keep gold and silver in simultaneous circulation, Congress in 1853 abandoned the task as impossible, and with it, as has been already noted, the double standard, the maintenance of which depends on the accomplishment of that unachievable feat. There was no time between 1792 and 1834 when gold was not undervalued in our mint ratio, and when our gold coins were not, therefore, exported, hoarded, or melted down. Nor was there any time between 1834 and 1853, when silver was not undervalued in our mint ratio, and, therefore, exported, hoarded, or melted down.

The intention of our legislators, in the acts of 1792, 1834, and 1837, to make the coinage ratio of the two metals agree with the market ratio, and the value of the pure metal in our gold and silver coins equivalent to their commercial value in the form of bullion, was praiseworthy ; but, while they might make the two agree to-day, to keep them in accord to-morrow, by the same law, was beyond their power. The act of February 12, 1873, which, in express terms, provided for the single gold standard, respected all these principles, as had that of 1853 which first introduced it.

Thus every cardinal currency principle to be found in Hamilton's "Report on the Establishment of a Mint," as well as those of Jefferson and Robert Morris, was reverently carried out for more than eighty years in all the coinage acts of the United States. They are—together with the principle introduced into our monetary legislation by the act of February 21, 1853, that fractional silver coins should be overvalued in coinage, and of limited legal tender—the same principles that have during the present century guided the architects of every sound monetary system, whether monometallic or bimetallic, in America or Europe; and just in proportion as they have been strictly followed in the construction of monetary systems, are those systems sound. They are the principles on which the monetary system of England is based ; on which the monetary system of France was founded ; on which Germany established its new monetary system in 1871-73 (save in so far as it retained the silver thalers in circulation) ; on which the Scandinavian nations built theirs in 1873, Austria-Hungary hers in 1892, and, last of

all, Chili hers in 1895. And just in proportion as they have not been the guiding light of the makers of monetary systems is their work weak and destined to decay. They find their fullest and truest expression, as our own experience has shown, in gold monometallism; and it is significant that the only monetary system in the world that, during the last eighty years, has withstood every storm, the effects alike of the gold discoveries of 1849-50, and the floods of silver that have poured from the West of the Rocky Mountains since 1873, is that of England. That the United States will yet return to the monetary legislation of 1873 there can be no doubt; the only point on which there can be any question is through what business reverses and financial adversities it must pass before, in self-protection, it is forced back to it.

Since 1873 a new era in our currency legislation has opened. The past has been broken with, and the monetary principles and policy that had led up to, and been incorporated in, the act of February 12, 1873, have been discarded. The single gold standard, with its simplicity and stability, has been destroyed, and the "limping" double standard substituted for it. The ratio in coinage of gold and silver has not been their commercial ratio; the silver coins minted since 1878 will not, when melted down, sell for anything near their value in other coin. Not only have these principles been violated in our coinage laws since 1873, but those of Robert Morris have since that year been utterly disregarded. Since then, our legislators have especially forgotten such aphorisms of the Superintendent of Finance as these: "There is a great impropriety, not to say injustice, in compelling a man to receive a part of his debt in discharge of the whole," and: "The scale by which everything is to be measured ought to be as fixed as the nature of things will permit of."

The adoption of the gold standard by the United States by express provision, in 1873, was the natural culmination and necessary evolution of its monetary arrangements from the time of Hamilton. Starting in 1792, with a perfect bimetallic system, our legislators improved it, where time had impaired it, by the acts of 1834 and 1837, transformed it into the gold monometallic system in 1853, by a change so slight as to be almost imperceptible, and finally, in 1873, embodying in a single act the wisdom of all the others and the monetary lessons of our own, and of all, history, endowed the United States with the single gold standard in its most faultless form.

But, unfortunately, the great work thus created was not allowed to last. Times had changed and men had changed with them, and this

mutation of the times and of the men is the dividing line between the two great periods of our currency legislation—the period of honesty in the coinage, and the period of dishonesty in the coinage.

Then it was that the inflationists on the one hand, and the “silver men” on the other, began the work of demolition. The period when Congress adopted the gold standard in 1873 was precisely the period when the mines of Nevada, Utah, and Colorado, began to produce silver in such quantities that the annual production of the metal was soon doubled. Whatever the interests of the whole country might demand in our monetary system, *theirs* required that silver should be coined as of old, and, together with the inflationists, they led the first onslaught upon the single gold standard—and thus became guilty of the crime of 1878. As has been wittily said by some one, their motto seems to have been: *Fiat money, pereat mundus*. Their first battle was won by the passage of the so-called Bland act of February 28, 1878—in direct opposition to the recommendation of the single gold standard with the silver dollar as a limited legal tender, by the veteran statesman, the Hon. John Sherman, in his “Report” as Secretary of the Treasury in 1877, he being at the time preparing the way for the resumption of specie payments. Under the Bland act, there were coined, at the ratio of 1:16 \$378,168,793, whereas the commercial ratio in 1878, when the act was passed, averaged 1:17.94, and in 1890, when it was repealed, 1:19.76. But while these dollars were made legal tender the same as the gold dollar at the rate of \$1.00, they never contained more than \$0.89,1 worth of silver, and their bullion value sank as low as \$0.72,4. The Bland act was passed in response to a demand for the “dollar of the daddies,” although its coinage was at variance with all the monetary principles of the “daddies,”—since the dollars minted under it were not stamped at a ratio the same as the commercial ratio, were not worth as much in the form of coin as of bullion,—the difference having been at one time nearly 28 per cent,—and since creditors, by its means, were compelled to receive part of their debts in payment of the whole. Since the worse legal-tender money drives out the better, what chance had an honest gold dollar to stay in circulation with 378,000,000 Bland dollars, in the shape of silver certificates or other form, to drive it out?

The Bland act, which was the first to interrupt the unity and continuity of purpose discernible in our monetary legislation from 1792 to the time of its passage, was followed by one of May 31, 1878, which required that when the legal-tender notes had been redeemed they

should not be cancelled or retired, but should be again paid out and put in circulation. And just as the Bland act was in conflict with that of February 12, 1873, so the act of May 31, 1878, was in conflict with that of January 14, 1875, authorizing the redemption of legal-tender notes until the amount outstanding should be no more than \$300,000,000 (which it was intended should remain, for a time at least, unredeemable), and until their definitive redemption and cancellation after January 1, 1879. When the act of May 31, 1878, was passed, the legal-tender notes outstanding aggregated \$346,681,016, and at that figure they still remain, being ever redeemed and ever paid out, but never cancelled. To insure the redemption on presentation of the legal-tender notes, a gold reserve, which at the close of the fiscal year 1888 amounted to more than \$193,000,000, has had to be kept in the Treasury. Since then it has shown a continual tendency to decline.

The second onslaught upon the gold standard was made by the act of July 14, 1890, which directed the Secretary to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces per month at the market price thereof, not exceeding one dollar for 371.25 grains of fine silver; and to issue in payment of such purchase of silver bullion Treasury notes of the United States. The act made these Treasury notes legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, except when otherwise provided in the contract; required that they should be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues; that when so received they might be reissued; and that upon demand the Secretary of the Treasury should redeem them in gold or silver at his discretion, "it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law." While, by its terms, this act left it discretionary with the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the notes issued under it in gold or in silver, the necessity of carrying out the monetary policy it declared left him no option, when they were presented for redemption, except to exchange them for gold, when gold was demanded. *If this be not the correct legal construction of the act, if the Secretary of the Treasury might elect to pay the notes in silver when gold was demanded for them by the holder, then the act gave the Secretary of the Treasury authority to place the United States upon the single silver standard, to debase its entire currency, invalidate all contracts, and affect for better or worse the fortune of every man, woman, and child within its borders—a most tremendous, most dangerous, czar-like power—one greater than was ever before granted to mortal by legislative act, which*

was never exercised but once in our history, and then (not granted, but assumed) as a war measure, to save the nation.

Under the act of July 14, 1890, \$40,044,044 were coined, and Treasury notes to the amount of \$155,930,040 issued. This coinage also was effected at the mint ratio of 1:16, while the average market ratio in 1890, 1891, 1892, and 1893 was 1:19.76, 1:20.92, 1:23.72, and 1:26.49, respectively. These coins, like those coined under the act of February 28, 1878, were and are full legal tender for \$1.00, while their average bullion value in 1891 was \$0.76,4, in 1892 \$0.67,4, in 1893 \$0.60,4. Thus nearly 40 cents were in 1893, by act of Congress, clipped or sweated out of every one of these silver dollar pieces, as a smaller amount had been sweated out of the Bland dollars; an act which, if done by an individual in England in the last century, would have been punished by hanging, and the penalty of which even now in the United States—except when committed by Congress—is imprisonment at hard labor for a term of not more than two years, and a fine of not more than two thousand dollars.

As stamped since 1878, the United States silver dollar is in fact a token coin, just as much as a 10-cent piece or a 5-cent nickel piece. A token coin is one whose metallic value is inferior to its value in the form of a coin; and which on that account is made legal tender only to a limited amount. Its essential characteristic, however, is that it is overvalued in the coinage; and the silver dollars being thus overvalued are essentially token not standard coins; for a standard coin is one of which the value in exchange depends solely upon the value of the material contained in it. "We may," says Jevons, "treat such coins as bullion and melt them up or export them to countries where they are not legally current; yet the value of the metal, being independent of legislation, will everywhere be recognized." The metallic value of our 5-cent nickel pieces is 3.6 mills, of our 1-cent copper pieces 1.4 mills. Both our nickel and our copper coins are legal tender to the amount of 25 cents. At the average price of silver in 1895 the metallic value of our 50-cent piece was 23.656 cents, and of our quarters and dimes 11.8285 cents, and 4.73 cents, respectively. The metallic value of the miscalled standard silver dollar, at the average price of silver in 1895, was 50.587 cents. Being nearly 50 per cent below its nominal value, it was just as much a token coin as our copper, nickel, and fractional silver coins; yet the fractional silver coins are legal tender to the amount of only ten dollars, while the silver dollars must be received by the creditor in discharge of any debt, no matter how large, be it \$20

or \$20,000,000. It is plain to any unprejudiced mind that the false principle of finance which decrees that silver coins worth only 50½ cents shall be received by creditors at the rate of 100 cents, might just as well decree that nickel coins should be unlimited legal tender at the rate of 20 nickel pieces, intrinsically worth 7.2 cents, to the dollar. And it would be just as logical to demand the free coinage of nickel as it is to demand the free coinage of silver 50-cent dollars, with the payment power of whole dollars. Who would be benefited by such a free coinage of nickel? The owners of the metal and dishonest debtors determined to discharge, in dross, debts contracted in gold—to bankrupt their creditors by the payment of 7.2 cents on the dollar.

No evil results attend the circulation of our nickel and copper token coins, nor of our fractional silver coins, because they are only limited legal tender. Our silver dollars, being in fact token coins, should, as becomes their character, be of limited legal tender to prevent their working mischief. Like other token coins, however, they are, under our present monetary arrangements, exchangeable in the form of Treasury notes for coins of a higher order, namely, for gold dollars, by the United States Treasury; and it is mainly to exchange the silver-dollar token coins, or their representatives, for gold that we have borrowed in about two years \$250,000,000—\$125,000,000 per year—an annual expenditure likely to continue—to the ruin of our commerce and the impoverishment of our people; for the interest and principal of these loans must be met by the taxation of our people.

There are many inconsistent, illogical, and dangerous features in our present monetary system, and many contradictions and anomalies in our currency laws; but perhaps the most inconsistent, illogical, and dangerous of them all is that, while the act of July 14, 1890, declares it to be the policy of the United States to keep gold and silver at par with each other, and the legal-tender Treasury notes issued under its provisions, therefore, at par with gold, it has provided the Secretary of the Treasury with no means adequate to that end. When specie payments were resumed on January 1, 1879, the only uncovered currency which the Treasury was required to redeem in coin was the "greenbacks" which, then as now, amounted to \$346,681,016. The Hon. John Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, believed that a gold reserve of \$100,000,000, or thereabouts, would be sufficient to maintain these \$346,681,016 at par, and the gold reserve intended for redemptions was always above that amount so long as there was no great increase in the amount of paper redeemable by the Government

on presentation. But an additional amount of Treasury notes of \$155,930,940 was issued under the act of July 14, 1890, \$136,314,280 of which were on March 19, 1896, outstanding, making the total direct obligations of the Government in use as money \$482,995,296. Yet the redemption at all times of this last amount of notes is not the only task imposed upon our gold reserve of \$100,000,000. As under the laws of February 28, 1878, July 14, 1890, and March 3, 1891, \$423,289,309 in full legal-tender silver have been coined, against which \$333,456,236 in certificates were outstanding in 1895, and as the act of July 14, 1890, has declared it to be the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other, we have a total superstructure of \$816,451,532 in notes, exclusive of more than \$200,000,000 national-bank notes, resting on the frail basis of a gold reserve of \$100,000,000, which, more than once, has fallen below \$60,000,000. What a commentary on the expensive nature of our monetary system that, to keep this frail foundation in repair, it has been necessary within the space of a little over two years to borrow gold to the amount of \$250,000,000; and that without adding in the slightest to its firmness! Yet to borrow gold for this purpose or to violate the spirit, and perhaps the letter, of the law of July 14, 1890, and plunge the entire country into financial and perhaps industrial and commercial chaos, was the only alternative left the Administration. They courageously did their duty, however, saved the nation's credit and safeguarded its business interests—and for doing so have received the malediction of a part of their patriotic and grateful countrymen!

That the increased burden put upon the gold reserve by the act of July 14, 1890, tended to greatly reduce it is shown by the following table giving the amount of the reserve at the end of the four fiscal years preceding, and of the four following, the passage of the act:

Years ended June 30.	Amount of the gold reserve.	Years ended June 30.	Amount of the gold reserve.
1887	\$186,754,217	1891	\$117,667,723
1888	193,610,172	1892	114,342,366
1889	186,711,560	1893	95,485,414
1890	190,232,404	1894	64,873,025

Is it any wonder that our credit should be affected when the very key-stone of our whole monetary system, the gold reserve, dwindles to the danger point?

Reference was made above to the expensiveness of our monetary system—\$250,000,000 in about two years to maintain the gold reserve. But that is not the only item of expense. Since 1879 the average amount of the reserve at the close of the fiscal year has been \$137,941,582. The interest on this sum at 4 per cent for 17 years is \$93,800,271. The silver purchased under the Bland and the Sherman acts cost \$464,210,262.96. At the average price of silver in 1895—\$0.65,406 per ounce fine—that same silver was worth only \$300,832,739.31. The loss by depreciation has been, therefore, \$163,377,523.65. Up to March 13, 1896, the amount of greenbacks fully redeemed since January 1, 1879, was \$386,161,943. But as these \$386,161,943 were again reissued, they are in the nature of a new forced loan which must yet be paid, and therefore charged as part of the cost of our present monetary system. The expenditure account accordingly stands thus :

Borrowed to maintain the reserve.....	\$250,000,000
Interest on the average reserve for 17 years	93,800,271
Depreciation of silver purchased under Bland and Sherman acts.....	163,377,523
Legal tenders redeemed but reissued.....	386,161,943
Total cost since 1879.....	<u>\$893,339,737</u>

This is an enormous expenditure for the maintenance of a monetary system which is not worth preserving, which is a continual menace to the business and welfare of the country, pregnant with danger and disaster in times of peace, and an element of weakness when war clouds gather. A few years hence, if the same causes are allowed to operate,—that is, if the legal tenders and the Treasury notes issued for the purchase of silver bullion under the purchasing clause of the act of July 14, 1890, are not retired and cancelled,—the cost of our monetary system since 1879 will doubtless exceed \$1,000,000,000, or fully as much as the enormous sum France had to pay to Germany as an indemnity after the war of 1870–1871, and over one hundred and fifty millions more than one third of our national debt, after the close of our terrible civil war, when (August 31, 1865) it amounted to \$2,844,649,626.56—the highest figures it has ever reached. We have already wasted nearly \$900,000,000 on the worst monetary system possessed by any great commercial nation at the present time—a sum sufficient to give us a navy vastly superior to England's, and to erect coast defences from Alaska to the extreme southern boundary of California, from Texas to Florida, and from Florida to Maine. And what have we to

show for it? A monetary system that is an evil, not a benefit, one without a friend or an advocate—which both the friends of a sound currency and the friends of silver are anxious either to destroy or to reform.

Yet, vast as has been the cost of our monetary system since 1879, it is probably small compared with the loss to the United States caused by the panic which began in 1893, raged all through 1894, which has yet scarcely subsided, and which was provoked, not perhaps exclusively, but, certainly chiefly, by the instability of our gold reserve and the further concessions which it was feared would be made to the silver interest—a crisis which in the amount of damage it caused was more disastrous, absolutely if not relatively, than either that of 1857 or that of 1837.

In its beginning the panic of 1893 was financial and not commercial. The debates in Congress on free coinage had alarmed capital in this country and the holders of our securities in Europe. The chief characteristic of that panic is that the effects of a very serious crisis suddenly appeared without the overtrading and overproduction that generally precedes one, without there being anything in the political situation to disturb the market,—in short, without real or apparent cause to warrant the magnitude of the excitement, or to explain the violence of the shock. The more closely one studies the history of the panic of 1893, the firmer becomes one's conviction that it originated in the uncertainty that prevailed at home and abroad as to what was to be our future unit of value, the gold dollar, or the silver dollar whose bullion value at the close of that year was only 60 cents and 4 mills. It was well known in Europe, as it was here, that with a gold reserve of \$100,000,000 we had to insure the convertibility of notes amounting to more than \$800,000,000, exclusive of \$200,000,000 of national-bank notes. The task was deemed impossible there as it was here. The memory of the Baring collapse in 1890, the suspension of the free coinage of silver in India in 1893, and the continued agitation in favor of silver in this country, had disseminated over the whole financial world the fear that the United States might, at any moment, be unable to meet its obligations in gold.

The United States is not shut off from the rest of the world by any Chinese wall. We have to concern ourselves not only with the sentiment of our own people, but with the sentiment of the trans-Atlantic world which is our creditor. Europe has invested in our government bonds, our railway bonds, our industrial and other

securities an amount of money which is estimated by competent judges at between \$3,000,000,000 and \$4,000,000,000; and, like every other creditor, Europe wants to feel sure that she shall have the principal and interest paid in gold dollars, not in silver dollars worth only 50 cents or thereabouts. We are too prone to look only at the imports and exports of such things as can be weighed, and measured, and valued, at the custom house. We know that we export more than we import, and some among us are ingenuous enough to wonder why, that being the case, Europe's gold does not flow toward us, instead of ours flowing to Europe. We lose sight of the \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 that American travellers spend every year in Europe, of the other \$100,000,000, more or less, paid by American commerce to other nations, principally to England, for freight, and the \$150,000,000 or more which we have to pay to Europe in dividends, interest, etc. The so-called balance of trade may be in our favor to the amount of \$300,000,000 or \$350,000,000, perhaps more, and yet not a dollar in gold be shipped to us from Europe. If, in addition to all we have to pay to Europe annually, we have to take back our securities, because, on account of our currency condition, Europe has lost faith in them, we must necessarily be drained of very large amounts of gold. This it was that caused the exportation of gold in 1893, and the crisis of that year. Alarm lest debts should be paid at 50, 60, or 70 cents on the dollar, because of the United States being driven on a silver basis, was responsible for it all.

We may look for disasters of a similar nature—on a larger or smaller scale—whenever our gold reserve dwindles to such proportions as to menace a premium on gold—which is synonymous with the single silver standard; and we shall be so menaced, no matter how often our gold reserve is replenished by a new issue of bonds, so long as the means of draining the Treasury of its gold—the legal tenders especially—are outstanding. Until their retirement the gold vaults of the Treasury cannot be kept full nor the gold reserve intact, though all the wealth of the gold mines of Australia, South Africa, and America should be piled into them. As well pour the waters of the ocean into a bottomless barrel with the expectation of its overflowing.

J. J. LALOR.

The Forum

OCTOBER, 1896.

COMPULSORY DISHONESTY.

BEFORE smokeless powder was invented, an army was sometimes wrapped in the black gases belched from its own guns. Its soldiers were, in some respects, safer than when the air was clear, but the effectiveness of its guns was greatly lessened. The silver orators do not use smokeless powder, and, though the great political battle has only begun, the air is already thick. Let us go to a hilltop, or a tree-top, and see if we cannot trace the lines—at a few points.

The free-silver leaders do not seem to me to deny what their opponents assert,—namely, that the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 will, if the relative commercial value of gold and silver remains unchanged, wipe out about one half of every existing promise to pay money; that every promissory note, bond, savings-deposit, bank deposit, building-association certificate, life-insurance policy, pension, salary, and wage contract will be affected precisely as if the note, bond, certificate, deposit book, contract, or pension certificate had been surrendered for a new one in which was written one half the amount of the old. “‘How much owest thou unto my lord?’ And he said, ‘A hundred measures of oil.’ And he said unto him, ‘Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty.’”

A North-Western Senator told me, when the silver debate was on in the Senate in 1890–91, that a Southern Senator had said to him, “I do not want you to think that I am a fool. I know that the free coinage of silver will scale the debts that my people owe—and that’s what we want. We are poor and in debt.” The Senator thus addressed

Copyright, 1895, by the Forum Publishing Company.

Permission to re-publish articles is reserved.

replied, "Well, I think you have saved your intellectual integrity, but at the cost of your moral integrity." When Senator Hill, of New York, in the Chicago Convention, pressed this objection to free coinage, and Senator Vilas, of Wisconsin, declared that free coinage was robbery, Mr. Bryan, in a speech that won him the nomination for the Presidency, had only this to say in reply :—

"But if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, but now insists that we must protect the creditor?"

Senator Hill offered an amendment to the platform to carry out his thought—that when the United States degraded its coined dollars, their legal-tender quality should not extend to existing contracts. Some of the newspapers reported that the resolution was adopted unanimously; but that must have been a mistake, unless the Convention in the confusion failed to understand the question. I have not seen an official copy of the platform, but it is understood that the presiding officer declares that Senator Hill's amendment was rejected. It would have taken the soul out of the free-silver campaign; and, so far from offering the relief that Mr. Bryan promises to the farmer-debtor, would require him to buy gold at an enormous premium to pay his debt, while he sold his products for silver.

The quotation I have made from Mr. Bryan's Convention speech—and every other speech that I have seen—seems to me to affirm the legal and moral right of the United States to degrade its money standard, to pay its obligations in the debased coin, and to give to its citizens the right to discharge their debts in the same way. He meets the champion of the doctrine that the dollar of payment should be as good as the dollar borrowed, with a general denial and a counter-claim. The counter-claim is presented in behalf of the debtors of 1873—who, he intimates, were injured by the dropping of the silver dollar from our coinage in that year.

It is the supposed injury to the debtors of 1873 that he proposes to recoup from the creditors of 1896. He takes no account of the fact that the debtor and creditor classes are not fixed classes in this country; that the debtor of 1873 may be the creditor of 1896; and that the counter-claim, pleaded in behalf of the debtors of 1873, would be levied on their own goods in considerable part, and be paid to the men who are supposed to have despoiled them in 1873. About the only

bonds that run twenty-five years are railroad and other corporate bonds. Farm mortgages rarely run more than five years. The railroads, the banks, the large corporations, and the United States are the great debtors of 1873, who are still in the debtor class; and among their creditors are the thrifty poor, the widow, the orphan, and the disabled veteran. The proposition is that these great debtors shall now be permitted to discharge their obligations in dollars worth one half of the dollars now in use. I must qualify that statement: it is not that they shall be permitted, but *compelled*, to pay in the debased dollar. Dishonesty is not made optional but compulsory; for, while the United States must receive its taxes and customs dues, and the banks their loans, in the new dollar, they cannot pay in the old. And, more than all this, we are promised legislation that shall prohibit us from promising to pay in gold the gold we have borrowed. If the debtor is too honest to set up the defence, I suppose the Court will be required to appoint a guardian *ad litem* to file the plea for him!

Only one chance of escape is offered to us from the conclusion that one of the great historical parties of the country is now making a campaign for the repudiation of one half of all the indebtedness of the country—national, corporate, and individual,—and that is found in the suggestion that free coinage will raise the value of silver sufficiently to make the silver dollar the commercial equivalent of the gold dollar. This suggestion was put forth when Mr. Bryan was, in some measure, under the influence of that conservative sense of responsibility which is usually felt by the man who is proposed for the greatest office instituted by the Constitution. But it is not a proposition upon which the free-silver advocates agree, I think. It is not put to the front of the campaign—it was not so well thought of as to appear in the platform, either as a probable result of free coinage, or even as a thing to be desired. To borrow an illustration from S. S. Prentiss, Mr. Bryan uses the suggestion—that silver will rise to a parity with gold—as a heavy bird of flight uses the limb of a dead tree for a perch—the bird keeps its wings extended and in gentle motion while it tries the strength of the limb. I have not observed that Mr. Bryan has much argued the point. Indeed, he has been sharply taken to task by friends for making it. It destroys the whole silver programme. They say that gold has appreciated; that the gap between the silver and the gold dollar has been wholly caused by the rise in the value of the gold dollar; that the silver dollar is therefore the old and true measure of values. Now if free coinage will lift the value of sixteen ounces of silver to

the present value of one ounce of gold, silver will then be as obnoxious as gold. The whole scheme will fail—for the scheme is to keep silver where it is. Gold, they say, created the disparity by going up; and, if equality is again to be established, gold must abandon its giddy flight and come down to its heavy and conservative sister. They see that a proposition to degrade the gold dollar, by the use of an alloy, to the present bullion value of the silver dollar would be a proposition too raw for the palates of the people. So they let gold go—as Mr. Bryan said they will neither give nor ask quarter in the fight against it. By the free coinage of silver at the present ratio gold will be banished from our currency and from our country—for no man will be fool enough to give a gold dollar for what a silver dollar will buy, when he can exchange his gold dollar for two silver ones; and no dollar that is at a premium—that is worth more than its face—will circulate as money.

But it is not true, as Mr. Bryan seems to intimate, that the law of 1873 changed our money standard to the injury of the debtor class. The silver dollar was dropped from our coinage, but it was not then a cheap dollar, but a par dollar—the $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver contained in it were the full equivalent, as bullion, of the 23.22 grains of pure gold contained in the gold dollar. The recent Treasury Department circular (No. 123) shows that the average bullion value of $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver during the year 1873 was \$1.004; that is, the commercial ratio between silver and gold was 15.92 to 1, while our coinage ratio was 15.9884 to 1. It is not fair, then, to liken the change in our coinage laws made in 1873 to that now proposed. The former involved neither dishonesty nor oppression. The dollar that was dropped and the dollar that was retained were commercial, as well as legal, equivalents; and the change did not favor the creditor class nor injure the debtor class. There had been coined from the beginning of the Government up to 1873 only 8,031,238 silver dollars; and if we may indulge the impossible suggestion that all these dollars were in circulation in 1873, the debtors then had only 8 million silver dollars to use in paying their debts, while now they have more than 438 millions of full legal-tender silver dollars to use in that way.

In order to make good the charge that the law of 1873 wrought the injuries imputed to it, the assertion is made that the gold dollar has appreciated—gone up. And how do they set about proving that gold has gone up? Condensed, the argument is this: It takes more wheat to get a gold dollar than formerly, and therefore the gold dollar has

gone up. But the deduction from that premise is in the alternative—either gold has gone up or wheat has gone down. Commonly, we would say wheat is lower, and would seek the explanation in a large general crop or in diminished consumption. We know that these things do affect the price of wheat and will continue to do so under free silver coinage. Drouth and rust and the cinch bug, a full European crop, the increasing output of Russia, India, and Argentina, closed American mills, and enforced economy in the homes of American workmen—these things always have and always will affect the price of wheat. Another thing to be taken into account in this connection is the production of gold—for if a large wheat crop means, commonly, a lower price, so a large crop of gold must mean a lower value for gold. The world's production of gold in 1873 was \$96,200,000, and only in two years since then has it fallen below that figure. All other years show an increase, and the last five years a steady and enormous increase. In 1894 the production was \$180,626,100, and the product for 1895 is estimated at \$203,000,000. The production of silver has increased from \$81,800,000 (coining value) in 1873 to \$216,892,200 in 1894, and is estimated at \$226,000,000 for 1895. Or, to state the production in fine ounces, gold has increased from 4,653,675 ounces in 1873 to 9,820,125 ounces in 1895, and silver from 63,267,187 ounces in 1873 to 174,796,875 ounces in 1895. In view of these considerations and of these figures as to production, who is wise enough to say that gold has gone up or silver down, or how much either metal has varied? And yet it is assumed that the silver dollar has been a true and stable measure of value, that it has neither gone up nor gone down since 1873, and that it would be honest to return to that standard and settle all contracts by it. Now how is this to be proved? or do our silver friends think it worth while to prove anything?

This illustration, used by Mr. Bryan, is the only attempt at argument I have seen: If—he says—a man able to perform his contracts should offer to pay one dollar per bushel for all the wheat brought to him, would not the price of wheat go up to a dollar? But the United States is not to buy the silver—it only puts a stamp on it and returns it to the owner. It is rather as if a miller should offer to take all the wheat brought to him, to grind it into flour without charge, to put each one hundred pounds of the flour into a barrel, to stamp on the head of it "This is a barrel of flour," and to return it to the owner. How would the price of wheat, or of flour, be affected by that transaction?

There are many people, I suppose, who would scorn to take advan-

tage of a law that allowed them to have a full discharge from their debts upon the payment of fifty cents on the dollar, but who do not feel humiliated by the suggestion that they shall pay them with a coin called a dollar but worth only fifty cents as compared with the dollar they borrowed. It is said to be the old dollar—the dollar of the Constitution, and of the Fathers, and they are beguiled. It is neither—the Constitution does not require Congress to coin silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1, or at any other ratio, or at all. It confers upon Congress the power “to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin,” and neither gold nor silver is anywhere mentioned in the Constitution save in a section prohibiting the States from doing certain things, where it says: “No State shall . . . make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.” It is not the old dollar, nor the dollar of our Fathers; for their dollar was based upon the then existing commercial ratio between silver and gold. If it had been suggested to Hamilton or to Jefferson that while the commercial ratio between silver and gold was 31 to 1 we should coin silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1, they would have suggested the writ *de lunatico inquirendo*. They followed the commercial ratio into three decimal numbers to find the coining ratio; and these claim to be their followers who say that the commercial ratio should be entirely disregarded. The former sought a ratio that would keep both dollars in circulation—the latter, one that gives gold to Europe and associates us with Asia.

But, in fact, there is no reason to believe that silver would appreciate, as the result of free coinage, to a parity with gold at the present ratio. All that is guess-work—a guess not so much in the direction of the desires of the silver people, but to allay the fears of those who dread silver—monometallism, while desiring as large a use of silver as is consistent with the parity of our gold and silver dollars. Two of the leading free-silver Senators, when the Sherman bill was pending, were, I know, much more positive, than Mr. Bryan is now, that the purchase by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of fine silver per month would take up the silver surplus that they said was weighing down the market price, and so make and keep our silver dollar at par with the gold dollar. The actual result was that $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver—worth on the average in 1889 .724—advanced in 1890 to .926, and then declined each year until, in 1894, it reached the low limit of .457. Shall we trust these prophets again to our cost?

The demand for more legal-tender greenbacks in 1873 was the product of depressed commercial conditions, as is the present demand for

free silver coinage; but the former was based upon the assumption that our *per capita* circulation was too low; that we did not have enough money. The latter is not based upon that assumption but upon the assumption that the money we have is too good—not more dollars but cheaper dollars is the demand—not a silver dollar that will abide with the gold dollar, but one that will exile the gold dollar. What the red flag is to a bull, gold is to the free-silver advocates. It excites their rage; they want to gore and toss it.

Other nations that are upon a silver basis are struggling to be rid of the depression and trade disadvantages that it entails. A depreciated currency, with its always present tendency to fluctuations, is, whether judged by philosophy or history, a curse. No intelligent commercial people is now content to use such a currency—except under the severest necessity,—nor to continue its use beyond the time of possible relief. It is easy to fall into the slough and hard to get out of it—but it is harder to remain in it. This great people will not consent to have a double standard—unless each money unit is the commercial equivalent of the other; and if they must have a single standard they will have the best.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

FREE COINAGE AND LIFE-INSURANCE COMPANIES.

“Our opponents have made a special appeal to those who hold fire- and life-insurance policies, but these policy-holders know that, since the total premiums received exceed the total losses paid, a rising standard must be of more benefit to the companies than to the policy-holders.” (From Mr. Bryan’s Speech of Acceptance, August 12th.)

IF it is to be assumed that Mr. Bryan means by this statement that the standard now controlling financial operations favors the stockholders rather than the policy-holders of life-insurance companies, his reasoning is certainly absurd and grotesquely fallacious. He is, possibly, like many others, not fully conversant with the scope and organization of such companies. They take it for granted, unless interested, that the large accumulations for the payment of claims are a source of profit to stockholders who control the company in every respect, and who are enriching themselves from dividends and profits like the favored owners of a monopoly. They lose sight of the fact, if they ever knew it, that these organizations, with a few exceptions hereafter noted, belong to the people who are insured. The trustees are selected by the members, and there is not, nor can there be, a division of interest or a conflict between the “company” and the policy-holder such as Mr. Bryan has suggested. The membership constitutes the company; the company is the membership; and antagonism cannot exist any more than an individual could be at odds with himself. The remedy for righting a wrong and the power to provide against mismanagement are vested in the members. The company officials are the choice of the policy-holders, who entrust them with their funds; and in each State of the Union stands an official guardian for the insured of that State whose right and duty it is to know that every detail of the trust that means so much for each beneficiary is fulfilled to the letter. The life-insurance companies of to-day cannot be truthfully described either as money-making or local institutions; for there is neither profit in, nor limit to, their benefactions. It has been well said that life insurance is a form of communism that allows unrestrained individualism without the penalty of beggary entailed upon dependents or descendants.

The life-insurance companies and associations operating in New York State—and they include all the prominent organizations of the United States—number one hundred and seventy-nine; of these, one hundred and sixty have no capital stock. The remaining companies, nineteen in number, all but four of which are practically mutual companies, have, as a guarantee of good faith, a capital stock which is generally deposited, after investment, with the Insurance Superintendent or Commissioner for the benefit of policy-holders. To emphasize this point attention is called to the fact that on \$9,570,500 of capital stock, the dividends paid to stockholders in 1895 amounted to \$741,312, which is less than 8 per cent per annum. During the same period the dividends to policy-holders were \$15,297,603. The financial question is, therefore, of more importance to the 10,407,875 members of these associations—whose aggregated investments, amounting to \$1,175,000,000, together with future premiums, and the interest accumulations of both, are pledged to the payment of claims amounting to \$10,000,000,000—than it can possibly be to the 1,200 individual stockholders interested to the extent of seven tenths of 1 per cent of the assets. In the light of these figures there can be no question as to where the burden would fall if injury should be done to the life-insurance interests by this country's independent adoption of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

The next and most important query is: If the law proposed should be enacted, how would it prove injurious to policy-holders? With due regard to the limited space to be occupied herein, detail must be avoided and general results made to answer. First, taking for the purpose of this paper the statements of the companies reporting to the Insurance Department of this State as covering the general business in the United States and the foreign business of American companies, it is found that the thirty-five regular companies so-called, on December 31, 1895, reported as assets \$1,142,419,926,—a sum greater by \$16,040,820 than the national debt at the same date. The cash part thereof awaiting investment was \$46,730,953; and the invested assets were distributed as follows: real estate, \$123,336,168; bonds and mortgages, \$402,301,939; United States bonds, \$16,221,442; other bonds and stocks, \$456,968,091; collateral loans and loans to policy-holders, \$63,197,073; premium obligations, \$21,275,149; all other investments, \$12,399,110. These vast sums were held in trust for 8,552,440 living policy-holders with dependent beneficiaries together numbering, at least, 25,000,000. The reserve for their protection, as

determined and fixed by the Superintendent of Insurance under the laws of the State of New York, amounted to \$965,573,017. These figures are exclusive of those of assessment and fraternal insurance associations doing business in said State whose memberships number 1,855,435, making an aggregate of 10,407,875 insured persons thus reported. The payments to all policy-holders, regular and assessment, during the year 1895 were \$165,103,621.

Turning from the figures of the present to those of January 1, 1879, when specie payment was resumed, we find that the increase in the assets in the seventeen years following has been \$738,340,782; in surplus reserve, \$95,256,656; in outstanding policies, 9,795,032; in outstanding insurance, \$8,205,709,311; and in yearly premium receipts, \$209,155,887. It is beyond dispute from this exhibit that of the policies now in force, 93 per cent at least have been paid for in dollars worth one hundred cents the world over, and that the investments from such payments have been made with the same kind of dollars. The obligations contracted by the companies to their policy-holders in the United States and Canada¹ are stipulated to be payable in lawful money of the United States; while those in foreign countries are payable in gold. The companies having a foreign business report it at 212,957 policies insuring \$679,972,314, with a premium income in 1895 of \$27,346,589. If they are obliged to pay to the policy-holders of the United States "lawful money" not of equal purchasing value to that they are obligated to pay to policy-holders outside the United States, how unfair and unjust will seem such payments. It is also apparent that the statement quite frequently made as to many of the premiums on policies in force being paid in depreciated greenback currency is without the slightest foundation to support it when considered in connection with the official returns of the companies. If, then, the policy-holders of the United States are to be paid in dollars having but one half the purchasing power of the dollars they paid in premiums, they may well consider what free coinage means to them and to those depending upon them. It is not as if they had been paying for years in the equivalent of the

¹ The authorities in Canada, however, are alive to the interests of their citizens as policy-holders in our companies, for, on August 25 ultimo, a bill was introduced in the Canadian Parliament providing that when money becomes payable under a policy issued in favor of a resident of Canada, if the company refuses to pay the money in legal tender of Canada, although the policy may stipulate or imply the contrary, then the license of the company may be withdrawn by the Government. The act is to apply to all policies, whether issued before or after its passage.

kind to be returned; and, therefore, to the extent that the money is worth less, by so much will they be mulcted.

It has been urged also by a few people that owing to the hard times caused, they say, by the "appreciation in the value of gold," many policies have been lapsed and forfeited to the companies; but it is well known that for many years past policies have been made non-forfeitable after three years' payments. The ratio of the yearly payments to policy-holders to the total money in circulation in the United States is about 10 per cent. For the past five years such payments aggregate \$725,000,000, and the total amount (\$1,962,493,455) paid to beneficiaries since the Mintage Act of 1873 exceeds by \$452,768,255 the total money in circulation in the United States, July 1, 1896. How impartially the payments fall and how popular is the system that provides for them is best shown by the following schedule covering the 1895 reports of the thirty-five regular companies in the States and Territories of the Union:

	Insurance in force.	Premiums received.	Losses incurred.
North and East.	\$2,367,753,257	\$87,917,712	\$38,347,491
South and West.	2,507,354,907	81,801,453	30,883,450
Totals	\$4,875,108,164	\$169,719,165	\$69,230,941

If the investments of this great interest, vast in amount and the property of millions of people, are to be paid back to the companies in depreciated money, then, too, must the claims which they are held in trust to discharge be paid in like money. The custodians of these investments are only the collection agents of the claimants, and they must pay in the dollars they are compelled to receive, regardless of their actual value. They will have no other dollars to pay with. In response to a just demand, the companies for many years have issued contracts free of all doubt as to their prompt payment at maturity. Is it not equally important that the value of the money in which such payment is made should be likewise free from doubt? It would seem as though the best money in the world was none too good for the wives and children of the providers who had labored for them until death, or for the providers themselves when age finds them helpless.

It may be said that the companies should pay to their present American policy-holders gold or its equivalent. Aside from the fact that

the Chicago Convention refused to adopt the plank providing "that any change in the monetary standard should not apply to existing contracts," and regardless also of the constitutional right of free contract, it would be impossible to make such gold payments, if free-silver coinage should prevail, without seriously affecting the financial condition of many of the companies. Their investments, such as real estate and securities payable in gold, are independent as to their value, whatever the standard of the United States may be, and in the event of its depreciating relatively to commodities generally, these specific investments above mentioned would appreciate relatively to that standard; but their other investments, as shown herein, are of the nature of securities the principal and interest of which are stipulated to be paid in lawful money of the United States. It is obvious, therefore, that these last mentioned resources would, in the event of the free coinage of silver, depreciate largely relative to gold, and the effect of attempting to pay liabilities in gold as they matured would be to use up accumulated surplus, and ultimately (if the gold premium in the United States were high enough) to cause a deficit in the required reserve. While there is no obligation expressed or implied to pay American policyholders in gold, yet it is obvious, when the quality of their premium payments is considered, that great disappointment and misery must result to their representatives through payment in depreciated money. The repayment, with a 50-cent dollar, of trust-fund dollars worth their face in gold when placed with the company would certainly cause many a heartache.

For the five years ending December 31, 1895, the companies paid in cash for lapsed, surrendered, and purchased policies the sum of \$97,782,669. It will be seen that the future value of a dollar, while of greatest significance to those who are left without a provider, is of vast importance also to those who are privileged to retire from the company and entitled to a return of a part of the premiums paid by them. It is almost certain that the unlimited coinage of silver by this country alone at the ratio of 16 to 1, and declaring it a legal tender to an unlimited amount, would not avail to bring the relative bullion values of gold and silver the world over to such ratio. It follows that the effect would be to make gold go to a premium in the United States, as well as to increase the price of commodities generally in about the same, if not a higher, ratio as the premium to which gold would attain.

It would seem that the different views as to the free coinage of silver could be discussed frankly and fairly without giving offence,

especially in its relation to the advancement and prosperity of the beneficent institutions for life insurance. Thirty-five of these institutions alone hold \$239,286,118 more than the total capital and surplus of the national banks in the country; and from the dates of their respective incorporation have paid to policy-holders, \$1,879,633,164. There has been nothing sectional in these payments, as the membership comes from every State and Territory of the Union; and it has increased largely in every year since the resumption of gold specie payments in 1879.

There can be no individual or other advantage to the administrators of these trusts in having geographical lines of preferences. The duty that is theirs to perform calls for honesty of purpose and unflinching devotion to principle in the interest of every policy-holder. Time-servers and opinionless people are not reliable trustees to care for the funds of widows and orphans, however well they may succeed in a political calling. The motive that prompts the custodian of trust funds to enter his protest against the policy which he honestly believes will, if carried out, result in the injury and depreciation of these funds, is not more questionable, to say the least, than that of the Texas editorial advocate of the free coinage of silver who, in the "Houston Post" of August 8, denounced insurance officers for daring to have an opinion differing from his own, and who declared at the same time that—

"The life companies have more than \$100,000,000 invested in real estate, and about \$400,000,000 in mortgages. The latter amount represents a sum which the people have borrowed from the companies, and certainly no harm would come to the people if they had to pay back only half this sum to the companies."

It is men of this editor's calibre and opinions who do not know why the free coinage of silver cannot establish its absolute value as a metal. The law of supply and demand that, strangely enough, has not been suggested for "repeal" by the Populists, regulates the worth of silver as it does every other commodity, and yet, by some legerdemain not hinted at even in that nightmare called the Chicago platform, the more silver there is mined, the greater is to be the value thereof!

As yet in no part of our land has there been heard the voice of a single insurance officer who does not believe that there is great danger to the policy-holders in the proposed change in our financial system. What can be added to either argument or statement that would have greater force than this unanimous official opinion? Who are more competent to decide as to insurance interests than such officials, or who, in deciding, have greater responsibilities?

JOHN A. MCCALL.

FREE COINAGE AND TRUST COMPANIES.

THE question how the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 would affect those who deal with, or whose property is the special care of, trust companies is one of vital importance. The business of trust companies, especially of the larger ones, is of so varied a nature—partaking of that of the incorporated bank, the great private banker, and the individual trustee, in all the different forms such trusts assume—that it represents accumulated property in about every relation it bears to the community at large. The Trust Company is the trustee of the bonds of the great railroad corporations, acting not as the agent of the railroads but as the representative of the individual bondholders, whose holdings, whether large or small, it identifies and protects. Examine the records of the surrogates' courts, and you will find the Trust Company acting in a multiplicity of offices,—as executor, administrator, trustee under wills, guardian of minor children, committee of the estates of the insane, or depository of securities and funds as the agent of the court. Go to those who have the care of the property of others and you will find that they deposit their funds with trust companies. Ask women unaccustomed to business where they place their funds and securities for safe-keeping, or individuals who desire a place to deposit their surplus money not needed for immediate use but held as a reserve against unforeseen contingencies,—the answer will be, with some trust company.

The Report of the Superintendent of Banks of the State of New York shows that the trust companies, in that State alone, held, on the first day of January last, deposits aggregating \$307,000,000. The amount held by them, in their various fiduciary capacities, of private estates is not given, but these private trusts are of corresponding volume; while the amount of their corporate trusts may be measured by the numerous and immense railroad mortgages, of which they are the trustees to whom the individual bondholders look for protection.

This simple enumeration indicates how large a proportion of the population is interested, directly or indirectly, in trust companies. Whatever affects these institutions comes sharply home, therefore,

to a vast number of our people; especially those who are unfitted or unable to conduct their own affairs to advantage, namely, beneficiaries under trusts, women inapt in selecting investments, widows and orphans—in other words those classes of the community whose protection should appeal to all as worthy of special care. These trusts are, moreover, by no means confined to the rich. For, in the words of the old Latin poet, "Death knocks with equal steps at the palaces of kings and the huts of the poor." Take the case of a hard-working breadwinner, whose little accumulation is represented perhaps only by a deposit in a savings-bank or a policy of life insurance. When the owner of such a small estate dies it is more difficult than in the case of a large estate to find suitable persons to administer the property; for the law requires that a bond for the faithful performance of duty shall be furnished, and suitable bondsmen are not easy to find and are often expensive. Here the Trust Company discharges a useful function by accepting the trust; but it is rather among persons neither very rich nor very poor that a Trust Company finds its greatest field of usefulness. Hence a large and continually increasing number of persons look to trust companies for the investment and preservation of their property and the payment of their income.

Let us now consider how the various interests alluded to would be affected by the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The question presented is not that of international bimetallism—the coinage of both silver and gold by agreement of the commercial nations of the world at a fixed ratio and in such quantities as should admit of their being maintained upon an equal footing as the money of account: that is a vast question which elicits very differing and opposite opinions from men whose judgment commands respect; but it is not the question before the American people to-day. The proposition now presented to the country resolves itself into the simple question, Shall this country maintain the gold standard, recognized as the money of account and accepted by all the commercial nations of the world as the measure of value, or shall it change to and adopt the silver standard and thus place itself on a level with Mexico and China? It is urged in support of this proposed change to a silver standard that all values have depreciated in proportion to the market value of silver except that of debts, and that it is only equitable that these should be brought into line by compelling their payment in silver. So many elements enter into the cause of the change in the price of commodities, that, were the proposition true as to the depreciation of all values, it could not

be predicated as the result of a fall in the price of silver alone. But the statement that debts have not depreciated in value is erroneous. No more striking proof of this can be found than in the numerous reorganizations of railway companies in which the interest and even the principal of their debts have been scaled down to meet diminished earning power. Holders of railway bonds can bear witness to the losses they have suffered from the depreciation in value of railway debts, and many investors in western farm mortgages have had a similar experience. When the borrower becomes embarrassed, or insolvent, his promises to pay depreciate in value and the holder, as well as the maker, of these promises suffers. But these variations in the value of debts are the common lot of all property, resulting from a change from prosperous times to the reverse. The proposition to depreciate the value of debts by deliberately altering the value of the medium in which they are to be paid is not equity but dishonesty.

It is unnecessary to discuss at length the historical and economical arguments offered by the advocates and opponents of the change. It is sufficient for the purposes of this article to consider some of its effects.

Gold would be virtually demonetized; that is, it would become a commodity commanding a premium in the currency of the country. As this currency, other than gold, is at present limited, it is not probable that the premium on gold would in the beginning equal the difference between the value of gold and silver bullion. So long as the premium was less than that difference there would be a profit for the owner of silver, who would have the right to take his 371 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver bullion (worth now about 53 cents) to the mint and have it stamped as a dollar, which, being legal tender, he could force others to accept in payment for gold, or its equivalent in securities or goods. Upon what grounds should the people of the United States enable these men to make such a profit? Is it not evident that their profit is the people's loss? Nor is this profit to be confined to the owners of American silver mines alone, but foreigners are invited to share it! As time progressed the depreciation of the currency would increase, in proportion to the amounts of silver added to it, until the point of total saturation was reached, when the premium on gold would equal the difference in the bullion value of the two metals. This progressive depreciation would make the silver dollar a constantly fluctuating and unreliable measure of value. The income from trust funds,

already less than that from unrestricted investments,¹ would constantly vary and gradually diminish in purchasing power, entailing suffering and hardship upon those least able to bear it. The man of business and the capitalist could to some extent protect themselves against these fluctuations in the value of the currency; but the beneficiaries under trusts—principally women and children—could only accept the inevitable and suffer. Surely the interests of the widow and the fatherless should be considered! It cannot be possible that the American people have ceased to respect thrift, or the daily self-denial that enables the breadwinner to lay up something for those dependent upon him as a provision for the hour of helplessness.

Savings-banks, life-insurance companies, and trust companies are all only so many machines to make such thrift and such self-denial effective; but no one of them probably comes in contact with people's affairs in so many different ways as the Trust Company. Some idea of the magnitude of their business may be obtained from the Report of the Superintendent of Banks, already referred to, which shows that the investments of the trust companies of the State of New York alone amounted, on the first of January last, to \$129,000,000, and their loans to \$198,000,000; while their total resources amounted to more than \$392,000,000. These figures are based upon the existing monetary standard and show clearly the danger that would attend a change to a silver standard.

Enough, however, has been said to show how important to trust companies, and to those who deal with them, is the maintenance of a sound system of finance and the defeat of silver-monometallism. In the discussion of a change in the monetary standard the interests of trust companies and their clients are entitled to be considered, for the cause they advocate is that of simple justice and of private and national honor—in a word, the preservation of the standard of honesty and just dealing among our people and the unsullied credit and fair fame of our country among the nations of the earth.

EDWARD KING.

¹ In the State of New York the law restricts with great propriety the investment of trust funds to certain securities. They are, in general, United States bonds, New York State and City bonds, and bonds secured by first mortgage on real estate. The safety of the principal is the primary object; the amount of income secondary. The effect is, therefore, to reduce the income of trust funds below that of ordinary investments.

FREE COINAGE AND FARMERS.

IF gold and silver remain at a parity when we have the free and unlimited coinage of both metals at a ratio of 16 to 1, then the people of this country, acting through the machinery of the national Government, will pay one dollar for about fifty cents' worth of silver. It is safe to say that not one hundred farmers in all the country will have any silver bullion to sell. Practically the only individuals having silver bullion to sell will be the owners of silver mines and moneyed speculators—rich men. If gold and silver do not remain at a parity when we have the free and unlimited coinage of both metals at a ratio of 16 to 1, then the holders of gold which is now out of circulation, being hoarded in banks, safe-deposit vaults, and elsewhere, will be able to sell it at a premium which may reach near to 100 per cent. It is safe to say that all the farmers of the country will not hold 1 per cent of the gold in the country; and thus the premium will go into the pockets of those "Shylocks" who are continually being denounced by the free-coinage advocates.

Thus, whether gold and silver remain at a parity, or whether they separate, the farmers will reap no benefit; in either case the direct effect will be to enrich the very ones who, the free-coinage advocates claim, are already too rich; the direct effect will be the very effect that these advocates declare it their object to avoid—"making the rich richer." And, as there will be no creation of real value, the effect must also be to "make the poor poorer."

Certainly the rich mine-owners and money-lenders are not rightful objects of the nation's charity. There is no more reason why the Government should pay one dollar for fifty cents' worth of silver than that it should pay one dollar for fifty cents' worth of wheat.

The national Government is the instrument of the nation, the machinery by which the people as a nation do business. If the Government pays out a dollar it must be a dollar that belongs to the people; in most cases a dollar that the people have paid as a tax; in every case a dollar that could be paid out for the benefit of all the people—to improve the mail service, for example. If the holder of

silver bullion is paid by the Government two dollars for bullion that is commercially worth only one dollar, it is not the Treasurer of the United States who furnishes the money, but the people of the United States. The farmers of the country will furnish from the proceeds of fifty-cent wheat and twenty-cent corn a very large part of the millions of dollars that will be used to enrich the owners of silver mines. All farmers will pay this tribute to the rich men who own these mines.

The free and unlimited coinage of silver demanded by the Chicago platform would not be, by reason of an increased price given to silver bullion or by reason of putting gold at a premium, of any benefit to the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the mechanic, or the common laborer; none of these has gold hoarded or will have silver bullion to sell; the only ones who will be enriched will be the very ones that the advocates of the free-silver coinage demanded by the Chicago platform declare should, of all men, not be enriched; the very ones that it is sought to array the farmers and laborers against. The farmer will not be benefited if gold and silver remain together; he will not be benefited if they fall apart. "Wall Street"—that is, what the advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver mean by that term—would profit in either case; for a fluctuating currency increases its opportunities for "gambling." It would probably get a share of the profit by being paid more for silver than it is worth, or of having gold at a premium; but this share would not be taken from the mine-owners or the "Shylocks," but be made through "manipulating the market"—increasing the fictitious value given silver or forcing higher the premium on gold. It would thus grow fat on the necessities of business and the misfortunes of the people. Instead of "Wall Street," as the Populists understand "Wall Street," being successfully combated by the free and unlimited coinage of silver, it would successfully manœuvre with silver and gold, forcing the price up one day and down the next, to the profit of the "gamblers," and the unsettling, perplexity, and disaster of every business interest. Farming is a business interest.

Whenever in a country there have been two kinds of money, the one inferior in bullion value to the other, the inferior money has circulated among the farmers, and the money that found its way into the strong boxes of the rich and the hands of "usurers" has been the better money. It will be so until human nature changes,—until a man voluntarily parts with the better of two things and retains the worse for himself. Farmers always have been, and always will be, the chief sufferers from the discrediting and debasing of any part of the money

of a country. In the days of the "wild cat" currency, farmers had the least coin; and as, from the nature of their business and the longer time required for information to reach them, they could not keep so well-informed as could bankers and merchants, they were nearly always the losers. They it was who suffered most from the rotten currency of those days. Can any good reason be given why they would not suffer most from the debasement of any part of our currency now?

The more convenient greenbacks, treasury notes, bank notes, and silver certificates have always circulated almost entirely in cities, and the less convenient silver in the country. Gold and gold certificates went out of circulation in the country several months before they went out of circulation in the city. One rarely sees a treasury note or greenback in the country now. The best money has gravitated to the cities, being retained there, and the money not redeemable in gold being paid out, until on the farm one finds now only silver, silver certificates, national-bank notes, and an occasional stray greenback. The farmer has been made to bear the brunt from the distrust of a part of our currency. Debase that currency and the injury to the farmer will be increased.

Legitimate business—the business that makes real (not speculative, fictitious) value by employing labor in the field, the mine, the shop, or the store, or by transporting products—is most solidly prosperous when the currency is stable and every part of it has a certain and fixed value in no wise doubted or distrusted by the people; and such business has always suffered by a change in these conditions. The history of our country does not furnish a single exception to this; and it is exceedingly doubtful if the history of the world furnishes an exception. The free and unlimited coinage of silver demanded by the Chicago platform would therefore be very injurious to the farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant for years to come. To doubt this injury to business is to count as naught all the experience of the past; it is equivalent to saying that the opposite of what has always happened will happen. It would not be more illogical to say that because we should coin, at the ratio of 16 to 1, all the silver that might be brought to our mints, water would run uphill and the clouds would drop sunshine. Already the very possibility of the demand of the Chicago platform being complied with has closed mills, thrown thousands out of employment, and practically paralyzed business—in brief, brought us face to face with hard times.

The prosperity of the farmer has always depended upon the ability of other classes to buy of him, and his comfort upon the

ability of other classes to furnish him with what he needed and could buy; but he is to-day more dependent upon other classes than he was when the major part of the clothing worn on the farm, of the furniture in the farmhouse, and of the implements used in the fields, was made altogether, or nearly altogether, beginning with the basic raw material, on the farm, and when the major part of the surplus farm products was transported to the ultimate market by the farmer himself, using means of transportation that he himself owned. Farming is now more closely linked to other industries, and with them it shares a greater interdependence of industries. In these days the farmer depends upon the mine, the forest, the furnace, the foundry, the shop, the factory, the warehouse, and the railway, for the dozen machines—sulky plow, disk harrow, two-horse corn-planter and check-rower, sulky cultivator, force-feed, grain-drill, hay-loader and ricker, self-binder, corn-harvester, etc.—that he must use in his farming; for the clothing, ready-made, that he wears himself, and the cloth for his wife's gown; and for practically all the furniture in his house. He no longer hauls the grains and meats to the ultimate market, but now depends upon other men to kill and dress the animals, haul them and the grains and fruits and other products of the farm to the ultimate market, and there place them in the hands of the consumer. In fact, the differentiation of industries, the development of a factory system, and all those rapid and radical changes that constitute the "industrial revolution," have so closely intertwined the interests of agriculture with other interests that the manufacturer, merchant, or railway man cannot be injured in his business without the farmer being injured in his business.

The influence above all other influences affecting the price of farm products is demand and supply.¹ Anything that lessens the disposition and ability of the merchant, manufacturer, mechanic, miner, or the professional man to buy, lowers the price of farm products. Any policy that banks furnace fires and silences the hum of spindles lowers the price of wheat, beef, butter, wool, and fruits. Anything that compels the manufacturer to lessen his output, or the

¹ The advent of the twine binder into the Dakotas, the discovery of the wheat-producing possibilities of the pampas of the Argentina, and British control of the Suez canal, are responsible for the decline in the price of wheat—a decline not coincident with the "demonetization" of 1873, but with the other events named, and keeping pace with the increase of their influence. Besides, other farm products have not declined with wheat or with silver,—corn, for example, was higher in 1890-91-92-93-94 than before the alleged demonetization of silver.

railroad company to lay off trackmen and repairers, or the doctor, the lawyer, and the banker to reduce their household expenses, takes from the prosperity of the farmer. The farmer cannot be indifferent to the interests of other classes, any more than they can be indifferent to his interests. He cannot put into wider and continued operation forces that by their very approach unsettle values, alarm capital, make prudent men wait, and greatly injure the business of manufacture, transportation, and exchange, without dealing agriculture a hurt that before it is healed will overbalance any temporary gain that might accrue to a minority of farmers from their paying their debts in a depreciated currency.

The chief advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 contend that silver and gold will remain at a parity. If this be true, then by no means will the free and unlimited coinage of silver make it easier for the farmer to pay his debts. For it will not make his land produce a bushel more of wheat or corn, or his steer or hog to manufacture more beef or pork from a pound of feed; it will in no wise increase the value of what he produces; and, if the silver dollar is as good as the gold dollar, it will not increase the price of what he produces. His products will not bring more dollars, and he will not find his debts easier to discharge. On the contrary, his load of debt will be heavier; for, on account of the lessened demand due to the dislocation of other industries, the price of his products will be seriously lowered. The burden of the farmer in debt will be increased; the conditions for the majority of farmers, out of debt, will be made harder. It may be that the most prominent and vociferous advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 are mistaken and that gold and silver coin will not remain at a parity. If such should be the case then the farmer who is in debt could pay his creditor in depreciated dollars, and he would find it easier to pay the debt, if other influences were not active. But other influences would be active; much of the tendency toward a rise in prices—due to a depreciated currency—would be counteracted by the depression in all industries and the lessened demand; and this depression would continue for several years, affecting the price of several years' products, while the cheaper dollar could affect the debt but once.

In short, it cannot be shown that the coinage of silver demanded in the Chicago platform will benefit any one except the hoarder of gold, the silver-mine owner, or the moneyed speculator. Whether the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 gives us a dollar

as good as the one we now have, or a cheap dollar, the laboring man, the school teacher, the clerk, the merchant, the manufacturer, the miner, the railroad employee, the farm laborer, and the farmer out of debt will be injured; and if the dollar be cheapened, as it must be before any benefit can accrue to the small minority of our population, the debtors whose debts may be paid with cheap dollars, and all those carrying life-insurance or having savings in building- and loan-associations or in savings-banks, will also be injured. For the people of this country to heed the silver-coinage demand of the Chicago platform would be as intelligible as if a man were to demolish one side of his dwelling to make yet more dry, warm, and luxurious the dwelling of some rich man, and to stop a broken pane in his own. Moreover, the destruction of the side of the dwelling would be certain and complete, while stopping the broken pane would be uncertain and incomplete.

The farmer will not do that. True, the abuse and ridicule of certain "goldite" periodicals have sorely tempted him, as it would have sorely tempted any other man, to vote for free silver; and the advocates of free silver have been quietly, persistently, and adroitly working among the farmers for more than two years. But the quiet, grave man that passes back and forth along the furrows may be depended upon to think it out, uninfluenced by the passions that sway city masses, and to vote in November as he has always voted heretofore,—for "the greatest good of the greatest number."¹ He does not believe in gold alone for money; he desires the largest coinage of silver consistent with good faith and good business; and he believes that it is possible for an earnest and honest effort to effect an international agreement that will make an increase in the volume of our silver money an aid to prosperity and not a menace to business and enterprise; and he is decidedly opposed to "the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

JOHN M. STAHL.

¹ An analysis of election statistics shows that the city, and not the country, has furnished the majorities for debased currency, just as the city, and not the country, has furnished the Populist vote. This is contrary to popular belief, but is none the less true. The farmer vote has always been the bulwark of sound finance.

THE CREED OF THE SULTAN: ITS FUTURE.

THE Eastern Question, before which the Powers of Europe stand in hopeless perplexity, is at bottom a religious question. Whatever political jealousies may enter into it, these would vanish, if the established religion of the Turkish Empire were Christianity, and not Islâm. The question, reduced to its simplest terms, is,—What is to be done with Islâm?

All history shows us that there are no complications like those due to religion, which, not being founded on reason, but rather on feeling and passion, usually decides its differences by the weapons of the latter, rather than by those of the former. While, therefore, we cannot look forward to any near or peaceable solution of the Eastern Question, it does, nevertheless, seem as if its difficulties were increased by the widely prevailing ignorance with regard to the origin, growth, spirit, and theological affinities of Islâm—an ignorance due, in part, to that habitual frivolity which makes the mass of mankind disregard or despise what is foreign to them, but also, in part, to the character of those popular works upon which the public generally has to depend for information,—such as Carlyle's unintelligent and bombastic rhapsody about the "wild Son of the Desert" in his lectures on Heroes, or Syed Ameer Ali's recent "Life and Teachings of Mohammed," a book of which the best that can be said is, that it imitates to perfection the tactics of the ordinary type of Christian apologists. Under these circumstances, it does not seem untimely to attempt a statement, in the most concise form consistent with clearness, of the simple truth with regard to Islâm, and on this truth to base a few suggestions with regard to its future treatment at the hands of Christendom.

In the year A.D. 600, Nicene Christianity, with its dualistic distinction between the natural and supernatural worlds, its revolt against reason, its acceptance of superhuman authority, and its implicit hostility to science and art, was completely dominating what had once been the Roman Empire. A little group of Messianic notions, wrought out by a small, obscure people galled by foreign despotism as an expression of its hopes of restoration to freedom and earthly supremacy, had,

partly through the influence of a great ethical reformer, and partly through transformation into the universalizing forms of dualistic Greek thought, become an elaborate theory of the restoration of all mankind—conceived as fallen from a primitive state of paradisiac innocence and of intimacy with God—to divine favor and eternal blessedness in a celestial kingdom. Naturally enough, this theory found wide acceptance in a world in which Rome, following Macedonia, had broken up that political solidarity which gave to ancient life its worth and its joy, leaving men with the feeling that they were aliens on the earth. No wonder that they then looked upon themselves as fallen—for fallen is everything that lapses out of those relations which give its life a meaning—or that they sought to rise, by constructing in heaven that solidarity which seemed denied them on earth. Indeed, the Roman Empire, in its endeavor to universalize civic relations under its own unsympathetic, dictatorial forms, had crushed out the civic instinct altogether, and fostered the conditions which called into existence a society setting light by all earthly civic relations and maintaining its citizenship to be in heaven (Philipp., iii., 20). When it discovered its mistake, and saw that the new supermundane solidarity threatened its very existence, it foolishly thought to save itself by absorbing its rival,--thus attempting to fuse two ideals of life literally as wide apart as heaven and earth. But all in vain! Civicism, for having taken a contradiction to its bosom, crumbled only the faster, carrying with it all interest in the arts and sciences that give dignity to civic life; while ecclesiasticism, with its squalid monasticism, its soul-emaciating asceticism, and its hopeless brooding and wrangling over the contradictions—styled mysteries—of irrational creeds, rose, grimly triumphant, on its ruins.

If, at the time named, this process had reached completion in the Roman Empire, things were somewhat different beyond its limits, in Syria and the adjacent regions. Here, too, indeed, supernaturalism had, in the main, won the day, but yet not so solidly, or with such world-despising results, as in the other case. To this difference three circumstances mainly contributed. First, that pitiless, numbing uniformity of dogma, which political exigencies had imposed upon Christianity in the West, did not greatly affect it in the East. Here flourished, side by side, all those sects or heresies which Nicenism was meant to crush—Pharisaic Judaism and Persian Mazdeism (the two primitive forms of Messianism), Sabianism or Baptistism, Essenism, Ebionitism or Primitive Christianity, Manicheism, Origenism, Arianism, Nestorianism, Antio-

chianism, etc.,—keeping alive a kind of intellectual activity. Second, Greek philosophy,—chiefly Porphyrian Neo-Platonism, with its profound mysticism, and Nestorian and Antiochene Aristotelianism, with its subtle, generous thought and its cosmic speculations—when driven by jealous ecclesiasticism from the empire, had found a refuge here, and established schools of learning and mystic piety. Third, here flourished also the great schools of Hebrew Talmudism, whose labors have gone far to sustain and shape the life of Judaism ever since. Thus, while the West had sunk into the arms of a paralyzing supernaturalism, which banished enlightenment, deranged society, and left the empire an easy prey to the vigorous manhood of the hordes of Germany, a few precious remnants of ancient human culture still survived in the lands between the Tigris and the Jordan.

In this same year, A.D. 600, there was travelling in these lands, for business purposes, an unlettered pagan from beyond the central desert of Arabia, a man whom the after-world came to know as Mohammed. Being of a sensitive, excitable, and rather timid temperament, and having other interests besides those of business, this man took advantage of the opportunities offered him by his journeys of engaging in serious conversation with men of different faiths,—pagans, Jews, Magians, and Christians. Seeing that by these faiths they were unbrothered, and turned, for the most part, either into half-savages, living by the sword, or into equally inhuman ascetics, regarding mundane life with contempt and living it accordingly, he was naturally led to ask himself, whether, amid all the cruel differences of these various religions, there was not some one thing, at least, in which they all agreed, and which might be made the basis of a religion capable of uniting the professors of them all in one peaceful society, devoted to the arts of civilized life. On reflection, he found there was just one such thing, the belief in one all-powerful God—a belief held in greatest purity by the Jews, but in some form by all, even by his pagan compatriots. This, then, he concluded, is the one essential thing in religion; all else is indifferent or hurtful. Submission (*Islâm*) to one omnipotent God—absolute, unquestioning submission—is the one thing needful. His next reflection naturally took the form of a question,—How can a belief in this one God, in Allah (*i.e.*, the God), to the exclusion of all other gods, be made universal and effective? For years this question haunted him night and day, sometimes, like a fiend, driving him out into desert places, until, at last, it became a “fixed idea,” completely dominating him. And here his Arab, Semitic nature, no less than his

individual temperament, played a part not easy for men of modern culture to understand.

Of that peculiarly Aryan objective, logical, constructive faculty, which goes to make great philosophers, great epic and dramatic poets, and great statesmen, the Semite has little. He is essentially subjective, spasmodic, and lyric, so little aware of the unity of his intellectual processes as often to take what comes into his mind, in moments of deep emotion, for external inspiration, divine or diabolic. Nor is this unnatural; for the only mark whereby we know that our thoughts originate with ourselves is, that they form a conscious unity, with manifold recognizable interrelations. In the absence of this, we can tell nothing about the origin of our thoughts, except by inference from their moral content. When the subjective lyricism of the Semite is roused by patriotic or ethical emotions, it becomes what we call prophecy. Though we habitually speak of this as if it were a purely Hebrew phenomenon, we do so only because the productions of the Hebrew prophetic spirit alone have come down to us in written records, the truth being that prophetism is the form which patriotic and ethical lyricism naturally assumes among all the Semitic peoples. That prophets of Baal were numerous among the Canaanites, we know from the oldest records in the Hebrew scriptures; that there were prophets of Chemosh among the Moabites, is clear from the still older Moabite stone. And so with other peoples.

Knowing this peculiarity of the Semitic mind, we need not wonder that, when Mohammed, with his nervous temperament, was dogged to frenzy by his ever-present problem, and could see no other hope of solution than his own intense earnestness, he should have expressed this by saying: "I am the prophet of Allah. This turmoil of spirit from which I have suffered so long is the lash of God, rousing me to champion his cause, and put an end to polytheism, idolatry, and all their consequent evils." He did so express it, and the creed of Islâm was complete: *There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God.* Having reached this conviction, which he did in 611, at the age of forty, and after some strange psychic experiences, he found peace. His mission was clear; and no man ever pursued a mission with more earnestness, consistency, and exertion than Mohammed did his. For eleven long years, amid contempt, persecution, and danger of every sort, he called upon all classes of the people in Mecca, the chief centre of Arab polytheism, to abandon their idols and submit themselves to the one God, the omnipotent, the maker of heaven and earth, whose

spokesman he was. This was the whole of his message, then and always. Whatever more he had to say afterward was said in order to secure the acceptance of this. Nor did he pretend to preach anything new. On the contrary, he was merely proclaiming the true God who had spoken through all the prophets since the world began—through Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jesus, and the rest, but whose revelation had been perverted alike by pagan, Jew, and Christian. He was restoring the religion of Abraham, who built the Kaaba,¹ now so vilely desecrated by the presence of three hundred and sixty-five idols. And this was true; for Islâm is merely the principle of Judaism carried to its logical conclusion, plus primitive Christianity untouched by Hellenism. When he found his people unwilling to listen to him, and determined to cling to their idols, which brought them much lucre, he tried, like most other prophets, to convert them by intimidation. First, he announced revelations threatening all unbelievers with the grim terrors of a hell painted in Christian colors, at the same time describing the paradise of believers in gross material terms, calculated to allure a sensuous people. This proving ineffectual, he told, as revelations, Hebrew and other stories about the destruction of peoples who had disobeyed God's prophets, warning the Meccans that a similar fate awaited them, if they rejected his own message. Most of the dreary parts of the Koran are made up of these stories. Lastly, when the majority of the people only jeered at him and his "old-wives' tales," he informed them, also as a revelation, that God had hardened their hearts, in order that he might consign them to eternal damnation; that a "flaming hell" was their certain portion. Here we see the origin of nearly all that is worst in Islâm, its utterly unethical motives for conduct, its sensuality, its blank fatalism. The occasion for conversion by the sword had not yet arisen.

But, with all his revelations, tales, promises, and threats, Mohammed, during the eleven years of his mission in Mecca, made but little progress among his materially-minded, commercial countrymen; so little that, at the end of that time, he was glad to escape from them, and, with a small band of faithful followers, including some distinguished men, to betake himself to Yathrib, two hundred miles to the northward,

¹ According to the eminent Semitic scholar Dozy ("De Israeliten te Mekka") there was some ground for this belief. Mecca and the Kaaba, he thinks, were founded by the tribe of Simeon, which disappears from Jewish history in the time of David (Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 24-43); while *Abraham*, Arabic *Ibrahim*, is a mere corruption for *Ibrim* or *Ibriyim*, i.e., Hebrews. The legend would thus mean that the Kaaba was built by Hebrews, which is not unlikely.

where he had been promised support. This escape, called the *Hijrah*, marks the beginning of the Muslim era (16 July, A.D. 622).

At Yathrib, later called Medinat an-Naby (the City of the Prophet), or simply Medina, Mohammed found himself in entirely new circumstances. If in Mecca he had been a preacher, here he was called upon to be a practical organizer of men, to set on foot that very process of unification under one God which had been the subject of all his dreams and the aim of all his efforts. He was now placed in an office of infinite responsibility. It is a common saying that the Semite, however good he may be in private life, becomes reckless so soon as he is intrusted with power. And Mohammed was no exception. Up to this time, he seems to have borne an exemplary character, being noted, in accordance with the standard of his people, for fidelity, kindness, and continence. But, like most men of lyric temperament, he lacked that clear intelligence which enables its possessors to find the true rule of conduct in circumstances for which current standards offer no guidance. Such circumstances having arisen, he found himself unable to deal with them on a moral basis. Indeed, it is very unlikely that he would have been able to cope with them at all, had he not been aided by faithful adherents of firm character and practical ability. As it was, his success in crushing the Jewish communities in Yathrib, in defeating his assailants, and in bringing the Arab tribes under the banner of his religion was well calculated to convince him that he was not only the prophet of God, but also the chief captain of His hosts. Thanks to his fatalistic notions, this meant to him that he was a mere passive instrument in the hands of an irresponsible God, that what he did was God's doing. We need hardly wonder that, thus blinded by the reaction of his own earlier teaching, he was gradually transformed into a tyrant, who regarded everything that suggested itself to his fevered imagination as permitted to him, in the direction both of cruelty and of lust. It was now that he promulgated revelations commanding severe treatment of unbelievers and conversion by the sword, and others permitting him to indulge in almost boundless sensuality. Thus, freed from moral restrictions, and acting with an unscrupulousness possible only for those who believe themselves backed by the Almighty, he acquired so much power that, in less than eight years after his flight, he was able to return victorious to Mecca, command the submission of its people, destroy the idols of the Kaaba, and set up the standard of Islâm. On this occasion his behavior was marked by singular clemency. He lived but three years after, during which

his better self seems to have returned to him. Sensuality had lost its charm, and his ascendancy over his people was secure. He died quietly on June 8, 632, leaving to his followers his work to continue and his prophecies to arrange.

The life-work of Mohammed may be summed up in a few words. Seeing his nation condemned to unworthy barbarism by civil dissensions, mainly due to differences of crude superstition, he set out to put an end to this, in the only way that seemed possible to him, by trying to make religion a reality in the form of abject, trembling submission to one irresponsible God of infinite power. At first a prophet, in the strictest sense of that term, he was forced by circumstances to become a ruler of men and a leader of armies, in which capacity he acted with the vengeful indivertibility of the true Arab, performing many acts, and promulgating, as revelations, many regulations, that betray the half-barbarian. He was resolved to succeed at all hazards, and he did succeed. In his earlier, Meccan, period, his prophecies are marked by real lyric inspiration and brilliant rhetoric, such as comes only from genuine emotion. They are usually short, elaborately rhymed, and often very beautiful. As his simple enthusiasm vanishes in the midst of practical difficulties, his style becomes prosaic, and at last almost intolerably tedious. He still claims inspiration; but there is no inspiration there. In substituting God for himself, he has ended in substituting himself for God. He resembles no man known to history so much as David, whether in his abject religiosity, his fixed ambition, his ruthless dealing with enemies, or his unblushing sensuality. Indeed, it is not unlikely that he took this "man according to God's own heart," the reputed author of the Psalms, as his model. (See Koran, Sur. xvii. 57; xxxviii. 16, etc.) If so, he certainly surpassed him.

We must not expect to find in Islâm an ethical system suited to the demands of the present day. In this respect, all that can be claimed for it is, that it was, in many respects, a distinct improvement upon what went before. It put an end to many abuses, and introduced gentleness into many relations. It checked the very common practice of burying female children alive; it effectually proscribed drunkenness; it lightened the yoke of slavery; it enjoined kindness to women and gave many laws in their favor; it made religion a stern reality, and so on. But its chief merit, and it was an incalculable one, lay in this: that it roused the world, both East and West, out of the spiritual lethargy into which it was sinking in the arms of supernaturalism. Despite its utter submission to God and its cruel fatalism, Islâm is, above all, a plea for

simple, natural humanity, as against brutality, supernaturalism, and asceticism. It absolutely forbids monasticism and tries to deal gently with human nature. Its God does not demand much of men, besides belief in himself and his prophet,—only prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and a pilgrimage to Mecca. He is otherwise extremely indulgent and forgiving, leaving them to do pretty much as they please. It is often said that Islâm owed its sudden diffusion to the sword; but this does not explain how it came that there were suddenly so many swords ready to diffuse it. The truth is, its diffusion was, at bottom, due to its own inherent character, to the fact that it offered to men alienated from themselves and from life,—on the one hand by strife, on the other by asceticism,—a means of restoration, a doctrine which made this world seem worth inhabiting, this life worth living. Modern humanism, with its kindliness and its culture, owes its first impulse to the unlettered prophet, Mohammed. No better proof of this is needed than the undeniable fact that, for five centuries, wherever Islâm carried its conquests, the dead sea of barbarism and of squalid ignorance, calling itself religion, was broken up, and culture, art, science, and philosophy followed in its path.

The authentic history of its progress reads like a tale from the "Arabian Nights." In the long-tormented lands of ancient empire, in Babylonia and Egypt, it established, within a century and a half of its rise, schools of science, philosophy, and art, such as the world had not seen since the palmy days of Athens and Alexandria, nay, in some senses, had never seen. Greek thought, especially that of Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists, which had found, so it seemed, a last refuge in the schools and monasteries of Syria, was drawn from its hiding-places, and cultivated with an earnestness and a subtlety that still command our highest admiration. There is hardly a question known to mediæval scholasticism, or even to modern thought, that was not earnestly discussed on the banks of the Tigris in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. Alkindî († 850), Alfârâbî († 950), and Ibn Sinâ († 1037) were men of encyclopædic knowledge and profound thought. The "Kanûn" of the last was the great authority in medicine, even in Christian Europe, through the entire Middle Age. The "Cyclopædia," of the "Brothers of Sincerity," compiled about A.D. 1000, is a digest of universal science, forestalling many modern theories,¹ and

¹ See Prof. Dieterici's "Der Darwinismus im zehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert," Leipzig, 1878. Dieterici has made the entire "Cyclopædia" accessible to scholars, and shown its relations to ancient and modern thought. See his "Die Philosophie der Araber," 1876-9.

finding no companion for the next eight hundred years—till the days of the French encyclopædists. Music and poetry, geometry and astronomy were eagerly cultivated; the “Arabic” numeral system was perfected; algebra, whose name betrays its origin, was invented. Bagdad, for hundreds of years, was the seat of a skilled industry, and the centre of a commerce, such as had never before existed. In fact, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, while Europe was steeped in darkness, Islâm was living in the glare of a brilliant civilization. It seemed as if it might allow itself to be rationalized, and so become the Light of the World. But it was just then, when it was called upon for the highest tasks, that its fundamental weaknesses became manifest—its debasing sensuality and its paralyzing fatalism. While its leading men were indulging in the grossest and most expensive luxury and voluptuousness, its fanatics were stirring up odium against reason and freedom, in the name of a revelation, whose record (the Koran) they declared to be uncreated, infallible, and all-embracing; in fact the Eternal Word, or Logos (Kalâm) of God. This latter movement found its definitive expression in the writings of Algazzâlî († 1111), who, by championing rigid orthodoxy, declaiming against philosophy, and yet trying to mediate between them, promoted that disingenuous type of thought and expression which led to the swinish mysticism¹ now reigning in Persia, and made its author the only acknowledged philosopher of Islâm, as he is to-day.

After its revolt against reason and freedom, Eastern Islâm, under the weight of sensuality and fanaticism, gradually sank into a brutal lethargy, worse than that of Europe, its civilizing power utterly at an end. Then the science, art, and philosophy, which had been its glory, wandered out to the Far West, to seek a refuge in the Muslim cities of Spain. And, for the better part of a century, they found it, with results to culture, humanity, and toleration even more astonishing than those that had manifested themselves in the East. Industry, commerce, and the fine arts sprang up as if by magic. Philosophy, that is, Aristotelianism, with an ever slighter admixture of Neo-Platonism, found worthy expression in Ibn Bâja († 1138), Ibn Tufail († 1185), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës, † 1198), the last being perhaps the most enlightened man of all the Middle Age. Once more, Islâm seemed on the point of taking the lead in civilization. But once more the old

¹For a classical expression of this mysticism, see the “Rubâiyât” of Omar Khayyâm. On the whole subject, see Gobineau, “Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l’Asie Centrale,” Chap. IV.

weaknesses paralyzed it. Ibn Rushd, after a long life of public service and manifold literary activity, was deprived of his honors and sent into exile. After his death, in 1198, free thought never again openly lifted its head within the borders of Islâm, and, from that day to this, the Muslim lands have been sinking into that condition of weakness, sensuality, and fanatical brutality in which they now are. In some of them "philosopher" is a term of abuse. Such has been the sad fate of "Islâm," thus far.

But we should be greatly mistaken, if we were to suppose that its own fate marked the limits of its influence. Far from it! It was this influence that woke Judaism out of its inert, Talmudic formalism, set afoot that reflective movement which gave the world such men as Saadya († 942), Ibn Gabirol († 1058), Maimonides (1165–1204), and Spinoza, and made the Jews the chief literary purveyors of the Middle Ages.¹ It was the same influence that, in the twelfth and following centuries, roused Christian Europe from its deadly, ascetic supernaturalism, which Pope Hildebrand and his successors, with the best of intentions, had labored to make eternal, and that forced it, in order to define itself, as against the new faith, to attempt a scientific theology, which again was the beginning, and, in time, furnished the methods, of modern science. It was Islâm that, by the introduction of Aristotelianism, gave rise to the great scholastic movement, opened up the world of ancient thought, and, indirectly, restored man to his civic consciousness,—the condition of genuine liberty. It was Islâm that gave the first impulse to modern science, and, chiefly through Ibn Rushd² (long credited with having spoken of Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed as "the three impostors"), to modern rationalism. It was Islâm that furnished both form and content to much that is distinctive in modern literature—the prose story, the love romance, the rhymed lyric. The modern world is modern chiefly on account of Islâm. It saved others: itself it could not save: so at least it seems now.

Seeing, then, what Islâm is, what it has done for the world, and what it has failed to do, we may now ask, What is to be done with it, or for it? Must we conclude, from the horrors periodically perpetrated by it, that it is hopelessly sunk in cruelty and lust, and must either be crushed or Christianized? Or, remembering the horrors perpetrated by Christianity, even on Christians, less than three hundred years ago,

¹ See Steinschneider, "Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters u. die Juden als Dolmetscher," 2 vols., Berlin, 1893,—the most learned of books.

² See Renan, "Averroès et l'Averroïsme," Paris, 1893.

shall we trust that it may be reformed, and do our best to reform it? The answer is easy. Neither of the first two alternatives is possible; the third is. Islâm cannot be crushed, and it cannot be Christianized. Its adherents number more than a hundred millions, and are rapidly increasing. Its unquestioning faith puts other religions to shame. If the possibility of its reform be doubted, on the ground that it contains essential elements that are irreformable—sensuality, contempt for women, fatalism, immoral motives for conduct, a spirit of persecution—the answer is, that these are no more essential to it than many of them are to Christianity, which, moreover, has others equally bad. Islâm is no more the Koran than Christianity is the New Testament. All religions live and prosper by growing away from the narrow and supernatural notions of their founders, in the direction of simple rationality. If Islâm permits sexual freedom, it absolutely forbids drunkenness. In spite of its view of women, it founded chivalry. It shares its fatalism, which Mohammed did not consistently teach, with both Judaism and Christianity, as properly understood; for creative omnipotence is but another name for fatalism. As to its motives for conduct, these are no more and no less immoral than those of any system, religious or ethical, that promises a reward for virtue other than virtue itself, or a punishment for vice other than the being vicious. Heaven and hell are eternally immoral institutions. Lastly, as to the spirit of persecution, surely Christianity cannot cast a stone at Islâm for that.

It follows, I think, that there is no more reason for despairing of the reformation of Islâm now than there was for despairing of that of Christianity in the days of Luther and Knox, or of its further, sadly needed, reformation to-day. Only, we must bear in mind that no reformation can come to Islâm through any attempt to impose upon it the supernatural dogmas of Christianity, or anything Christian, as distinct from human. Any such attempt can only provoke resistance and hatred. Islâm has sunk, not because its Bible is the Koran, and its Paternoster the Fâtîhah, but because it has rejected philosophy and science, and sought truth by commenting on the Koran. What it needs, what it may well demand, in return for its ancient services to us, is rational enlightenment,—instruction in the principles of civilized life—not dogma to replace dogma. For this it is, in some degree, ready now, and will become more so as its demands are met. Our duty is plain. As Islâm once rescued us from the blight of Christian supernaturalism and spiritual slavery, so ought we now, in gratitude, to rescue it from the Muslim curse of sensuality, fatalism, and

ignorance, by making it acquainted with the great thinkers of its own past, and the best thought of the present. Religion and civilization are larger than either Christianity or Islâm.

Our proper attitude to the creed of the Sultan being thus clear, there still remains the burning question, How shall we deal with the Sultan himself, who, with brutal intolerance and ever-repeated, cruel massacres, prevents us from assuming that attitude toward his people? For any one who comprehends the spirit of modern Islâm, and its unreasoning fanaticism, there can be but one answer to this question. The Sultan must be dethroned, and all political power taken out of the hands of the Muslim, until such time as they have escaped from fanaticism, and learned the lesson of toleration. That ought to be, with all civilized nations, a settled conclusion; so that they shall form an Association for the Prevention of Cruelty and Murder to non-Muslim. The orthodox Muslim of the present day, educated as they are, cannot, conscientiously, be tolerant, and they only smile contemptuously at those whom their false asseverations wheedle into believing that they can. The nations that permit the Sultan to continue his massacres are more guilty than he is. There is no solution of the Eastern Question, until the civilized peoples rouse themselves from their cowardly sloth, and put an end to the last remnant of Muslim rule. Then, and only then, will modern civilization begin to prevail in Muslim lands.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

KING OSCAR OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

KING Oscar II, the fourth monarch of the Bernadotte dynasty to wear the twin crowns of the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, has already reigned for a longer number of years and reached a more advanced age than most of his predecessors in historic times. He was born in Stockholm January 21, 1829, the third son of the Crown Prince Oscar (afterward King Oscar I, 1844-59) and Josephine of Leuchtenberg, daughter of Eugène Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson. He is accordingly in his sixty-eighth year and is, after the English Queen and the King of Denmark, the oldest living representative of European royalty. He succeeded to the throne September 18, 1872, assuming the royal duties in full maturity, at an age which the renowned herokings of old—Gustavus Adolphus, Charles Gustavus, and Charles XII—never reached at all.

Indeed, Swedish history shows but few longer reigns than the present King Oscar's. No Swedish king since the Reformation, except his own grandfather Charles XIV (Bernadotte) and Frederick I (1720-51), was older at his death than the present ruler of the United Kingdoms is at this moment; nevertheless, there are as yet no signs of failing activity, either physical or mental, judging from his personal pursuits or public appearances. Gustavus Vasa himself, the founder of the modern Swedish monarchy, though he figures as a patriarch traditionally in history, was not probably (the date of his birth is not accurately known) more than sixty-five years of age at his death in 1560. But public men three hundred years ago seem as a rule to have expended their vital forces at an earlier time of life than they do in our own century, notwithstanding the many complaints of nervous pressure and worry at the present day. King Oscar is, in this respect, the worthy contemporary of the first German Emperor, of Gladstone and Bismarck, and of so many other indefatigable statesmen who at very advanced years have played conspicuous parts on the political stage in recent times.

Even Norway as an individual kingdom, before its union with Sweden and during that with Denmark, had no longer-lived possessor,

with the exception of the gifted but ill-fated Christian IV, who was gathered to his fathers in 1648 at the ripe age of seventy-two. On the other hand, although none exceeded his sixty years' reign, all the Dano-Norwegian kings, Christians and Fredericks in alternation, all members of one and the same family and succeeding each other in almost undisturbed hereditary order, are remarkable for having enjoyed an unusually long duration of royal estate. In that regard, in by-gone days of Scandinavian fraternal wars and struggles for supremacy, they were more fortunate than their politically more successful Swedish rivals who belonged to several dynasties, one replacing the other not unfrequently either by new elections or some revolutionary catastrophe.

But such troubles are reminiscences of the past. By this time, the stormy history of Swedish constitutional monarchy has long since settled down into a peaceful evolution of living traditions and fresh growing forces. This happier state of things dates from the last great crisis of 1809-10, which was ended by the calling in of Bernadotte as a sort of foreign *podestà* to arbitrate between the contending factions which had well-nigh ruined the country by their fierce hatreds, prolonged through generations, as was the case with the Ghibellines and the Guelphs of medieval Italy. Moreover the task imposed upon Bernadotte's heirs is none other,—if not at the risk of provoking immediately dangerous commotions, yet at any rate under the responsibility of furthering sound and unbroken progress without unnecessary complications. Party government is in Scandinavia, as elsewhere, the watchword of parliamentary doctrinaires and also to some extent an inevitable and wholesome element in political practice. But political parties in the North, however relatively modest their aspirations may at present be, are not so strongly disciplined, have no such supply of schooled and trusted leaders as would warrant the countries in allowing them to undertake the sole management of public business. They stand beyond doubt in need of such controlling powers as may be afforded not only by regularly recurring elections, but also by the more constantly exercised arbitration of the King. Especially in Norway, where home politics are considerably more turbulent than in Sweden, that control cannot safely be dispensed with. And the Union itself which, on the whole, is only a framework for safeguarding the common independence and the external representation of the two kingdoms, presupposes an untiring watchfulness regarding the symptoms of threatening constitutional displacement, and a particularly delicate and impartial mediation between conflicting pretensions and jealous susceptibilities.

Political problems of this kind are not properly fit to be dealt with by impetuous youth. They demand, besides great natural gifts and honest intentions, a many-sided and matured cultivation of the intellect, a thorough acquaintance with the essential details of the situation and with the means at hand for mastering its difficulties, and a practically acquired knowledge of differing tempers of men and of masses. Moreover, even with the best preparation, no large and enduring results are to be reckoned upon without a long and varied experience of success and reverse, of calculations which have come to pass or failed, of mistakes that must be repaired and avoided for the future, of rightly measured or misjudged opponents, of justified or misplaced trust in collaborators. In free countries the function of a really governing monarch is fully compatible with unfettered political movements among the people and with the frankest expressions of critical dissent; yet to encounter them with equanimity and to make use of them to the profit of his own purposes implies in the monarch a character at once lofty and highly wrought. But such a disposition, which may be regarded as one of the surest guarantees for final success, is usually the late-grown fruit of a superior mind which has learned by many trials to value human things by the light of unselfish ideals and the suggestions of cool, clear thought. For a modern sovereign, if he lives to complete his measure of years, there is a better chance of attaining a truly elevated position in the eyes of sincere history under the burdensome conditions of constitutional limitations than under the simpler forms of acknowledged or disguised absolute rule.

It is admitted by all that King Oscar has used to the utmost of his capacities the opportunities which were offered him of obtaining an uncommonly high degree of intellectual and artistic culture. He is an accomplished orator. His strong, sonorous, musically-trained voice sends every word he utters penetrating into the farthest recesses of spacious assembly halls and is also heard at a great distance in the open air. His speeches, several volumes of which have been published, have been declaimed on the most varied occasions: from the throne to the representatives of the people, at great national and local solemnities, in academies and other public societies, at royal or private banquets. They are distinguished by a lofty diction, by many happy turns of phrase, profound thoughts, and solid insight into the subject he is treating of. He speaks both the Swedish and the Norwegian languages equally fluently, a so much the more difficult feat as they are properly speaking but two dialects of the same tongue, exceedingly

wont to be confused in conversation. He expresses himself with almost the same facility in French, German, English, and Italian, and is not devoid of some notions of Russian and Spanish. By wide travels from his youth upward—he was educated as a naval officer—within and beyond the bounds of Europe he has trained his linguistic talents and acquired a discerning understanding of historical antiquities and the requirements of modern life. His reading embraces the literatures to a large extent of all the languages that he speaks. He is very well versed too in Latin classical literature.

Notwithstanding all these cosmopolitan attainments he is at heart a true Scandinavian patriot in the fullest sense of the word. The Bernadotte dynasty in its later generations has shown itself as completely assimilated to the native sentiments and customs as any other family of foreign origin in Scandinavia. But the position and sphere of twofold royalty,—raised as it is above the petty rivalries of common life and the ineradicable memories of the past,—direct, of course, its sympathies to all the many things that bind the two nations together rather than to what is calculated to disturb the mutual harmony. No great wonder then, if extreme nationalists on either side are not always entirely satisfied with the attitude of the King on some critical questions, though he does everything in his power to keep a fair balance even in outward ceremonials and the etiquette of official documents.

King Oscar is a poet too, though most of his poems, including lyrical and dramatic, original pieces and translations, were written in the earlier years before his accession to the throne. To a cycle of historical romances and ballads, entitled "Episodes from the Annals of the Swedish Navy," a prize was awarded by the Swedish Academy forty years ago, when he, following the example of one of his predecessors, Gustavus III, the founder of the Academy, sent it in anonymously to that illustrious literary Areopagus. That he has not enrolled himself in the poetic guild on the western side of the peninsula also, may be explained by the fact that the revival of Norwegian literature is of recent date. The classical days of Swedish poetry fell at a time when the generation to which the King belongs was at the proper age for receiving their first enthusiastic inspirations. The splendid literary glory of Norway on the contrary coincides with his maturer years and may be said to be one of the ornaments of his own reign. The Norwegian representative men of genius are his own contemporaries, though most of them are younger than he; and he has not been tempted to enter into any emulation with them, chiefly, perhaps,

because his own poetical taste and style were originally trained in a different and, it may be, a more sedate and refined school.

Of several branches of scientific and technical study he has acquired a very respectable knowledge. In military, and particularly naval, matters the experts pronounce him to be a match for any one among his generals or admirals. He is well up in Swedish and universal history, and he has published some essays and even editions of documents which bear witness not only of the interest he takes in the past fortunes of his country, but also of the capacity he possesses for original research. Nobody therefore can say that he did not merit to the full the exceptional distinction which he shares with no other royal person in Sweden, living or dead,—the distinction conferred upon him by the University of Lund in promoting him, Duke of East-Gothia, as he was then, to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at their second centenary in the year 1868. With able and intelligent interest he follows the advances made by modern science and learning both at home and abroad. He has shown munificent and noble hospitality to the international congresses that have been held from time to time in his capitals in the furtherance of knowledge. He proves a liberal and discerning patron, out of his private purse, when pecuniary encouragement is needed for recondite research or costly expeditions. Prize funds at the home universities and for international competition have been established by his endowments. Nordenskiöld's voyage in the "Vega," when he found the long-sought-after North-Eastern Arctic passage, was equipped to a large extent by the King. At this moment he is supporting with considerable grants of money not only the adventurous voyage of Nansen and the daring balloon enterprise of M. Andrée in search of the North Pole, but also the travels of M. Hedin in some of the remote and unexplored regions of Central Asia.

The Scandinavians then may justly take pride in claiming to possess the best-instructed monarch in the Europe of to-day, a man who, even if he had been born to a private station, would not presumably have failed to attract public attention and to achieve something remarkable in more pursuits of life than one. As it is, the King has seen the effect and impression of his personal gifts reinforced, to say the least of it, by the frank and unconstrained ways of intercourse that, in comparison with most other European countries, prevail between separate classes of his peoples. The kingship itself is in our days, as of old, regarded as a truly national institution that stands in no need of being protected against vulgar depreciation by retiring and

formal stiffness in its bearers. The subjects, now as always from the Saga ages downward, like to see the King moving among them as a man among men, forfeiting no whit the respect due to his person and office, only saving fit reserve for rare state occasions where royal majesty ought to shine with some degree of pomp, especially in view of keeping up the dignity of the country in foreign eyes.

King Oscar has proved himself equal to all reasonable requirements in both of the above-mentioned respects. In receiving visiting royalty with dignified courtesy and at great court festivals he is acknowledged to be a master adept at ceremonious display, tempered with an artistic sense of judicial delicacy. But in every-day life the fetters of court etiquette are loosened, and the relations of the King with the persons daily around him bear the character of friendly intercourse. The King's audience rooms are open for several hours each week to men and women of all sorts and conditions, who are introduced into the royal presence merely after having entered their names in a book laid out for the purpose in the ante-chamber, without previous examination of their qualifications or business by any court functionaries. Besides these regular receptions the King is wont on many other occasions to converse privately with persons outside the official circles. He spends a considerable time every year travelling about by sea or by rail within his dominions. He is then accessible in an informal manner to large numbers of people. There is scarcely a town in the United Kingdoms which he has not visited once or oftener and where he does not know the leading men by sight. It would be quite impossible for him to make an assumed incognito really effective and so to conceal his whereabouts, because his fine face and figure would be immediately recognized, since they have been met with in almost every part of the two countries. He is almost daily to be seen walking about in ordinary gentleman's attire in the public promenades or in the streets, alone or accompanied by but one or two attendants. There is no reason why he should let his free movements be embarrassed by any futile precautions. Attempts on the leaders of the state are, it may be confidently asserted, not likely to be heard of in the North.

Like all public men in countries governed mainly by the influence of public opinion, the King has met with the ordinary fluctuations of popular acclamation and dissatisfaction. But his personal popularity has withstood the pertinacious and sometimes bitter attacks to which the policy of his government has of course been subjected by the opposition parties in the parliaments and the press. It has withstood too

the injudicious, though well-meant, attempts that certain somewhat officious authorities have made now and then to employ some obsolete statutes of the law against the insignificant abuse that obscure and vulgar scribblers or stump orators may give vent to. In most cases such action has been nullified by the respective tribunals or juries, and no diminution of the royal prestige, as conceived in harmony with truly national ideas, has been felt to ensue upon such exercise of lenity, based upon contempt.

By reason of its origin and historical traditions, Scandinavian monarchy cannot be surrounded by such a mystic halo of semi-religious veneration as the Russian Czardom. Neither can it count upon the unreflecting dynastic loyalty which in Germany still unites the sentiments of large populations to their various princely houses, just as the tenants of an old manor are attached to the family of the lord. The reigning dynasty has not in Sweden and Norway, as in Prussia, built up the realm by pieces and through its own efforts. They were called in to undertake the management of an old and already constituted state, and therefore the monarch is regarded in the light of a hereditary chief-magistrate, to whom all law-abiding citizens owe allegiance and assistance, rather than as the liege lord of the soil. This idea partakes somewhat of the nature of a republican conception, but if it excludes perhaps some delicate tinge of fine old chivalrous loyalty, yet it may also be said to be a home-grown safeguard against the possible dangers of abstract republicanism. The names of republican forms are superfluous and provoke no very deep yearnings, where periodic elections with their agitations and compromises would not seem to afford any great probability of resulting in the discovery of a man more qualified to the highest place than is the actual outcome of legal inheritance and preparatory education. If every Northern king is obliged, as it were, in person to win his reputation and political influence by his own achievements within the frame of the constitution, without much assistance from any lingering family associations, that drawback to his position is compensated for by a certain disposition toward uprightness of the public mind. There is no inveterate grudge against allowing the political talent that the monarch may possess free scope for displaying itself in accordance with his legitimate prerogatives. And there is a readiness in the hearts of the subjects to acknowledge high merits and substantial services to the state displayed by their predestined ruler, a readiness, that may by discerning statesmanship be with no great difficulty called forth and made vocal.

The King's family life is of course a matter of great concern to his subjects, especially to the ladies, and it is not the least of his claims to public respect that in every way the best of examples is set by the palace to the lowlier homes throughout the country. He married, in 1857, Sophia of the ancient house of Nassau, the sister of the present Grand-Duke of Luxemburg, and also nearly related to the Queen of Roumania and other members of high royal and princely families. He has had with her four sons, all now grown-up men and two of them married and fathers of children. The Crown Prince Gustavus (born in 1858) and the Crown Princess Victoria of Baden, granddaughter of the late Emperor Wilhelm I, have three sons, the eldest being about fourteen years old. The King's second son, Prince Oscar, has married a Swedish lady of good gentry family, Miss Ebba Munck of Fulkila. In consequence of that marriage, which according to the constitution deprived him and his heirs of all eventual rights to the crown, he re-assumed the family name of Bernadotte and took the legal status of a private citizen, though both his wife and himself are in all other respects on a footing of intimacy with the members of the royal house. He is a naval officer. His younger brothers, the Princes Charles and Eugène, are as yet unmarried and hold commissions in the army; the latter is an artist too of some proficiency. All the King's sons have, like himself, studied at the University. As children they received their education at a day-school in Stockholm, being at the same time under the charge of private tutors.

The King's blood relationships with the other reigning houses of Europe are of no slight importance for facilitating the diplomatic intercourse and preserving the good mutual understanding between the United Kingdoms and other powers, great and small. International politics are still to a large extent conducted according to the traditional forms of a transcendent society class, consisting of the crowned heads of the states with their kindred and personal servants. There is no likelihood that this time-honored masquerade with all its quaint splendor and ceremoniousness will soon, if ever, be a thing of the past, though the high-born actors may become less and less able to arrive at momentous decisions at their individual impulses and caprices, and will have to figure instead as the responsible organs of great national forces and interests. However, sound politics must work with existing factors, not with wishes and hopes. Even if mighty republics, such as the United States and France, can dispense with the support of monarchy in the conduct of their diplomacy, yet in states of lesser pretensions and

more limited natural forces it must, under given circumstances, be regarded as a real element of additional strength to have at their disposal for their outward security a sovereign representative who possesses the undisputed right to treat on level terms with the proudest masters of innumerable battalions. It is true enough that such a right is not an infallible resource in itself. It must be used with prudent foresight and a cool head. But the labors of a patriot king in the field of foreign politics are only the more meritorious because of their being beset with undeniable and serious difficulties. They are, moreover, of such a nature that they cannot, in all their details, be subjected to formal investigation and constitutional control.

The main methods and aims of King Oscar's foreign policy are such as recommend themselves to all thinking men in Sweden and Norway. For Scandinavia all vainglorious dreams are out of the question. Of pretensions and aspirations beyond the frontiers there are absolutely none. No national hatred or longing for revenge on behalf of the leading classes or some other part of the population can endanger their peaceful relations to any one of their neighbors. Only the preservation of national independence and of the strictest neutrality in all conflicts between other powers appear to be purposes worthy of arousing the warlike instincts of the modern descendants of the Vikings. They are not without hope of a broader national life that may be in store for them in the future. But that hope is centred exclusively in the exploiting, in a more thorough manner, of their own natural resources by the help of new inventions and accumulated capital, in the bettering of the material and moral conditions of life for the masses, and in the invading of the vast unreclaimed tracts of their own territorial domains by fresh millions of a fast-growing and hardy race, the overplus of which has hitherto been obliged to look for new homes beyond the Atlantic.

In all this the King feels at one with his subjects. He directs all his endeavors to preserving amicable relations with all foreign governments and to convincing them of the complete sincerity of his peaceful intentions. This task has not always been quite easy. At the beginning of his reign the relations with Germany were somewhat strained in consequence of the sympathies shown by the Swedes and the Norwegians to their Danish cousins in 1864, and even to the French in the great war of 1870. But the King succeeded very soon in allaying all misapprehensions on the part of his powerful neighbors, and the good feelings toward each other of the two branches of the Teutonic

race on either side of the Baltic were long since wholly reestablished. Of late years some frivolous party men and newsmongering journalists have occasionally insinuated that King Oscar, in opposition to the decided opinion of his peoples, favors a connection with the Triple Alliance. This slander, which is quite unfounded, is calculated in the present state of affairs to effect no small amount of mischief, if not abroad, at any rate in Scandinavian home politics. The King, therefore, in his last speech from the throne at the opening of the Norwegian Storting in February this year, deemed it necessary to give the insinuation a downright denial, by declaring that the United Kingdoms "preserve complete liberty of action, without having given any promise of assistance to any foreign power." It is to be hoped that after this the hostile factions may cease to use a weapon that cannot be wielded in good faith. In the end it would turn against themselves, should they persist in misinterpreting the frank and cordial expressions of friendly sentiments as pledges of the King's having secret *ententes* and preferences. In fact, a prince of King Oscar's generous nature and wide culture is not prone to nourish any but the warmest feelings toward all the great civilized nations of the earth. He has not only given expression to his sympathy for monarchical Germany, allied to him by ties of blood, but also many a time to his kind thoughts of republican France, the ancient home of his fathers, and of the great American commonwealth, where so many of his Northern countrymen form living links between the Old World and the New.

Even a decidedly pacific policy, altogether without ambitious aims, must in war-plagued Europe be prepared for international complications which may arise out of threatening clouds abroad. The states which do not pretend to the risky honor of having a voice in the councils of the Great Powers are not exempted from the burdens common to all in this iron age. If it were a politically possible thing, the King of Sweden and Norway, no doubt, as well as the masses of his peoples, would gladly and wholly disarm and melt their cannons down into plowshares and steam-engines. But countries, not isolated from the troubled continent by ocean belts of some thousand miles, must make up for this disadvantage by prudently procuring the needful bulwarks of modern warcraft. A guaranteed neutralization of Scandinavia, as of Switzerland and Belgium, is only a dream of fanciful idealists. The Great Powers do not seem to be inclined toward enlarging in this manner the responsibilities which already weigh so heavily upon their own populations to whom a proposal of such a

kind would probably look very like a pretext for throwing burdens upon the wrong shoulders. There remains for the Northern countries but the resolution to resignedly make the best of an awkward situation, trying to reserve by help of independent strength and internal concord for at least that corner of old Europe the hope of escaping entanglement in the awful consequences of high politics. The armaments of the United Kingdoms are planned and executed on a very modest scale indeed. But as they are directed against nobody in particular, so they may be sufficient to ward off eventual breaches of neutrality and other occasional encroachments in case of war going on in the neighborhood between foreign powers. In the last few years Sweden has reorganized its army—a reform dictated moreover by financial and administrative reasons,—and now the navy is in the way of being augmented to some degree of efficiency. Weaker Norway is following the lead in a newly awakened spirit of emulation that will make its resources more available for the common defence.

It is nowhere an easy thing to get parliaments to discuss measures, however necessary, which are not directly conducive to immediate benefit for large classes or masses of voters. The management of parties is for a wise ruler but a means of working for the permanent welfare of the country, and its details are properly left to responsible ministers. King Oscar is very far from cherishing any petty velleities to force upon the representation his own personal views as well as from asserting needlessly every point of the royal prerogative. Though professedly himself a free-trader by conviction, he has permitted two successive ministries to carry out a protectionist policy at the instance of the peasant proprietors who fear ruin by the unrestrained importation of foreign corn, especially of the Russian rye, produced by an agricultural population of a much lower standard of life. His own influence he exercises mainly in moderating the excesses of party programmes and warfare. He perceives the emptiness of the hot-headed and uncompromising conservatism which, in the wake of the victorious protectionist campaign, has come very much forward in some quarters. The future of Sweden is dependent upon the consolidation of the hitherto dominant class of peasant proprietors by the gradual assimilation into their midst of new strata of the laboring population that is growing apace, thanks to extending industry. Socialism of the German type is an artificial and wholly insignificant product in the North. Radicalism of the French pattern is a rare plant too; it thrives in some sort only among a few knots of men in one or two of the large towns.

But the great fact of Scandinavian history in the nineteenth century, the comparatively-speaking colossal emigration to America, has widened the horizon of the masses at home through incessant communication with the settlers in the Far West. Added to the results of the constant spread of popular education, it has awakened previously undreamt of democratic aspirations, the satisfaction of which, however, will not be the object and aim of revolutionary efforts, but of patient and well-digested reform. By extending the suffrage in successive instalments, besides passing other measures of social usefulness, the King's government will pave the way for advancing democracy. Popular influence, with its strength derived from the national solidarity, is quite compatible with a ruling monarchy, as the history of Sweden has already repeatedly shown.

In Norway the situation is somewhat more complicated owing to the relative weakness of the steady-going peasantry. Parties are there more hostile to each other, but the rash experiments of swiftly-changing ministries are at this moment subsiding into the calmer every-day work of a coalition government, formed in response to the untiring appeals of the King to the best patriotic forces of the country. The "extreme left" or radical faction had committed the serious error of attaching itself to a programme which involved a secessionist policy toward the Union. In Sweden some leading politicians had not coolness enough to await the results of the Norwegian inner conflict, but hastened the bringing up of the Union question by untimely proposals and protests. For the King then arose the opportunity and the necessity of stepping forward as the mediator between opposing pretensions. In fulfilling this task he may reckon upon the aid and the common sense of the vast Unionist and peace-loving majority of the two kingdoms.

It will be a crowning laurel for his grey hairs if he lives to see the Union consolidated through wise adjustment, and his name will then go down to history with those of the never-to-be-forgotten kings of olden days.

HARALD HJÄRNE.

EDMOND DE GONCOURT.

OF how few artists can it be said with certainty in this age of premature creation, of multitudinous and chaotic endeavor, and of imperfect and unfinished production, that they shall pass triumphantly on to posterity! How few there are whose works possess at once that perennial quality of thought, truth of sentiment, and absolute perfection of form necessary to assure them the reward of perpetual youth! Judging by these standards, we have already noticed, or have been enabled to ascertain, the singular vicissitudes affecting the literary history of our day. Many of our contemporaries acquainted with the most resounding successes, the most flattering triumphs, have fallen into oblivion during their own lifetime. A few names, which at the commencement of the century enjoyed an undoubted popularity, barely survive; have there not been strange dethronements even among more enduring reputations? Is de Musset read as our fathers read him? Is Théophile Gautier still found in every hand? Have not even the works of Victor Hugo been outlived in large measure? And does not the realistic school, triumphant only a few years ago, hold up before us an example of lamentable decadence?

Nevertheless the great writer on whom the tomb has so recently closed seems to belong to those whose work shall know the rare and enviable fortune of an almost intact survival. To quote the beautiful sentiment of Sainte Beuve, this work will present itself "*sous une enveloppe admirable de résumé au regard sommaire de l'avenir*"; it will impress by its faultless style, while it brings to bear upon the period a judgment at once absolute and true. But above all it will reveal to the gaze of the future, whatever that may be, one of those intelligences most enamoured of the divine, of imperishable beauty,—one of those existences which, like Flaubert, knew no loftier ideal, no more ardent passion.

Primarily, a few words concerning the man seem to be required, although, to speak truly, he is to be found with tolerable distinctness in all his books, particularly in the nine volumes of that unique monograph, his "*Journal*." I have frequently seen him at the house of the

editor Charpentier, where the best which Paris holds in the artistic and literary world has assembled for half a century to create a *salon* destined to live in the history of our literature, and I retain a remembrance of this handsome and noble old man which time cannot weaken. Tall and erect of stature, unbowed by his seventy-five years, with clear and vivacious eye, precise and eloquent speech, and fine delicate hands, he appeared, as was written concerning him the day following his death by the chronicler Henri Bauer, "the splendid ancestor of our literary age, the rare forefather who must endure for all time." In the personality of Edmond de Goncourt, as well as in his conversation, we are predominantly impressed by his characteristic scrupulousness and innate aristocratic feeling. In a higher degree than any other writer of his time he possessed delicate and refined tendencies, which persistently recurred in his work, influencing it and inspiring in him scorn of easy success and of the fame he cared so little to acquire.

Born at Nancy, May 26, 1822, he made his first appearance in the literary world with his brother Jules in a novel entitled "En 18 . ." Since then this collaboration of two literary minds, unprecedented in the history of literature, has continued. Edmund de Goncourt, in the ninth volume of the "Journal," describes, in terms interesting to recall and clearly characterizing the elements of this collaboration, the touching communion and the profound and marvellous intellectual intimacy which, welding their personalities together, was only to cease with death:—

"I do not wish, in the last volume to be published during my life, to finish the 'Journal des Goncourt' without giving the history of our collaboration, without recounting its beginning, describing its various phases, indicating year by year in this dual work the predominance at times of the elder brother over the younger, and again of the younger over the elder. First of all there were two temperaments absolutely different: my brother, bright, spirited, expansive; I, melancholy, dreamy, concentrated; and, curiously enough, two brains receiving identical impressions from contact with the outside world. But when, having both studied painting, we devoted ourselves to literature, I admit my brother was the more accomplished stylist, the better master of diction, in fact more of a writer than myself, and over whom I had only the advantage of being more observant in my intercourse with men and things not yet brought to light and which might become the material for literature—novels, tales, and plays. Thus we made our first appearance, my brother under the influence of Jules Janin and I under that of Théophile Gautier; and any one can recognize in 'En 18 . .' the two inspirations, imperfectly intermingled, which gave our first book the character of a work with a dual voice and a double pen. Then followed biographies of art and historical works written somewhat under my pressure and the natural tendency of my mind toward truthful representation of the past and

present : works in which perhaps my influence weighed somewhat more than my brother's. In this work our two styles were fused and amalgamated into a single style much more personal and altogether Goncourt. In this literary partnership my brother and I endeavored to disembarass ourselves of something for which our masters were responsible ; my brother threw off the slur of Janin's style and I the materialism of Gautier's ; desiring to be altogether modern, we sought for a style masculine, distinctive, concise, with a Latin frame, approaching the language of Tacitus, whom at this time we were reading much. Above all we had a horror of wholesale conventionalism, to which I had already sacrificed too much, and we endeavored in the delineation of material things to spiritualize them with moral detail."

The widespread fame of the de Goncourts really began with the novel "Charles Demailly," their genius manifesting itself in these touching and vibrant pages. From that time every hour has been marked by creative activity sufficiently attested by the large number of works remaining to us. Whether it be in the history of the eighteenth century, which they have revived with marvellous brilliancy ; in the novels in which they created a realism more vivid and actual than Zola's ; in their notes of travel, or works on art ;—their impeccable mastery as writers flashes forth everywhere victoriously, showing their continual anxiety to create the true and the beautiful. Death alone could dissolve such a union. It removed Jules de Goncourt in 1870, leaving the elder, Edmond, to continue undaunted his beautiful task as a writer with such works as "Les Frères Zemganno," "La Fille Elisa," "Chérie," and "La Faustin."

A little haughtily and scornfully, but with admirable nobleness, this task was accomplished in that little house at Auteuil,—*Le Grenier*, which he has described in his book "La Maison d'un Artiste." One cannot imagine the marvels that have been here accumulated by the author, day by day, with rare appreciation of the beautiful ; his preference being chiefly won to the elegant and refined art of the eighteenth century. Of the masters of this period he possessed a collection of pictures, and especially of admirable drawings, acquired at a heroic sacrifice. Among the first to discover Chinese and Japanese art, more particularly that of Outamaro and Hokousai, he had in his possession some perfect specimens of their workmanship.

The activity of this great thinker was both formidable and diversified. As an art critic, he was able to depict the artists and the society of the eighteenth century, entering with subtle intuition into the life of the woman of this epoch, reviving all the charm of the somewhat affected delicacy of atmosphere by which she was surrounded. Not satisfied with conjuring up in perfection both men and places, as

in works like "La Femme au 18^e Siècle," "L'Amour au 18^e Siècle," "Les Maîtresses de Louis XV," and "L'Œuvre de Watteau," he did more—he redoubled his qualifications as an observer and his scrupulous study of facts, with a solicitude for style and refinement carried at times to the extreme limit of sensibility. He did not confine his studies to the eighteenth century or to Japanese art; together with Jules de Goncourt he was the first to comprehend certain of his unrecognized contemporaries,—such men as the sculptor Barye, the draughtsman Daumier, the painter Delacroix, and many others.

As a dramatic author Edmond de Goncourt moved a world of imagination and fact, but his genius—above all else that of an incomparable stylist—could not become acclimatized to the exigencies and requirements of the stage, and in this respect none of his plays met with success or held its own before the footlights. Whatever there be in "La Fille Elisa," "Henriette Maréchal," "Germinie Lacerteux," or "Manette Salomon," his marvellous qualities of style and observation could not take the place of the scenic action wherein he failed. But if de Goncourt could not rise to the height of great dramatic talent, he has created an enduring work in romance, stamped with the seal of genius, chiselled in that eternal form of which Horace spoke when he wrote "*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*"

Many critics have pronounced the word "realism" in connection with him, but it seems to me that it is to misunderstand the tendencies of de Goncourt's genius to associate him with a school with which he held nothing in common but the name. In the restricted sense of the word he was no more a realist than Flaubert; he never accepted the license of extreme description allowed by the realistic novel. He was none the less a creator of truth because he was a creator of beauty; and perhaps for the very reason that he was a creator of beauty no one has better understood, studied, or felt the different aspects of modern life. He desired to substitute for the romance, which transports us into the realms of fancy and interests us solely by the picturesqueness of its incidents, a novel real in its scrupulous reproduction of the spectacle of daily life reflected through the sensibilities of the writer. And his charm lies partly in the concise and temperate manner he employs to depict this same truth that others are wild to show us in an accumulation of facts, in a compilation of proofs. This charm consists in a fine power of portrayal, often in very few words, but with that perfection of style which reproduces the essential in a situation or landscape and is, in short, the appanage of the classical masters.

His procedure—if one may thus speak of so noble a method—consisted in the selection of a picturesque centre, and the placing in it of characters which are portraits and which move in a plot of anecdote and impressions rather than invention. “Charles Demailly” evokes the modern medical school; “Sœur Philomène,” the haunts of those souls mysteriously and grievously wounded by life; “Renée Mauperin” and “Chérie” initiate us into the sickly bewilderment, the unsatisfied sensuality, and the nervous disorders of the modern young girl that so many others have since essayed to paint in vain. In “La Faustin,” that prodigious *tour de force*, we find ourselves in the presence of passion perverted and deflected by research into artistic excitement. “Les Frères Zemganno” shows us—transplanted to the picturesque midst of the acrobats’ life—the touching affection of the two brothers.

In this life so filled by the activity of the novelist, historian, and critic,—a life that counted friendships as unique as they were rare,—place must be made for the daily labor de Goncourt imposed upon himself in the writing of his “Journal,” that portion of his work certainly the most decried. In these pages, wherein the *I* of the writer frequently assumes so large a place that we are made to see every event only in the relation which it appears to have solely to him, he has written the literary history of his time, and more particularly of his own life and work. The “Journal” was to him not merely a daily exercise; it was, so to speak, the scales by which the virtuoso regulated his thoughts; but for us it will remain one of the most precious and complete of documents.

Unhappily one is grieved at times to find regrettable smallnesses in the man,—to see that the world existed *for* him only when it occupied itself *with* him. He shows therein a constant susceptibility, an irritability, I might almost say an egotism, which is astonishing in so great a mover of thought. He frequently manifests an incomprehensible severity toward writers of such unquestionable and undisputed merit as Flaubert or Maupassant. In this ninth and last volume of memoirs, whose frankness made him so many enemies, he went so far as to be unwilling to recognize in Guy de Maupassant aught else than the talent of “novelière,” instead of the grand breadth of the writer which amazes one in each of his novels. Such trivialities must be pardoned, however, in a man irritated by the mortification and disappointment which, since the death of his brother, have overshadowed his literary career.

What appears clearly from his “Journal,” as from the general body

of his work, is the impassioned worship he entertained for polite literature and the beautiful: herein lies the fundamental trait which explains his talent and his life. Noble and admirable are those who bring into our age of utilitarianism and base thirst for money a little of the religion of a past era! This creed as an aim and object filled his life and became the serene conclusion of which his whole existence was the exponent. To none more worthily than himself may be applied the axiom of our beloved and great Flaubert, "*Usez votre jeunesse aux bras de la muse*"; but he gave not merely his youth, but his whole life, with haughty and solitary pride in devotion to the ideal; and so his memory will survive not only by reason of the perfect works he has left us, but as a noble example of a life devoted to the worship of the divine and the beautiful.

HENRI FRANTZ.

BANKS OF ISSUE IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE is a deep underlying reason for the strength of the fallacies of currency inflation in a new country. Its settlers are men without capital. They have the land and are ready to apply their own labor to it. Their economic weakness is in the want of capital. The confusion of capital and money is radical and persistent. It may appear at any moment in the thinking of any man, if it is not guarded against by well-trained scrutiny. It is favored by current forms of expression which cannot be altered, and by popular and customary ways of looking at phenomena. It is further strengthened by the lamentable fact that the terms have no fixed and universally accepted definitions. It is inevitable that, in the absence of special training to the contrary, a man will think that he wants the medium of exchange when he wants the goods which are exchanged. It follows further, from the situation of settlers on new land, that they are tempted into debt in order to get the capital which they need. Can the land produce enough to support the laborer and accumulate the capital necessary to its exploitation? It can, if the laborer has the self-control to renounce the enjoyment of his product and turn it into capital. Can it even overtake the accumulation of interest on capital borrowed in advance of the exploitation? It can do that also, subject to the same condition, but, in this case, the self-denial called for is still harder, and the moral stamina required to produce it is weakened by the handling of large amounts of capital which are not one's own. Thousands of men have thus borrowed and paid; thousands of men have failed at it, in the history of this country. In any case the arrangement produces a condition of general indebtedness of the new country to the older centres of civilization which is, in many social and political respects, a dangerous state of things. In New England a hundred and fifty years ago, in the Middle States after the second war, in Kentucky and Tennessee a few years later, in the Ohio States in 1840, this danger of war between debtors and creditors developed into a real social and political calamity.

The same circumstances in the situation of new settlers have also led them into delusions about the general nature of credit. They

have regarded it as a successful make-believe or "bluff," which could be carried through by dash and bounce. They have thought that states could put it in effect with especial success. The notion has prevailed that the "faith and credit" of a state could be "coined," and could be made to do the same work as coined metal. These notions led to the calamitous experiments of the colonists with "bills of credit," and to the continental paper-money. Credit never does anything but transfer capital, thus indeed immensely increasing its efficiency by uniting scattered portions of it into effective masses, or bringing it into the hands of those who can most effectively employ it. The capital, however, must be there.

The circumstances of new settlers also stimulate speculation and develop a fondness for it. The rise in the value of land and of cattle and horses is a phenomenon to arrest attention and induce speculation. In a new country, the fluctuations in prices on account of changes, opening communications, introducing machines, or new methods, or new kinds of products, are frequent and sudden. Natural monopolies arise and are dissolved. Intelligent exploitation of these changes, and, still more, intelligent anticipation of them, are richly rewarded. The middle-men or "speculators" seem to win the cream of all the production, and very often they do so.

These three facts in the situation of new settlers—lack of capital, indebtedness with misunderstanding of credit, and fondness for speculation—when taken together, go far to explain the eagerness of the people for banks. Banks were very generally regarded, in the seventeenth century, in western Europe, as institutions of almost magical efficiency. The belief in the possibility of banking on land, instead of on capital, was like the belief in the philosopher's stone. The belief that banks could increase capital by floating unsecured notes, and that this kind of financial legerdemain was the high function of the banker, lasted well into the eighteenth century. Alexander Hamilton never outgrew it and it is strong amongst us now. If land could be treated as capital, and circulating notes could be "based" on it, colonists who had millions of acres of it and little else could have all the "money" they wanted, and if this currency was capital, or could do the work of capital, then the "banquet of life" was indeed all ready spread.

The bank schemes of the colonial days were built upon these notions. The banks were either associations of individuals or enterprises of the political body. In neither case did they have any capital. A "bank" was simply a name for a batch of notes issued by loan, and

finding circulation by common consent and acceptance. They were maintained by no system of redemption, for the kind of ultimate provision which was arranged for them was not redemption and did not really provide for them. The continental currency was only the most notorious experiment on the same line, and when the federal Constitution was adopted it seemed to be agreed that the experiment of paper-money on the colonial theory had been tried to the bitter end, and that it was a complete failure.

Such at least was the conviction of the Constitution-makers and it might be called the federal doctrine. The former notions were not, however, abandoned by the mass of the people. The latter were divided between two contradictory opinions and policies. One part of them took a violent dislike to all banks. They united social, political, sectional, and financial notions in defence of this policy of hostility. It was supposed to be the essential feature of a bank, as an institution, that it issued notes to be used as money of account and current cash. As such, banks were held to be engines of the "money power," undemocratic, unrepublican, monopolistic, and the like. The democracy, recognizing its greatest foe in plutocracy, was quick in its jealousy and suspicion. It thought that it saw that foe wherever it saw wealth collected in important quantities. It was a cognate idea that banks were devices of city people, and were either engines for the aggrandizement of those people, or engines available for the common good but appropriated by city people. Hence it was very common for legislatures largely composed of agriculturists, when they granted bank charters, to insert provisions that a certain fraction of the capital should be lent on land. As the southern States were more purely agricultural than the northern, this antagonism of town and country became an antagonism of North and South. Another section of the popular party, however, were eager to multiply banks, believing that they could be made the poor man's friend; but this party clung to the colonial fallacies about banks on land security and on the "credit" of the state.

Inasmuch as the antagonism of classes takes the place in civilized society of the ceaseless warfare of tribes and nations in savage society, and inasmuch as the great antagonisms of classes are those of town *versus* country and debtors *versus* creditors; inasmuch also as the struggle between democracy and plutocracy is the rising crisis of modern history, it is clear that the conflicts over banks and currency are the real great tragedy of American history, beside which even slavery and civil war appear as only passing incidents.

Hamilton, the two Morrisses, and other men of that class made a great distinction between banks and paper-money machines, but they held to the conception of a bank which would make of it a clever device for juggling with paper issues so as to maintain successfully a false pretence. They knew, however, that a bank must be founded on capital, and they expected it to meet all the responsibilities of the note-juggling which it might carry on. It was upon their ideas that the first chartered associations for banking and issuing notes were organized. The leading financiers who have been mentioned, however, thought that debt, at least national debt, might be made a basis of banking. They followed the theories of the Bank of England. It was said that a bank must be founded on capital. In later times it was said that the capital must be paid in in specie at the beginning. But why is a capital needed? After twenty or thirty years of convertible-note banking, writers on the subject began to raise this question. They said that the stockholders could lend their own capital as well as the bank could do it. The only profit of the bank was from its circulation, "which cost nothing," but which could be lent like capital. At best the capital was only a guarantee. It might well, then, be permanently invested in the national debt or in mortgages. Again: Why collect the capital in a pile of specie? The first operation of the bank would scatter it again. Why not just as well collect it in credit instruments and distribute it in the same way? The bankers of the period did not wait to be led through the steps of this reasoning by experience. They anticipated it at once. It is very doubtful if any bank of the kind now under notice ever had a cash paid-up capital. The stockholders paid their subscriptions with their notes; that is, they permanently invested the capital in loans to themselves. Whatever was paid in was paid by credit instruments of various kinds. Deposits were scanty, because few people had surplus capital in their hands even temporarily. A bank was really only a clique of persons who had obtained a charter to create an institution which issued notes on no security at all. There was, therefore, war between those who were in the clique and those who were outside it. The former desired that there should be no more banks, lest their monopoly and privilege should be destroyed. The latter besieged every legislature with clamor for more bank charters. It is evident that banks of this type were really only paper-money machines owned and exploited by cliques of individuals.

The second section of the popular party as above described invented

the great Bank of the State, as a means of realizing the benefits of banking for the masses without giving opportunities to the money power. In Vermont and in all the States south and west of Maryland attempts were made to put this scheme in effect. Sometimes the bank was organized with private stockholders for a part of the capital, the State furnishing the rest, which consisted sometimes of funds owned by the State, which were thus put to productive use, and sometimes of capital borrowed for the purpose. In other cases the State provided all the capital, and there were no private stockholders. This capital also was more or less real in different cases, grading off nearer and nearer to the pure "faith and credit" of the State, so that some of these banks were only State paper-money machines. All these schemes illustrate the recklessness with which untrained and inexperienced men will plunge into projects suggested by a crude idea or two, without any comprehension of the possible consequences. It was very noteworthy that the men who, in the States, invented and set in operation the Banks of the States were the most vehement opponents of the Bank of the United States, and that the opponents of banks were by no means opponents of bank-note currency or inflation. The fight was not against the abuse, but it was over the question, who shall have the benefit of it? It was not until the second quarter of this century that a class of men arose who tried to attack the abuse itself. During the war of the Jackson Administration on the second Bank of the United States all these elements were commingled, and it is totally untrue to history to regard that war as a simple conflict between Jackson and the Bank.

As between the chartered banks and the Banks of the States it would be difficult to say which were the more mischievous. It is easy to see that the former, being organized as has been described above, were unsound and often mere swindles. If we look at the period of twenty-five years from 1790 to 1815, we find that the bankers developed with great assiduity the institutions under their charge on the lines on which they had been laid down. They went on to devise and practise trick after trick by which the bank could win what were really illegitimate gains. Banks were secret societies. They exerted social and business terrorism. They were allied with one or another political party and participated in party warfare. It was soon found that a bank which had no capital could be made a resource for insolvents. Stockholders were not creditors of the bank but debtors to it. A group of bankrupts got a charter, put in stock notes for their subscriptions, and

divided amongst themselves the bank-notes. In a time of inflation it was an enormous advantage to have these in the first hand. Redemption was provided for only at a distance, on the taking plea that this would provide "exchange" and "facilitate exportations." Then it was found that two of these banks could be played off against each other. Notes of specie-paying banks were "cash items" and as good as specie. If each of the two was a specie-paying bank (and it was so until it had failed), its notes held by the other made the latter a specie-paying bank holding a fair amount of specie or its equivalent. Then it was found that, if two banks three or four hundred miles apart redeemed each other's notes, they could sustain each other although each was worthless. Of course all this depended on the prestige of the name of a "bank" and the physical appearance of a bank-note, and history proves convincingly that this prestige was enormous. The bankers exploited it to the utmost. Often it was the only capital they had. In scores of cases down to the civil war a stock speculator in desperate circumstances bought the charter name of a defunct bank in the country, printed a mass of its notes, and set them in circulation in support of his enterprises. The banks disregarded or defied the law so far as attempts to legislate in regard to them were made, which was only to a slight extent. The legislatures either feared them or were dominated by them. Between what a charter did not enjoin and what it did not prohibit the bank managed to do as it chose. It defied the taxing power, the police power, and the visitorial power of the State. Finally, when, by its folly and wrongdoing it had fallen into embarrassment, and found it inconvenient to meet its responsibilities, it "suspended." It made gains because it got interest on its own debts, and this interest it collected inexorably, but when called upon to pay its debts it simply declined to do so. It is not until one has descended far down into the wickedness, corruption, and injustice of all this that one can understand the fierce invective and denunciation of the period against banks.

The great Banks of the States were as bad in a different way. They fell into the hands of cliques of politicians. The bank corrupted the State government and the State government corrupted the bank. In different States, of course, the story differed. The period of experiment with this class of institutions was from 1820 to 1840. The State funds were squandered and lost. Heavy debts were incurred for which the State never got anything. The "poor men" never realized any effects except debt, misery, and bankruptcy, and were generally

forced to emigrate and begin life over again. These banks illustrated on a grand scale the disastrous mistake of urging easy credit on men who have not been trained to use it, but probably they had a still greater evil influence in fostering booms, speculation, and land jobbing. The most eloquent testimony to their effects is in the provisions about banks which were inserted in the new State constitutions of the period. Those provisions were either extreme restrictions or absolute prohibitions of banking institutions.

It was in the period of liquidation after the crisis of 1837 that the State began to get due authority over banks. When the banks all failed they fell under the mercy of the State, and it was by a sort of concordat for allowing the best of them to go on again that the State brought them to order. The public anger against them also furnished the politicians with the necessary courage. The Banks of the States were far harder to reduce to submission than the chartered banks. It might be thought that the State could control its own institutions. Such was not the case. One of the weakest points in all public affairs in the early part of the century was the lack of accountability. This is not a phenomenon which attracts the attention of the historian, but its intense importance for social and political welfare will not be denied. Defalcations in public accounts were frequent and were never punished. Everybody resented demands of punctuality and promptitude. Such demands were regarded as an invasion of liberty. We can trace the steps by which business punctuality gradually superseded the old colonial shiftlessness and dawdling, at first in the Northeast, and later through the South and West. The Banks of the States were always planned and administered to be popular; hence they aimed especially to cultivate the opposite policy to that of which the people complained in the Banks of the United States. Under cover of this policy the officers, supported by their friends to whom they had made loans, and who were strong in the legislature, were able to defy the administrative officers of the State, which they sometimes did in terms of great impropriety.

The so-called "Free-Banking" law of New York of 1838 was produced by the discussions which had been going on for twenty years about banking. The chief motive of it was to divorce banking and politics. It will be noted that the plan rests upon that view of the function of the capital of a bank which has been cited above. The capital was to be permanently invested in State bonds or in mortgages as a guarantee. The circulation was to be taken out of the control of

the bank. It was to be limited in amount and secured. This meant that it was no longer to be elastic. The country had had an elastic bank-note currency, relying on the business responsibility of the banker, for fifty years. How the banker had discharged his responsibility has been shown above. The elasticity of the currency in his hands, instead of being a resource for emergencies, had been a means of operating the widest possible vibrations of expansion and contraction from year to year. One reflection is certainly forced on the student of this history. It cannot be that prices responded to these vibrations as current doctrines assume that they would. The New York statesmen of 1838 meant to take away liberty and impose law, because they despaired of that intelligent caution and enlightened prudence without which, in banking as in everything else, liberty is only a curse. The National-Bank law, founded in part on the New York Free-Banking law, perpetuates the same policy of restriction and security with a renunciation of the ease and flexibility of liberty.

In the history of the United States, branch banks have not been found safe and useful. It has been mentioned above that in the early days it was a favorite device of bad banking to play off two banks against each other. The branch system facilitated this. The organization of a bank with branches may vary very much in different cases, and it may be such as to provide good safeguards. The Bank of the State of Indiana had a very stringent and effective discipline in the hands of the central authority. In fact it was not a bank with branches. It was a system for coördinating a number of small independent banks, scattered through the State, under a central Board of Control, endowed by the State with strong regulative and disciplinary authority. It is not known that any bank with branches ever flourished and succeeded, and was able to cope with the difficulties, as well as independent banks united by contract and alliance could do so. Of the first Bank of the United States and its branches little is known; of the second one we know that bill-kiting went on between its branches, and that the parent bank had great difficulty to manage them.

Although after 1837 the State authority did gain some control of banks in some States, and although various devices, such as safety-fund, bond security, and Suffolk system, showed progress in methods of banking, yet nothing radical or durable had been accomplished, even in the oldest States, before the civil war, toward the solution of the problems presented by banks of issue. All through the first half of the century the popular temper oscillated between mania for banks

and rage against them; so much so that it would be impossible to say whether the popular party has been a bank party or an anti-bank party. The fickleness of the popular temper has been more manifested in connection with this subject than any other.

The history of banks in the United States for seventy-five years before the national banks were established covers experiments in issue-banking wider, more various, more numerous, and more thorough than can be found in any or all other countries put together. There are few notions or vagaries connected with the subject which have not been tried here. The opinionated crank, ready to sacrifice the industrial prosperity of a commonwealth for years in order to try a whim which he has adopted, has had his way here again and again. If upon a review of the history one single merit can be ascribed to the local bank system the present writer does not know what it is. The national banks have existed already nearly half as long as the period of experiment just mentioned. We have indeed heard, from time to time, denunciations of those banks and loose assertions about them, but these have been only expressions of ignorant passion and malevolence, for no allegations of fact have ever been made in support of them which could even stand examination. The national banks have had very little history; that is to say, they have had few vicissitudes and have had but a small share in public affairs. They have had no political character; they have not constituted an interest; they have not been an element to be reckoned with; they have not organized even when all other interests were organizing; they have confined themselves to their business and have conducted it on business principles only; complaints of favoritism by them are almost unknown and would not be understood; they are entirely subject to the law and to the authority of the appropriate administrative officers; they cannot and do not in any way oppress anybody or threaten harm to any interest of society. All this is in most striking contrast to the facts under the old system. At the same time all the causes of the old evils are present, and are ready to spring into activity again, if banks of issue were once more put under the control of forty separate legislatures, and if there should be five thousand such banks in the United States.

Matters of currency are entirely matters of routine and habit for all but a small group of people in the community. So long as currency will "pass," the great mass of the people ask no further about it. The people of to-day do not know what it has cost to arrive at the bank-note currency which we now possess; which really is a national

institution. It is seriously proposed to go back to the State system. If history is of any use, and if men ever learn from it, now is a good occasion to see it proved. If a merchant or statesman of 1820 or 1840 or 1860 could come to life again and find that we had a paper currency of universal circulation from Maine to California, without question or discount, and that we were discussing the advisability of throwing it away in order to return to the old system, he would think that we were mad. There is one argument and only one for such action. If the sections of the Union are irreconcilably at war with each other in their notions about currency, it may at last appear necessary to give up the national system and allow each State to have such currency system as it chooses. This would be financial anarchy for the sake of political peace. It would be sacrificing one of the greatest blessings which the Union is capable of securing for us. That is what the Union is for. It is the grandest peace-combination which ever has existed amongst mankind upon a rational and voluntary basis. Its utility is that, inside of it, if there is wisdom enough, the interests of seventy million people may be organized and ordered by the methods of peace and order so as to secure great advantages. If there is discord, divergence, and conflict as to great common interests, the benefits of the Union are lost. The currency, however, is the greatest common interest there is.

W. G. SUMNER.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ARBITRATION.¹

I PROPOSE briefly to consider what is International Law ; its sources ; the standard—the ethical standard—to which it ought to conform ; the characteristics of its modern tendencies and developments, and then to add some (I think) needful words on the question, lately so much discussed, of International Arbitration.

I call the Rules which civilized nations have agreed shall bind them in their conduct *inter se* by the Benthamite title, "International Law." And here on the threshold of my subject I find an obstacle in my way. My right so to describe them is challenged. It is said by some that there is no International Law, that there is only a bundle, more or less confused, of rules to which nations more or less conform, but that International Law there is none. The late Sir James F. Stephen takes this view in his "History of the Criminal Law of England," and in the celebrated "Franconia" case (to which I shall hereafter have occasion to allude) the late Lord Coleridge speaks in the same sense. He says: "Strictly speaking 'International Law' is an inexact expression and it is apt to mislead if its inexactness is not kept in mind. Law implies a Lawgiver and a Tribunal capable of enforcing it and coercing its transgressors." Indeed it may be said that with few exceptions the same note is sounded throughout the judgments in that case. These views, it will at once be seen, are based on the definition of Law by Austin in his "Province of Jurisprudence Determined," namely, that a Law is the command of a superior who has coercive power to compel obedience and punish disobedience. But this definition is too narrow ; it relies too much on force as the governing idea. If the development of Law is historically considered, it will be found to exclude that body of customary law which in early stages of society precedes law which assumes, definitely, the character of positive command coupled with punitive sanctions. But even in societies in which the machinery exists for the making of law in the Austinian sense, rules or customs

¹ From the annual Address by the Right Hon. Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, before the American Bar Association, Saratoga Springs, New York, August 20th.

grow up which are laws in every real sense of the word, as, for example, the Law Merchant. Under later developments of arbitrary power, Laws may be regarded as the command of a Superior with a coercive power in Austin's sense: *Quod placuit principi legis vigorem habet*. In stages later still, as government becomes more frankly democratic, resting broadly on the popular will, Laws bear less and less the character of commands imposed by a coercive authority, and acquire more and more the character of customary law founded on consent. Savigny, indeed, says of all law, that it is first developed by usage and popular faith, then by Legislation, and always by internal silently-operating powers, and not mainly by the arbitrary will of the Law-giver.

I claim, then, that the aggregate of the Rules to which nations have agreed to conform in their conduct toward one another are properly to be designated "International Law."

The celebrated author of "Ecclesiastical Polity," the "judicious" Hooker, speaking of the Austinians of his time, says: "They who are thus accustomed to speak apply the name of Law unto that only rule of working which superior authority imposeth, whereas we, somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, term every kind of rule or canon whereby actions are framed a Law." I think it cannot be doubted that this is nearer to the true and scientific meaning of Law.

What, then, is International Law?

I know no better definition of it than that it is the sum of the Rules or Usages which civilized states have agreed shall be binding upon them in their dealings with one another.

Is this accurate and exhaustive? Is there any *a priori* rule of right or of reason or of morality which, apart from and independent of the consent of nations, is part of the Law of Nations? Is there a Law which Nature teaches, and which, by its own force, forms a component part of the Law of Nations? Was Grotius wrong when to International Law he applied the test "*placuit-ne Gentibus*"?

These were points somewhat in controversy between my learned friends Mr. Phelps and Mr. Carter and myself before the Paris Tribunal of Arbitration in 1893, and I have recently received from Mr. Carter a friendly invitation again to approach them—this time in a judicial rather than in a forensic spirit. I have reconsidered the matter, and, after the best consideration which I can give to the subject, I stand by the proposition which in 1893 I sought to establish. That proposition was that International Law was neither more nor less than

what civilized nations have agreed shall be binding on one another as International Law.

Appeals are made to the Law of Nature and the Law of Morals, sometimes as if they were the same things, sometimes as if they were different things, sometimes as if they were in themselves International Law, and sometimes as if they enshrined immutable principles which were to be deemed to be not only part of International Law, but, if I may so say, to have been preordained. I do not stop to point out in detail how many different meanings have been given to these phrases—the Law of Nature and the Law of Morals. Hardly any two writers speak of them in the same sense. No doubt appeals to both are to be found scattered loosely here and there in the opinions of continental writers. Let us examine them.

What is the Law of Nature?

Moralists tell us that for the individual man life is a struggle to overcome nature, and in early and what we call natural or barbarous states of society, the arbitrary rule of force and not of Abstract Right or Justice is the first to assert itself. In truth, the initial difficulty is to fix what is meant by the Law of Nature. Gaius speaks of it as being the same thing as the *Jus Gentium* of the Romans, which, I need hardly say, is not the same thing as *Jus inter Gentes*. Ulpian speaks of the *Jus naturale* as that in which men and animals agree. Grotius uses the term as equivalent to the *Jus stricte dictum*, to be completed in the action of a good man or state by a higher morality, but suggesting the standard to which Law ought to conform. Pufendorf in effect treats his view of the rules of abstract propriety, resting merely on unauthorized speculations, as constituting International Law and acquiring no additional authority from the usage of nations; so that he cuts off much of what Grotius regards as Law. Ortolan, in his “*Diplomatie de la Mer*,” cites with approval the following incisive passage from Bentham, speaking of so-called natural rights springing from so-called natural law:—

“Natural right is often employed in a sense opposed to Law, as when it is said, for example, that Law cannot be opposed to Natural right, the word ‘right’ is employed in a sense superior to Law, a right is recognized which attacks law, upsets and annuls it. In this sense, which is antagonistic to law, the word ‘droit’ is the greatest enemy of reason and the most terrible destroyer of governments. We cannot reason with fanatics armed with a natural right, which each one understands as he pleases, applies as it suits him, of which he will yield nothing, withdraw nothing, which is inflexible, at the same time that it is unintelligible, which is consecrated in his eyes like a dogma and which he cannot discard with-

out a cry. Instead of examining laws by their results, instead of judging them to be good or bad, they consider them with regard to their relation to this so-called natural right. That is to say, they substitute for the reason of experience all the chimeras of their own imagination."

Austin, also, in his work on Jurisprudence, already mentioned, and referring to Pufendorf and others of his school, says:—

"They have confounded positive international morality, or the rules which actually obtain amongst civilized nations in their mutual intercourse, with their own vague conceptions of international morality as it ought to be, with that indeterminate something which they call the law of nature. Prof. von Martens of Göttingen is actually the first of the writers, on the law of nations, who has seized this distinction with a firm grasp; the first who has distinguished the rules which ought to be received in the intercourse of nations, or which would be received if they conformed to an assumed standard of whatever kind, from those which *are* so received, endeavored to collect from the practice of civilized communities what are the rules actually recognized and acted upon by them and gave to these rules the name of positive international law."

Finally, Woolsey, speaking of this class of writers, says they commit the fault of failing to distinguish sufficiently between natural justice and the law of nations, of spinning the web of a system out of their own brain as if they were the legislators of the world, and of neglecting to inform us what the world actually holds the law to be by which nations regulate their conduct. So much for the Law of Nature.

What are we to say of the appeal to the Law of Morality?

It cannot be affirmed that there is a universally accepted standard of morality. Then what is to be the standard? The standard of what nation? The standard of what nation and in what age?

Human society is progressive—progressive let us hope to a higher, a purer, a more unselfish ethical standard. The Mosaic law enjoined the principle of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. The Christian law enjoins that we love our enemies and that we do good to those who hate us. But more. Nations although progressing, let us believe, in the sense which I have indicated, do not progress *pari passu*. One instance occurs to me pertinent to the subject in hand.

Take the case of Privateering. The United States is to-day the only great Power which has not given its adhesion to the principle of the Declaration of Paris of 1856, for the abolition of Privateering. The other great nations of the earth have denounced Privateering as immoral and as the cover and the fruitful occasion of Piracy. I am not at all concerned to discuss in this connection whether the United States were right or were wrong. It would not be pertinent to the point; but it is just to add that the assenting Powers had not scrupled to

resort to Privateering in past times, and also that the United States declared their willingness to abandon the practice if more complete immunity of private property in time of war were secured.

Nor do nations, even where they are agreed on the inhumanity and immorality of given practices, straightway proceed to condemn them as international crimes. Take as an example of this the Slave Trade. It is not too much to say that the civilized Powers are abreast of one another in condemnation of the traffic in human beings as an unclean thing—abhorrent to all principles of humanity and morality, and yet they have not yet agreed to declare this offence against humanity and morality to be an offence against the Law of Nations. That it is not so has been affirmed by English and by American judges alike. Speaking of morality in connection with International Law, Prof. Westlake in his "Principles of International Law" acutely observes that while the rules by which nations have agreed to regulate their conduct *inter se*, are alone properly to be considered International Law, these do not necessarily exhaust the ethical duties of states one to another, any more, indeed, than municipal law exhausts the ethical duties of man to man; and Dr. Whewell has remarked of jural laws in general that they are not (and perhaps it is not desirable that they should be) coextensive with morality. He says the adjective *right* belongs to the domain of morality; the substantive *right* to the domain of law.

The truth is that civilized men have at all times been apt to recognize the existence of a Law of Morality, more or less vague and undefined, depending upon no human authority and supported by no human external sanction other than the approval and disapproval of their fellow men, yet determining, largely, for all men and societies of men what is right and wrong in human conduct, and binding, as is sometimes said, *in foro conscientiæ*. This Law of Morality is sometimes treated as synonymous with the Natural Law, but sometimes the Natural Law is regarded as having a wider sphere, including the whole Law of Morality. It cannot be said either of International Law or Municipal Law that they include the Moral Law nor accurately or strictly that they are included within it. It is a truism to say that Municipal Law and International Law ought not to offend against the Law of Morality. They may adopt and incorporate particular precepts of the Law of Morality; and on the other hand, undoubtedly, that may be forbidden by the Municipal or International Law, which in itself is in no way contrary to the Law of Morality or of Nature. But whilst the conception of the Moral Law or Law of Nature excludes all idea of de-

pendence on human authority, it is of the essence of Municipal Law that its rules have been either enacted or in some way recognized as binding by the supreme authority of the state (whatever that authority may be), and so also is it of the essence of International Law that its rules have been recognized as binding by the nations constituting the community of civilized mankind.

We conclude then that, while the aim ought to be to raise high its ethical standard, International Law, as such, includes only so much of the Law of Morals or of right reason or of natural law (whatever these phrases may cover) as nations have agreed to regard as International Law. In fine, International Law is but the sum of those rules which civilized mankind have agreed to hold as binding in the mutual relations of states. We do not indeed find all those rules recorded in clear language—there is no International code. We look for them in the long records of customary action; in settled precedents; in Treaties affirming principles; in state documents; in declarations of nations in conclave—which draw to themselves the adhesion of other nations; in declarations of Text writers of authority generally accepted, and lastly, and with most precision, in the field which they cover, in the authoritative decisions of Prize Courts. I need hardly stop to point out the great work under the last head accomplished, amongst others, by Marshall and Story in these States, by Lord Stowell in England, and by Portalis in France.

From these sources we get the evidence which determines whether or not a particular canon of conduct, or a particular principle, has or has not received the express or implied assent of nations. But International Law is not as the twelve Tables of ancient Rome. It is not a closed book. Mankind are not stationary. Gradual change and gradual growth of opinion are silently going on. Opinions, doctrines, usages, advocated by acute thinkers are making their way in the world of thought. They are not yet part of the Law of Nations. In truth, neither doctrines derived from what is called the Law of Nature (in any of its various meanings) nor philanthropic ideas, however just or humane, nor the opinions of Text writers, however eminent, nor the usages of individual states—none of these, nor all combined, constitutes International Law.

If we depart from the solid ground I have indicated, we find ourselves amid the treacherous quicksands of metaphysical and ethical speculation; we are bewildered, particularly by the French writers in their love for *un système*, and perplexed by the obscure subtleties of

writers like Hautefeuille with his *Loi primitive* and *Loi secondaire*. Indeed, it may, in passing, be remarked that history records no case of a controversy between nations having been settled by abstract appeals to the Laws of Nature or of Morals.

But while maintaining this position, I agree with Woolsey when he says that if International Law were not made up of rules for which reasons could be given, satisfactory to man's intellectual and moral nature, it would not deserve the name of a Science. Happily those reasons can be given. Happily men and nations propose to themselves higher and still higher ethical standards. The ultimate aim in the actions of men and of communities ought, and I presume will be admitted, to be, to conform to the divine precept, "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you."

I have said that the rules of International Law are not to be traced with the comparative distinctness with which Municipal Law may be ascertained—although even this is not always easy. I would not have it, however, understood that I should to-day advocate the codification of International Law. The attempt has been made by Field in this country and by Prof. Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, and by some Italian jurists, but has made little way toward success. Indeed, Codification has a tendency to arrest progress. It has been so found, even where branches or heads of Municipal Law have been codified, and it will at once be seen how much less favorable a field for such an enterprise International Law presents, where so many questions are still indeterminate. After all it is to be remembered that jural law, in its widest sense, is as old as society itself; *ubi societas ibi jus est*; but International Law, as we know it, is a modern invention. It is in a state of growth and transition. To codify it would be to crystallize it; uncoded it is more flexible and more easily assimilates new rules. While agreeing, therefore, that indeterminate points should be determined and that we should aim at raising the ethical standard, I do not think we have yet reached the point at which codification is practicable, or if practicable would be a public good.

Let me give an analogy. Amongst the most successful experiments in codification, in English communities, have been those in Anglo-India, particularly the Penal Code and the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure. Prompted by their comparative success, Sir Roland Wilson urged the extension of the process of codification to those traditional unwritten native usages, or customary law, of Hindu or Mohammedan origin, still recognized in the government of India by

Englishmen. But the wiser opinion of Indian experts was, that it was better not to persevere in the attempt. Many of these usages, by sheer force of contact with European life and habits of thought, are falling into desuetude. The hand of change is at work upon them, and to codify them would be to stop the natural progress of disintegration.

As we are not considering the history of International Law, I shall say but a word as to its rise and then pass on to the consideration of its later developments and tendencies.

Like all Law, in the history of human societies, it begins with usage and custom, and, unlike Municipal Law, it ends there. When, after the break-up of the Roman Empire, the surface of Europe was partitioned and fell under the sway of different sovereigns, the need was speedily felt for some guiding rule of International conduct. International Law was in a rudimentary stage; it spoke with ambiguous voice, it failed to cover the whole ground of doubtful action. It needed not only an interpreter of authority, but one who should play at once the part of mediator, arbiter, and judge. The Christian religion has done much to soften and humanize the action of men and of nations; and the Papal Head of Christendom became, after the disruption of the Roman Empire, the Interpreter and almost the embodiment of International Law. The Popes of the Middle Ages determined many a hot dispute between rival forces without loss of human life. Their decrees were widely accepted. Their action, however, at the best, could not adequately supply the place of a rule of Conduct to which all might indifferently appeal. And when, later, with the Reformation movement, the time came when the Pope could not command recognition as the Religious Head of a united Christendom, the necessity of the time quickened men's brains and, under the fostering care of the jurists of many lands, there began to emerge a system which gave shape and form to ideas generally received and largely acted on by nations.

What Sir James Stephen has eloquently said of religion may truly be predicated of International Law. The jurists set to music the tune which was haunting millions of ears. It was caught up, here and there, and repeated till the chorus was thundered out by a body of singers able to drown all discords and to force the vast unmusical mass to listen to them.

Although Hugo de Groot is regarded as the father and founder of International Law, he was preceded by two men born into the world forty years before him, namely, Ayala (the Spanish Judge-Advocate

with the army of the Prince of Parma) and Suarez (a Jesuit priest, also a Spaniard), both born in 1548, whose labors ought not to be forgotten. Suarez in his "*De Legibus et Deo Legislatore*," and Ayala in his "*De Jure et Officiis Bellicis et Disciplina Militari*," had done good work.

Suarez, from the point of view of the Catholic theologian, assumes that the principles of the Moral Law are capable of complete and authoritative definition and are supported by the highest spiritual sanction. He therefore treats of the *Lex Naturalis* as a definite substantive law, sufficient and complete in its own sphere and binding on all men. But he regards International Law as a code of rules dealing with matters outside the sphere of the Natural Law: matters not strictly right or wrong in themselves, but becoming so only by virtue of the precepts of the law which he considers to be founded upon the generally recognized usages of nations. In the following passage, which is interesting from the singular modernness of its spirit, he explains his view of the origin of International Law:—

"The foundation of the law of Nations lies in this, that the human race, though divided into various peoples and kingdoms, has always a certain unity, which is not merely the unity of species, but is also political and moral; as is shown by the natural precept of mutual love and pity, which extends to all peoples, however foreign they may be to one another, and whatever may be their character or constitution. From which it follows that although any state, whether a republic or a kingdom, may be a community complete in itself, it is nevertheless a member of that whole which constitutes the human race; for such a community is never so completely self-sufficing but that it requires some mutual help and intercourse with others, sometimes for the sake of some benefit to be obtained, but sometimes, too, from the moral necessity and craving which are apparent from the very habits of mankind.

"On this account, therefore, a law is required by which states may be rightly directed and regulated in this kind of intercourse with one another. And although to a great extent this may be supplied by the Natural Law, still not adequately nor directly, and so it has come about that the usages of states have themselves led to the establishment of special rules. For, just as within an individual state custom gives rise to law, so for the human race as a whole, usages have led to the growth of laws of nations; and this the more easily, inasmuch as the matters with which such law deals are few and are closely connected with the Law of Nature from which they may be deduced by inferences which, though not strictly necessary, so as to constitute laws of absolute moral obligation, still are very conformable and agreeable to nature, and therefore readily accepted by all."

Nor ought we to overlook the work of a writer even earlier than these. I mean Franciscus à Victoria. Hall says of him that his writings in 1533 mark an era in the history of International Ethics.

Spain claimed, largely by virtue of Papal grant and warrant, to acquire the territory and the mastery of the semi-civilized races of America. He denied the validity of the Papal Title; he maintained the sovereign rights of the aboriginal races; and he claimed to place international relations upon the basis of equal rights as between communities in actual possession of independence. In other words, he, first, clearly affirmed the juridical principle of the complete international equality of independent states, however disproportionate their power.

Grotius undoubtedly had had the field of international relations explored by these, amongst other writers who had preceded him, but to him is certainly due the credit of evolving, in his "*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*," a coherent system of law for the aggregation of states.

But I turn from this interesting line of thought, to consider, first, the part played by the United States in shaping the modern tendencies of International Law, and, next, whither those tendencies run. It is not too much to say that the undoubted stream of tendency in modern International Law to mitigate the horrors of war, to humanize or to make less inhuman its methods, and to narrow the area of its consequential evils, is largely due to the policy of American statesmen and the moral influence of American jurists.

The reason why the United States thus early in its young history as an independent Power took so leading and noble a part in the domain of International Law is not far to seek;—it is at once obvious and interesting.

In the first place the United States were born late, in the life of the world, into the Family of Nations. The Common law of England had indeed been imported and adopted by the Colonists in some of the States, but, subject as they then were to the Mother Country, they had no direct interest or voice in International relations, which were entirely within the domain of the Sovereign power. But when the States asserted their Independence, the Laws of the Family of Nations, of which the Republic then became a Member, were bound up with and became in part the justification for its existence as a sovereign power, and assumed for it importance and preeminence beyond the common law itself. Further, the remoteness of the United States from the conflicts of European powers and the wisdom of their rulers in devoting their energies to the consolidation and development of home affairs gave to the American people a special concern in that side of International Law which affects the interests, rights, and obligations of Neutrals; and thus, it has come to pass that American writers have left their enduring

mark on the Law of Nations touching allegiance, nationality, neutralization, and neutrality, although as to these there are points which still remain indeterminate.

It is substantially true to say that while to earlier writers is mainly due the formulation of Rules relating to a state of War, to the United States,—to its judges, writers, and statesmen,—we largely owe the existing rules which relate to a state of peace and which affect the rights and obligations of powers, which, during a state of War, are themselves at Peace.

On the other hand, while in Great Britain writers of great distinction on International Law are not wanting, and while the judges of her Prize Courts have done a great work in systematizing and justifying on sound principles the Law of Capture and Prize, it is true to say that British lawyers did not apply themselves early or with great zeal to the consideration of International Jurisprudence.

Nor, again, is the reason far to seek. Great Britain had existed for centuries before International Law, in the modern sense, came into being. The main body of English law was complete. The common law, springing from many sources, had assumed definite and comprehensive proportions. It sufficed for the needs of the time. Neither English statesmen nor English lawyers experienced the necessity which was strongly felt on the Continent of Europe—the constant theatre of war—for the formulation of rules of international conduct.

The need for these was slowly forced upon England, and, it is hardly too much to say that, to the British Admiral, accustomed to lord it on the High Seas, International Law at first came, not as a blessing and an aid, but as a perplexing embarrassment.

Notwithstanding all this there is a marked agreement between English and American writers as to the manner in which International Law is treated. They belong to the same school—a school distinctly different from that of writers on the Continent of Europe. The essential difference consists in this: Whereas in the latter, what I shall call the ethical and metaphysical treatment is followed, in the former, while not ignoring the important part which Ethics play in the consideration of what International Law ought to be, its writers for the most part carefully distinguish between what is, in fact, International Law from their views of what the Law ought to be. Their treatment is mainly historical.

By most Continental writers, and by none more than Hautefeuille, what is, and what he thinks ought to be, Law, theory and fact, Law

and so-called rules of nature and of right, are mixed up in a way at once confusing and misleading.

One distinguished English writer indeed, the late Sir Henry Maine, thought that he had discovered a fundamental difference between English and American Jurists as to the view taken of the obligation of International Law. His opinion was based on the judgments of the English judges in the celebrated "Franconia" case, in which it was held that the English Courts had no jurisdiction to try a foreigner for a crime committed on the High Seas although within a marine league from the British coast. The case was decided in 1876. The facts were these: The defendant was Captain Keyn, a German subject, in charge, as Captain, of the German steamship "Franconia." When off Dover the "Franconia," at a point within two and a half miles of the beach, ran into and sank a British steamer, "Strathclyde," thereby causing loss of life. The facts were such as to constitute, according to English Law, the crime of manslaughter, of which the defendant was found guilty by the jury; but the learned judge who tried the case at the Central Criminal Court reserved, for further consideration by the Court for Crown Cases Reserved, the question whether the Central Criminal Court had jurisdiction over the defendant, a foreigner, in respect of an offence committed by him on the High Seas, but within a marine league of the shore. All the members of the Court were of opinion that the chief Criminal Courts, that is to say, the Courts of Assize and the Central Criminal Court, were clothed with jurisdiction to administer justice in the bodies of counties, or, in other words, in English territory; and that from the time of Henry VIII a court of special commissioners, and, later, the Central Criminal Court (in which the defendant had been tried) had been invested by statute with the jurisdiction previously exercised by the Lord High Admiral on the High Seas. But the majority held that the marine league belt was not part of the territory of England, and therefore not within the bodies of counties, and also that the Admiral had had no jurisdiction over foreigners on the High Seas. The minority, on the other hand, held that the marine belt was part of the territory of England and that the Admiral had had jurisdiction over foreigners within those limits.

While I do not say that I should have arrived at the conclusions of historical fact of the majority, I am by no means clear that the judges of the United States, accepting the same data as did the majority of the English judges, would not have decided in the same way. But however this may be, the views of the majority do not seem to me to

warrant the assumption of Sir Henry Maine that the case fundamentally affects the view taken of the authority of International Law. What it does incidentally reveal is a constitutional difference between the United States and Great Britain as to the methods by which the Municipal Courts acquire, at least in certain cases, jurisdiction to try and to punish offences against International Law.

An example of that difference is ready to hand. Improved and stricter views of neutral duties constitute one of the great developments of recent times.

These views were (for reasons to which I have already adverted) adopted earlier and more fully in the United States than in England. What was thereupon the action of the Executive? No sooner had Washington, as President, and Jefferson, as Secretary of State, promulgated the rules of neutrality by which they intended to be guided than they caused Gideon Henfield, an American citizen, to be tried for taking service on board a French Privateer, as being a criminal act, because in contravention of those rules. Political feeling procured an acquittal, in spite of the judge's direction.

Later, no doubt, Congress passed the Act of 1794, making such conduct criminal, not (as I gather) because it was admitted to be necessary, but simply to strengthen the hands of the Executive.

I can hardly doubt how the same case would have been dealt with in England.

Assuming the doing of the acts forbidden by Proclamation of neutrality, although infractions of International Law, not to be misdemeanors at common law, and not to have been made offences by municipal statute, the judges (I cannot doubt) would have said the act was yesterday legal, or at least not illegal, and that, municipal law not having declared it a crime, they could not so declare it. According to the law of England a Proclamation by the Executive, in however solemn form, has no legislative force unless an Act of Parliament has so enacted. Parliament has in fact so enacted as to Orders of the Queen in Council in many cases. But assuming the law to be as I have stated, it points to no failure in England to recognize the full obligation of International Law as between states. For, notwithstanding isolated expressions of opinion uttered in times of excitement, it will not to-day be doubted that it is the duty of states to give effect to the obligations of International Law by Municipal legislation, where that is necessary, and to use reasonable efforts to secure the observance of that law.

In England we have an old Constitution under which we are accustomed to fixed modes of Legislation, and when at last we accept a new development of International Law, we look to those methods to give effect to it. Indeed, that habit of looking to Legislation to meet new needs and developments, even in internal concerns,—a habit confirmed and strengthened in the current century,—has done much to restrain the judges from that bold expansion of principle to meet new cases, which, when Legislation was less active, marked judicial utterances.

On the other hand, things are materially different in the United States. The American Constitution is still so modern that equally fixed habits of looking to Legislation have not had time to grow up. Meanwhile that modern Constitution is, from time to time, assailed by still more modern necessities, and the methods for its amendment are not swift or easy. The structure has not become completely ossified. Hence has arisen what I may call a flexibility of interpretation, applied to the Constitution of the United States, for which I know no parallel in English judicature, and which seems to me to exceed the latitude of interpretation observed by American judges in relation to acts of Congress. I refer, as examples, to the emancipation of the Slaves by President Lincoln during the civil war, which was justified as an act covered by the necessities of the case and within the "war power" conferred on the Executive by the Constitution; and, also, to the judicial declaration, by the Supreme Court, of the validity of the Act of Congress making Greenbacks legal tender, on the ground that certain express powers, as to currency, being vested in Congress by the Constitution, the power of giving forced circulation to paper flowed from them as a desirable, if not a necessary, implication. With us no such difficulties arise. Our Constitution is unwritten, and the Legislature is omnipotent. With you, the Constitution is written, and the judicial power interprets it, and may declare the highest act of Congress null and void, as unconstitutional. With us there can, in the strict sense of the words, be no such thing as an unconstitutional act of Parliament.

I turn now, to the consideration of what characterizes the later tendencies of International Law. In a word, it is their greater, humanity.

When Menelik, Emperor of Abyssinia, was recently reported to have cut off the right arms and feet of 500 prisoners, the civilized world felt a thrill of horror. Yet the time was when to treat prisoners

as slaves and permanently to disable them from again bearing arms, were regarded as common incidents of belligerent capture. Such acts would once have excited no more indignation than did the inhumanities of the African Slave Trade before the days of Clarkson and Wilberforce. Let us hope that it is no longer possible to do as Louis XIV did in his devastation of the Palatinate, or to do as he threatened to do, break down the dykes and overwhelm with disaster the Low Countries. Let us hope, too, that no modern Napoleon would dare to decree as the first Napoleon did in his famous or infamous *seront brûlées* edicts of 1810. The force of public opinion is too strong and it has reached a higher moral plane.

A bare recital of some of the important respects in which the evils of war have been mitigated by more humane customs must suffice.

Amongst them are: (1) the greater immunity from attack of the persons and property of enemy-subjects in a hostile country; (2) the restrictions imposed on the active operations of a Belligerent when occupying an enemy's country; (3) the recognized distinction between subjects of the enemy, combatant and non-combatant; (4) the deference accorded to Cartels, safe conducts and Flag of Truce; (5) the protection secured for ambulances and hospitals and for all engaged in tending the sick and wounded—of which the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1864 is a notable illustration; (6) the condemnation of the use of instruments of warfare which cause needless suffering.

In this field of humane work the United States took a prominent part. When the civil war broke out President Lincoln was prompt in entrusting to Prof. Franz Lieber the duty of preparing a Manual of systematized Rules for the conduct of forces in the Field—Rules aimed at the prevention of those scenes of cruelty and rapine which were formerly a disgrace to humanity. That Manual has, I believe, been utilized by the Governments of England, France, and Germany.

Even more important are the changes wrought in the position of Neutrals in war times; who, while bound by strict obligations of neutrality, are in great measure left free and unrestricted in the pursuit of peaceful trade.

But, in spite of all this, who can say that these times breathe the spirit of Peace? There is War in the air. Nations armed to the teeth prate of Peace, but there is no sense of Peace. One sovereign burthens the industry of his people to maintain military and naval armament at war strength, and his neighbor does the like and justifies it by the example of the other; and England, insular though she be,

with her Imperial interests scattered the world over, follows, or is forced to follow, in the wake. If there be no War, there is at best an armed Peace.

Figures are appalling. I take those for 1895. In Austria the annual cost of Army and Navy was, in round figures, 18 million pounds sterling; in France, 37 millions; in Germany, 27 millions; in Great Britain, 36 millions; in Italy, 13 millions; and in Russia, 52 millions.

The significance of these figures is increased if we compare them with those of former times. The normal cost of the armaments of war has of late years enormously increased. The annual interest on the public debt of the Great Powers is a war tax. Behind this array of facts stands a tragic figure. It tells a dismal tale. It speaks of overburthened industries, of a waste of human energy unprofitably engaged, of the squandering of treasure which might have let light into many lives, of homes made desolate, and all this, too often, without recompense, in the thought that these sacrifices have been made for the love of country or to preserve national honor or for national safety. When will Governments learn the lesson that wisdom and justice in Policy are a stronger security than weight of armament?

“Ah! when shall all men's good
Be each man's Rule, and Universal Peace
Lie, like a shaft of light, across the Land?”

It is no wonder that men—earnest men—enthusiasts if you like, impressed with the evils of war, have dreamt the dream that the Millennium of Peace might be reached by establishing a universal system of International Arbitration.

The cry for Peace is an old world cry. It has echoed through all the ages, and arbitration has long been regarded as the handmaiden of Peace. Arbitration has, indeed, a venerable history of its own. According to Thucydides, the Historian of the Peloponnesian war, Archidamus, King of Sparta, declared that “it was unlawful to attack an enemy who offered to answer for his acts before a Tribunal of Arbiters.”

The 50 years' Treaty of Alliance between Argos and Lacedæmon contained a clause to the effect that if any difference should arise between the contracting parties, they should have recourse to the arbitration of a neutral Power, in accordance with the custom of their ancestors. These views of enlightened Paganism have been reinforced in Christian times. The Roman Emperors for a time, and

afterward in fuller measure the Popes (as we have seen) by their arbitrament often preserved the Peace of the Old World and prevented the sacrifice of blood and treasure. But from time to time, and more fiercely when the influence of the Head of Christendom lessened, the passions of men broke out, the lust for Dominion asserted itself, and many parts of Europe became so many fields of Golgotha. In our own times the desire has spread and grown strong for peaceful methods for the settlement of International disputes. The reason lies on the surface. Men and Nations are more enlightened; the grievous burthen of military armaments is sorely felt, and in these days when, broadly speaking, the people are enthroned, their views find free and forcible expression in a world-wide press. The movement has been taken up by societies of thoughtful and learned men in many places. The "Bureau International de la Paix" records the fact that some 94 voluntary Peace Associations exist, of which some 40 are in Europe and 54 in America. Several Congresses have been held in Europe to enforce the same object, and in 1873 there was established at Ghent the "Institut du Droit International," the declared objects of which are to put International Law on a scientific footing, to discuss and clear up moot points, and to substitute for the blind chances of force and the lavish expenditure of human life a system of rules comformable to right.

In 1873 also the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations was formed, and it is to-day pursuing active propaganda under the name of the International Law Association, which it adopted in 1894. It also has published a Report affirming the need of a system of International Arbitration.

In 1888 a Congress of Spanish and American Jurists was held at Lisbon, at which it was resolved that it was indispensable that a Tribunal of Arbitration should be constituted with a view to avoid the necessity of war between nations.

But more hopeful still—the movement has spread to Legislative representative bodies. As far back as 1833 the senate of Massachusetts proclaimed the necessity for some peaceful means of reconciling International differences, and affirmed the expediency of establishing a Court of Nations.

In 1890 the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States adopted a concurrent Resolution, requesting the President to make use of any fit occasion to enter into negotiations with other Governments, to the end that any difference or dispute, which could not

be adjusted by diplomatic agency, might be referred to arbitration and peacefully adjusted by such means.

The British House of Commons in 1893 responded by passing unanimously a Resolution expressive of the satisfaction it felt with the action of Congress, and of the hope that the Government of the Queen would lend its ready cooperation to give effect to it. President Cleveland officially communicated this last Resolution to Congress, and expressed his gratification that the sentiments of two great and kindred nations were thus authoritatively manifested in favor of the national and peaceable settlement of International quarrels by recourse to honorable arbitration. The Parliaments of Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, and the French Chamber of Deputies have followed suit.

It seemed eminently desirable that there should be some agency, by which members of the great Representative and Legislative Bodies of the World, interested in this far-reaching question, should meet on a common ground and discuss the basis for common action.

With this object there has recently been founded "The Permanent Parliamentary Committee in favor of Arbitration and Peace," or, as it is sometimes called, "The Inter-Parliamentary Union." This Union has a permanent organization—its office is at Berne. Its members are not vain idealists. They are men of the world. They do not claim to be regenerators of mankind, nor do they promise the millennium, but they are doing honest and useful work in making straighter and less difficult, the path of intelligent progress. Their first formal meeting was held in Paris, in 1889, under the Presidency of the late M. Jules Simon; their second in 1890 in London, under the Presidency of Lord Herschell, ex-Lord Chancellor of Great Britain; their third in 1891 at Rome, under the Presidency of Signor Bianchieri; their fourth in 1892 at Berne, under the Presidency of M. Droz; their fifth in 1894 at the Hague, under the Presidency of M. Rohnsen; their sixth in 1895 at Brussels, under the Presidency of M. Deschamps; and their seventh will, it is arranged, be held this year at Buda-Pesth. And I need only refer, in passing, to the remarkable Pan-American Congress held in the United States in 1890, at the instance of the late Mr. Blaine, directed to the same peaceful object.

It is obvious, therefore, that the sentiment for peace and in favor of Arbitration as the alternative for war, is growing apace. How has that sentiment told on the direct action of Nations? How far have they shaped their policy according to its methods? The answers to these questions are also hopeful and encouraging.

Experience has shown that, over a large area, International differences may honorably, practically, and usefully be dealt with by peaceful arbitrament. There have been since 1815 some sixty instances of effective International Arbitration. To thirty-two of these the United States have been a party and great Britain to some twenty of them.

There are many instances also of the introduction of Arbitration clauses in Treaties. Here again the United States appear in the van. Amongst the first of such Treaties—if not the very first—is the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty of 1848 between the United States and Mexico. Since that date many other countries have followed this example. In the year 1873 Signor Mancini recommended that, in all Treaties to which Italy was a party, such a clause should be introduced. Since the Treaty of Washington such clauses have been constantly inserted in Commercial, Postal, and Consular Conventions. They are to be found also in the delimitation Treaties of Portugal with Great Britain and with the Congo Free State made 1891. In 1895 the Belgian Senate, in a single day, approved of four Treaties with similar clauses, namely, Treaties concluded with Denmark, Greece, Norway, and Sweden.

There remains to be mentioned a class of Treaties in which the principle of arbitration has obtained a still wider acceptance. The Treaties of 1888 between Switzerland and San Salvador, of 1888 between Switzerland and Ecuador, of 1888 between Switzerland and the French Republic, and of 1894 between Spain and Honduras, respectively contain an agreement to refer all questions in difference, without exception, to arbitration. Belgium has similar Treaties with Venezuela, with the Orange Free State, and with Hawaii.

These facts, dull as is the recital of them, are full of interest and hope for the future.

But are we thence to conclude that the Millennium of Peace has arrived—that the Dove bearing the olive branch has returned to the Ark, sure sign that the waters of international strife have permanently subsided?

I am not sanguine enough to lay this flattering unction to my soul. Unbridled ambition—thirst for wide dominion—pride of power still hold sway, although I believe with lessened force and in some sort under the restraint of the healthier opinion of the world.

But further, friend as I am of Peace, I would yet affirm that there may be even greater calamities than war—the dishonor of a nation, the triumph of an unrighteous cause, the perpetuation of hopeless and debasing tyranny:

“ War is honorable,
In those who do their native rights maintain ;
In those whose swords an iron barrier are,
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak ;
But is, in those who draw th’ offensive blade
For added power or gain, sordid and despicable.”

It behoves then all who are friends of Peace and advocates of Arbitration to recognize the difficulties of the question, to examine and meet these difficulties and to discriminate between the cases in which friendly Arbitration is, and in which it may not be, practically possible.

Pursuing this line of thought, the shortcomings of International Law reveal themselves to us and demonstrate the grave difficulties of the position.

The analogy between Arbitration as to matters in difference between individuals, and to matters in difference between nations, carries us but a short way.

In private litigation the agreement to refer is either enforceable as a rule of Court, or, where this is not so, the award gives to the successful litigant a substantive cause of action. In either case there is behind the Arbitrator the power of the judge to decree, and the power of the Executive to compel compliance with, the behest of the Arbitrator. There exist elaborate rules of Court and provisions of the Legislature governing the practice of arbitrations. In fine, such arbitration is a mode of litigation by consent, governed by Law, starting from familiar rules, and carrying the full sanction of Judicial decision. International Arbitration has none of these characteristics. It is a cardinal principle of the Law of Nations that each sovereign power, however politically weak, is internationally equal to any other power, however politically strong. There are no Rules of International Law relating to arbitration, and of the Law itself there is no authoritative exponent nor any recognized authority for its enforcement.

But there are differences to which, even as between individuals, arbitration is inapplicable—subjects which find their counterpart in the affairs of nations. Men do not arbitrate where character is at stake, nor will any self-respecting nation readily arbitrate on questions touching its national independence or affecting its honor.

Again, a nation may agree to arbitrate and then repudiate its agreement. Who is to coerce it? Or, having gone to arbitration and been worsted it may decline to be bound by the Award. Who is to compel it?

These considerations seem to me to justify two conclusions:—The first is that arbitration will not cover the whole field of International controversy, and the second that unless and until the Great Powers of the World, in League, bind themselves to coerce a recalcitrant member of the Family of Nations—we have still to face the more than possible disregard by powerful states of the obligations of good faith and of justice. The scheme of such a combination has been advocated, but the signs of its accomplishment are absent. We have, as yet, no League of Nations of the Amphictyonic type.

Are we then to conclude that Force is still the only power that rules the world? Must we then say that the sphere of arbitration is a narrow and contracted one?

By no means. The sanctions which restrain the wrongdoer—the breaker of public faith—the disturber of the peace of the world, are not weak, and, year by year, they wax stronger. They are the dread of war and the reprobation of mankind. Public opinion is a force which makes itself felt in every corner and cranny of the world, and is most powerful in the communities most civilized. In the public press and in the telegraph, it possesses agents by which its power is concentrated, and speedily brought to bear where there is any public wrong to be exposed and reprobated. It year by year gathers strength as general enlightenment extends its empire, and a higher moral altitude is attained by mankind. It has no ships of war upon the seas or armies in the field, and yet great potentates tremble before it and humbly bow to its Rule.

Again, trade and travel are great pacificators. The more nations know of one another, the more trade relations are established between them, the more goodwill and mutual interest grow up; and these are powerful agents working for Peace.

But although I have indicated certain classes of questions on which sovereign powers may be unwilling to arbitrate, I am glad to think that these are not the questions which most commonly lead to war. It is hardly too much to say that Arbitration may fitly be applied in the case of by far the largest number of questions which lead to International differences. Broadly stated, (1) wherever the right in dispute will be determined by the ascertainment of the true facts of the case; (2) where, the facts being ascertained, the right depends on the application of the proper principles of International Law to the given facts, and (3) where the dispute is one which may properly be adjusted on a give-and-take principle, with due provision for equitable compensation,

as in cases of delimitation of territory and the like—in such cases, the matter is one which ought to be arbitrated.

The question next arises, What ought to be the constitution of the Tribunal of Arbitration? Is it to be a Tribunal *ad hoc*, or is it to be a permanent International Tribunal?

It may be enough to say that, at this stage, the question of the constitution of a permanent Tribunal is not ripe for practical discussion, nor will it be until the majority of the Great Powers have given in their adhesion to the principle. But whatever may be said for vesting the authority in such Powers to select the Arbitrators, from time to time, as occasion may arise, I doubt whether in any case a permanent Tribunal, the members of which shall be *a priori* designated, is practicable or desirable. In the first place what, in the particular case, is the best Tribunal must largely depend upon the question to be arbitrated. But apart from this, I gravely doubt the wisdom of giving that character of permanence to the *personnel* of any such Tribunal. The interests involved are commonly so enormous and the forces of national sympathy, pride and prejudice, are so searching, so great and so subtle, that I doubt whether a Tribunal, the membership of which had a character of permanence, even if solely composed of men accustomed to exercise the judicial faculty, would long retain general confidence, and, I fear, it might gradually assume intolerable pretensions.

There is danger, too, to be guarded against from another quarter. So long as War remains the sole Court wherein to try International quarrels, the risks of failure are so tremendous, and the mere rumor of war so paralyzes commercial and industrial life, that pretensions wholly unfounded will rarely be advanced by any nation, and the strenuous efforts of statesmen, whether immediately concerned or not, will be directed to prevent war. But if there be a standing Court of Nations, to which any power may resort, with little cost and no risk, the temptation may be strong to put forward pretentious and unfounded claims, in support of which there may readily be found, in most countries, (can we except even Great Britain and the United States?) busy-body Jingoism only too ready to air their spurious and inflammatory patriotism.

There is one influence which by the Law of Nations may be legitimately exercised by the Powers in the interests of Peace—I mean Mediation.

The Plenipotentiaries assembled at the Congress of Paris, 1856, recorded the following admirable sentiments in their 23rd protocol:—

"The Plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the names of their Governments, the wish that States between which any serious misunderstanding may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse as far as circumstances may allow to the good offices of a friendly power. The Plenipotentiaries hope that the Governments not represented at the Congress will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in the present protocol."

In the treaty which they concluded they embodied, but with a more limited application, the principle of mediation, more formal than that of good offices, though substantially similar to it. In case of a misunderstanding between the Porte and any of the signatory powers, the obligation was undertaken "before having recourse to the use of force, to afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation." (Article 8.) Under this article Turkey, in 1877, appealed to the other powers to mediate between her and Russia. It is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, considering the circumstances, that the appeal did not succeed in preventing the Russo-Turkish war. But the powers assembled in the African Conference at Berlin were not discouraged from repeating the praiseworthy attempt, and in the final act of that Conference the following proviso (Article 12) appears :—

"In case of a serious disagreement arising between the signatory powers on any subjects within the limits of the Territory mentioned in Article 1 and placed under the *régime* of commercial freedom, the Powers mutually agree, before appealing to arms, to have recourse to the mediation of one or more of the neutral powers."

It is to be noted that this provision contemplates not arbitration but mediation, which is a different thing. The Mediator is not, at least, in the first instance, invested, and does not seek to be invested, with authority to adjudicate upon the matter in difference. He is the friend of both parties. He seeks to bring them together. He avoids a tone of dictation to either. He is careful to avoid, as to each of them, anything which may wound their political dignity or their susceptibilities. If he cannot compose the quarrel, he may at least narrow its area and probably reduce it to more limited dimensions, the result of mutual concessions ; and, having narrowed the issues, he may pave the way for a final settlement by a reference to arbitration or by some other method.

This is a Power often used, perhaps not so often as it ought to be—and with good results.

It is obvious that it requires tact and judgment, as to mode, time,

and circumstance, and that the task can be undertaken hopefully, only when the Mediator possesses great moral influence, and when he is beyond the suspicion of any motive except desire for Peace and the public good.

There is, perhaps, no class of questions in which mediation may not, time and occasion being wisely chosen, be usefully employed, even in delicate questions affecting national honor and sentiment.

I now come to an end. I have but touched the fringe of a great subject. No one can doubt that sound and well-defined rules of International Law conduce to the progress of civilization and help to ensure the Peace of the World.

In dealing with the subject of arbitration I have thought it right to sound a note of caution, but it would, indeed, be a reproach to our nineteen centuries of Christian civilization, if there were now no better method for settling international differences than the cruel and debasing methods of war. May we not hope that the people of these States and the people of the Mother Land—kindred peoples—may, in this matter, set an example of lasting influence to the world? They are blood relations. They are indeed separate and independent peoples but neither regards the other as a foreign nation.

We boast of our advance and often look back with pitying contempt on the ways and manners of generations gone by. Are we ourselves without reproach? Has our Civilization borne the true marks? Must it not be said, as has been said of Religion itself, that countless crimes have been committed in its name? Probably it was inevitable that the weaker races should, in the end, succumb, but have we always treated them with consideration and with justice? Has not civilization too often been presented to them at the point of the bayonet, and the Bible by the hand of the Filibuster? And apart from races we deem barbarous, is not the passion for dominion and wealth and power accountable for the worst chapters of cruelty and oppression written in the World's History? Few peoples—perhaps none—are free from this reproach. What indeed is true civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury; nay, not even a great Literature and Education wide spread—good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men.

Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for woman, the frank recognition of human brother-

hood, irrespective of race or color or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice. Civilization in that, its true, its highest sense, must make for Peace. We have solid grounds for faith in the Future. Government is becoming more and more, but in no narrow class sense, government of the people by the people and for the people. Populations are no longer moved and manœuvred as the arbitrary will or restless ambition or caprice of kings or potentates may dictate. And although democracy is subject to violent gusts of passion and prejudice, they are gusts only. The abiding sentiment of the masses is for peace—for peace to live industrious lives and to be at rest with all mankind. With the Prophet of old they feel—though the feeling may find no articulate utterance—“How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace.”

I cannot end without another reference to the two great divisions—American and British—of the English-speaking world.

Who can doubt the influence they possess for ensuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind? But if this influence is to be fully felt, they must work together in cordial friendship, each people in its own sphere of action. If they have great power, they have also great responsibility. No cause they espouse can fail; no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is, in large part, theirs. They have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them.

Let us pray that this shall never be. Let us pray that they, always self-respecting, each in honor upholding its own Flag, safeguarding its own Heritage of right and respecting the rights of others, each in its own way fulfilling its high national destiny, shall yet work in harmony for the Progress and the Peace of the World.

RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN.

PRINCETON COLLEGE AND PATRIOTISM.

It has been remarked by Mr. J. R. Green, in his "History of the English People," that the democratic spirit of the universities was a constant protest against feudalism. Oxford espoused the cause of the Barons against the Crown; and the University of Glasgow was almost annihilated during the Reformation because of its Protestant partisanship. And such a spirit has not only characterized the history of universities in Scotland and in England, but, on the Continent as well, the academic centres have always been the promoters of freedom and progress. This was manifested in the long struggle for democratic government in France, in the war for Italian unity, and at the present in the university towns of Russia where the students have fostered that spirit of enlightenment which is moving mightily toward the establishment of a constitutional government, and the realization of the will of the people. A characteristic instance of the spirit of German scholarship is narrated of the illustrious philosopher Fichte. He was lecturing at the University of Berlin during the stirring scenes of the Napoleon invasion of 1813, the subject of his lecture being that of "Duty." From the theoretical difficulties of the subject, viewed in its purely philosophical aspect, he leads his student audience to a discussion of duty as illustrated in the light of current affairs, eloquently discoursing upon their country's needs, her instant peril, and urging the support of all loyal hearts by service and if necessary by their lives; finally closing with these words,—“This course of lectures will be suspended till the end of the campaign. We will resume them in a free country or die in the attempt to recover her freedom.” Fichte leads the way, the students following, and he places himself in the ranks of a corps of volunteers then departing for the army. And in scenes that followed, the great philosopher's life was sacrificed for his country's freedom.

It is but natural that in the storm and stress period of our colonial history the academic spirit of our land should show itself in the loyal support of the early patriots in their struggle for independence. Among the young American colleges, Princeton, with the superb

figure of the stalwart Witherspoon at its head, was conspicuous in this regard. The relation of the College to the Revolutionary War is not merely its association with Washington's brilliant victory along the Stony Brook and the village of Princeton. The spirit of the Revolution was in the College, and in the hearts of the students, kept alive and fanned into glow and flame by the enthusiasm of their Scotch President, long before the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the first call to arms. The students of Princeton came largely from the Scotch-Irish element among the early settlers of our country, and among them there was a natural feeling of protest and dissent in the affairs of state as well as of church. It was the spirit of the Solemn League and Covenant. The blood of John Knox was in the veins of John Witherspoon, and, in his far distant western home, he too was to lift up his voice against the tyranny of kings. The patriotic feeling of the undergraduates in the pre-revolutionary years is indicated in the sentiments expressed in a letter of James Madison, of the class of 1771, and afterward President of the United States. He writes from Princeton on July 23, 1770, to his friend, Thomas Martin:—

“We have no public news but the base conduct of the merchants in New York in breaking through their spirited resolutions not to import; a distinct account of which I suppose will be in the *Virginia Gazette* before this arrives. The letter to the merchants in Philadelphia, requesting their concurrence, was lately burned by the students of this place in the College yard, all of them appearing in their black gowns, and the bell tolling. There are about 115 in the College and in the Grammar School, and all of them in American cloth.”

The entire body of students in American cloth is typical of the College sentiment of that day. There was a solidarity in their stout protest which must have made an impression, as a striking object-lesson, before the gaze of many an American. It was such a spirit that made a nation possible.

In a similar vein, a certain Charles Beatty, in 1774, writes from the College:—

“Last week, to show our patriotism, we gathered all the steward's winter store of tea, and having made a fire in the campus, we there burnt near a dozen pounds, tolled the bell, and made many spirited resolves. But this was not all. Poor Mr. Hutchinson's effigy shared the same fate with the tea, having a tea canister tied about its neck.”

Such lessons learned in Princeton must have remained in the mind of Thomas Melville, a graduate of Princeton, who was one of the

famous "Tea Party" at Boston harbor. There is still preserved a small portion of that historic tea, which was found in Melville's shoes the morning after he returned from this expedition. This was at one time in possession of Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts.

Princeton and patriotism in the dark days before the Revolution, and through the perilous times of the war, were synonymous terms. The graduates of each class went forth from their *alma mater* to foster the feeling and inspire the courage which gave birth to the Declaration of Independence. Frederick Frelinghuysen, of the class of 1770, afterward United States Senator, said, on leaving College at the time of his graduation:—"I have learned patriotism in Princeton as well as Greek." Three graduates of Princeton had churches in North Carolina, from whose congregations went forth the so-called "Regulators" who engaged the troops of Governor Tryon on the Alamance. And in Mecklenburg county in the same State, one year before the Declaration of Independence was signed, there were published the famous Resolutions, pledging "life, fortune, and sacred honour" to the country's need. Their author and secretary of the convention adopting them was Ephraim Brevard, a graduate of Princeton of the class of 1768, and in this he was ably seconded by two other Princeton graduates, Balch and Avery of the class of 1766. To the three are especially owing those protestations of freedom which resounded throughout the length and breadth of the Colonies, and, before the echoes had died away, to be caught up again in the ringing words of the Declaration of Independence.

There is a story of the Revolution which is characteristic of the Princeton spirit of that time. One of the graduates of Princeton was rudely aroused from sleep by the owner of the house in North Carolina, where he had stopped to rest, entering his room and exclaiming, "I allow no man to sleep under my roof but a Whig"; the stranger answered, "Let me rest in peace then, for I was graduated at Princeton under Dr. Witherspoon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence." The same patriotic spirit characterized the graduates of Princeton everywhere. Ministers as well as the professional and business men manifested their loyalty with no uncertain sound, pleading the cause of liberty from the pulpit as well as in private. There was a Rev. John Craighead who was graduated in the class of 1763, and settled as pastor of the old Rocky Spring Church, near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. One Sunday at the beginning of the war he preached a sermon inciting his congregation to enlist in the holy cause

of their country's independence. At the conclusion of the sermon he threw aside his gown, disclosing a captain's uniform of the Continental army. Then and there a company was raised, all the men of the congregation rising to their feet in response to Dr. Craighead's appeal. They marched forth from the Cumberland Valley with the fighting dominie at their head. Dr. Robert Cooper, a classmate of Dr. Craighead's, and pastor of the Middle Spring Church in Pennsylvania, also enlisted, and for a time was a captain of a company in the war. Over a year before the Declaration of Independence he preached before Col. Montgomery's battalion under arms near Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, a sermon entitled "Courage in a Good Cause," which was replete with revolutionary sentiments.

It was no doubt the influence of Dr. Witherspoon which more than any force contributed to the spirit of loyalty and patriotism among the graduates of Princeton. He himself inspired his colleagues with the courage to sign the Declaration of Independence when they were hesitating to take the momentous step. Perceiving that the House was wavering he rose to the occasion with the stirring words :—

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate is to consent to slavery. That noble instrument on your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this House. For my own part, of property I have some,—of reputation more. That reputation is staked upon the issue of this contest,—that property is pledged; and although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I had infinitely rather they should descend thither by the hands of the public executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country."

From the outbreak of the Revolution to its close and through the many perplexities of an early life as a Republic, Witherspoon was sacredly devoted to the cause to which he had pledged life and reputation. He was a member of the secret committee of Congress, of the board of war, of the committee of finance, of the committee to procure supplies. He was appointed to confer with Washington on the military cases, when Congress had been driven from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and he was asked with Richard Henry Lee and John Adams to make an appeal to the patriotism of the people at that time.

The battle of Princeton has brought the town and College as well into an intimate historic association with one of the most decisive conflicts of the war. Through Washington's superb strategy and brilliant manœuvering, the victory was won which turned the tide of war in favor of the Colonial army. Nassau Hall, the main College building,—

named for King William III, of the house of Nassau, because of his spirit of protest and of liberty,—was occupied by the retreating British forces which had been driven from the battlefield by the American soldiers with Stark at their head. The American artillery began to play on the walls of the building, and, so tradition goes, a ball tore from its frame the picture of George II hanging in the Prayer Hall. The garrison within soon surrendered. From that time Princeton was held by the Americans. At the close of the Revolutionary period the National Congress assembled in Nassau Hall, owing to inconvenience incurred in meeting in Philadelphia, due to the importunate demands of certain Pennsylvanian soldiers who considered themselves unjustly treated in the manner of their discharge from service at the close of the war. Dr. Elias Boudinot was President of Congress at that time. On the Fourth of July, the College had a special celebration which the members of Congress attended. Mr. Green of the Senior Class, afterward President of the College, delivered an oration upon the significant subject, "The Superiority of a Republican Government over any other." When the class was graduated that same year, Congress formally adjourned to attend the exercises. There were present on the commencement stage, the whole of Congress, the Ministers of France and of Holland, and Gen. Washington. Mr. Green, the valedictorian, concluded his oration with an address to Washington, who it is said colored perceptibly when thus referred to. On that occasion, Washington gave fifty guineas to the Trustees, which he begged them to accept as a testimony of his respect for the College. This gift was devoted to securing a portrait of Washington painted by Peale of Philadelphia. It now hangs in the same frame in Nassau Hall where once hung the picture of George II, destroyed in the battle of Princeton. Washington is represented in full length, sword in hand, and in the background a sketch of the battle of Princeton with the prostrate figure of Gen. Mercer who was mortally wounded in that engagement. Washington appeared again at Princeton in October of the same year at the request of President Boudinot to give his advice to Congress concerning matters vitally affecting the country's interests, such as the organization of a standing army, of a militia, and of a military school. It was from the residence of Judge Berrien at Rocky Hill near Princeton that he issued his "Farewell Address" to the army.

The most brilliant and imposing assemblage which has ever gathered at Princeton was that of the thirty-first of October, 1783, when Congress assembled in the Prayer Hall of Old Nassau to receive the

Minister Plenipotentiary from the Netherlands. There were present Washington; Morris, the Superintendent of Finance; and Luzerne, the French Minister. At this gathering the news of the signing of the Treaty of Peace at Versailles was announced. This occasion was only equalled in the early history of the College by that other gathering in the summer of 1824 to do honor to the gallant Marquis de Lafayette, who came to the United States at that time upon invitation of Congress and the National Executive. On his way from New York to Washington he passed through Princeton, accompanied by an escort under command of Gen. John Heard, who was a cavalry officer in the Continental army during the Revolution. Lafayette was entertained by the College; Richard Stockton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, delivered an address of welcome, and there was a formal presentation to Lafayette of the diploma conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, which had been voted by the Trustees several years previous, during Witherspoon's administration.

Princeton played an important part in the Constitutional Convention. Her graduates were the leading spirits in its deliberations. Of the fifty-five members, thirty-two were men of college or university training. There were one each from London, Oxford, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, five from William and Mary, one from the University of Pennsylvania, two from Columbia, three from Harvard, four from Yale, and nine from Princeton. This large representation from Princeton was not by chance, but the result chiefly of Witherspoon's training and the patriotic traditions which were in those years the common heritage of all Princeton men. In this Convention there arose a spirited discussion concerning the proper basis of State representation in the legislative body. Two plans were proposed. One by Randolph of Virginia, which embodied substantially the ideas of Madison, a graduate of Princeton and a pupil of Witherspoon's, was known as the Virginia or large State plan. It provided for two houses, basing representation upon population. The other, or the small State plan, was for one house wherein each State should have equal representation, irrespective of population. This was conceived by Paterson, also a graduate of Princeton, of the class of 1763, at that time Governor of New Jersey, afterward United States Senator, and in 1793 elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. Over these two propositions the Convention fought without any prospect of agreement until a compromise was suggested by Sherman and Ellsworth, ably seconded by Davie of Georgia, which

was substantially the present plan of two houses ; representation in one being based upon population, and, in the other, upon the States irrespective of population. Ellsworth and Davie were Princeton graduates of the classes of 1766 and 1776. James Madison united with Washington in securing the acceptance of the New Constitution in Virginia ; and in his subsequent political career Madison owed much to the inspiration which he received from the training and the personality of Witherspoon. His biographer, William C. Rives, writes as follows of Madison :—

“ We have seen how liberal and expansive a field of inquiry was opened to the students by the additions which Witherspoon made to the previous curriculum of the College. The increased attention paid to the study of the nature and constitution of the human mind, and the improvements which had been lately introduced into this fundamental part of knowledge by the philosophical inquiries of his own countrymen, constituted a marked and most important feature of Dr. Witherspoon’s reforms. Mr. Madison formed a taste for these inquiries which entered deeply into the character and habits of his mind, and gave to his political writings in after life a profound and philosophical cast which distinguished them eminently and favorably from the productions of the ablest of his contemporaries.”

Mr. Bancroft has referred to the influence of Witherspoon in forming Madison’s views on the subject of religious liberty. In reference to the declaration of rights submitted to the Convention of Virginia in May, 1776, Bancroft writes as follows :—

“ Only one cause received a material amendment. Mason had written that all should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion. . . . A young man, then unknown to fame, of a bright hazel eye, inclined to gray, small in stature, light in person, delicate in appearance, looking like a pallid sickly scholar among the robust men with whom he was associated, proposed a change. He was James Madison, the son of an Orange county planter, bred in the school of the Presbyterian dissenters under Witherspoon at Princeton, trained by his own studies, by meditative rural life in the Old Dominion, and by an ingenuous indignation at the persecution of the Baptists, by innate principles of right, to uphold the sanctity of religious freedom. He objected to the word ‘ toleration,’ because it implied an established religion which endured dissent only as a condescension, and as the earnestness of his convictions overcame his modesty, he went on to demonstrate that ‘ all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.’ His motion obtained the suffrages of his colleagues. This was the first achievement of the wisest civilian of Virginia.”

Dr. Witherspoon’s wide-reaching influence in inculcating the first principles of citizenship in the characters of the young men of his day in Princeton will be most clearly recognized and appreciated when we glance at the catalogue of the public positions which were held by the

men who were graduated during the years of Dr. Witherspoon's administration. Of the four hundred and sixty-nine graduates during these years, one hundred and fourteen were clergymen, thirteen of whom became presidents of colleges; and of the remaining three hundred and fifty-five, one was for eight years President of the United States, one was Vice-President, six were members of the Continental Congress, twenty became Senators of the United States, twenty-three entered the House of Representatives, thirteen were Governors of States, three were Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and some twenty served as officers in the Revolutionary army. Witherspoon's administration gave to Princeton not merely a name and reputation, but it placed the College upon that high ground where permanent progress was assured. He was to the College in the earlier period of its history what his honored fellow countryman, Dr. James McCosh, proved to be one hundred years later. The eighteenth and the nineteenth century Scotchmen came to the Presidency of the College in the prime of their lives, and to Princeton they gave the vigor of their mature manhood, the ripened fruit of a wide experience, and the powers of a mighty intellect, all unreservedly consecrated to the training of youth in the service of God and of man. One labored in times of war; the other in times of peace; but both to the same end.

And now as the time is drawing near the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College, which is to be celebrated this month, it is fitting to emphasize the value of Witherspoon's services in the cause of national independence, both as regards that which he rendered directly, and also all that was attained indirectly through his power in inspiring the young men of the land to deeds of patriotism and self-sacrifice.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

THE AMERICAN BALLOT.

MANHOOD suffrage and vote by ballot have received at least their due meed of praise during the last thirty years as the two greatest bulwarks of political liberty, and therefore as the two great factors in human progress. This was natural, and perhaps not wholly unreasonable, at a time when the ideas were comparatively new and the results that might be looked for from their operation were matters rather of abstract reasoning than of actual experience. Now, however, that we are nearing the close of the century in which these, as well as other political experiments, have been extensively tried in practice, we ought to be in a position to estimate with greater accuracy these much-praised inventions for the political advancement of society.

To do this with any degree of success it is first of all necessary to understand clearly the nature of the political objects at which we aim, as it is only in this way that we can form any useful estimate of the success or failure of the means that have been devised for their attainment. It may perhaps be assumed that there are few persons who really believe that either manhood suffrage or vote by ballot are necessarily in themselves blessings to humanity, or the only methods conceivable by which popular liberty can be secured or good government maintained. It will probably be admitted that the right of every man to exercise a vote can only be considered a right so long as in practice it benefits either himself or other people; as it is evident that when it ceases to do this the so-called right of the individual becomes merely an instrument of wrong both to himself and to the community at large. The method of secret voting known as the ballot can only be looked upon as an advantage so long as it is found that in practice it tends to make the voting itself a more intelligent and effectual means of securing good government. Should it ever become evident in any country that manhood suffrage means merely the supremacy of the rogues and the fools of the community, it will have been demonstrated that so far as that country is concerned, at any rate, manhood suffrage is a failure. Should it become open to proof that the system of vote by ballot in force in any country does not secure the honest and intelligent expres-

sion of the mind of the people, it will then have become clear that the system requires either ending or mending. These things indeed should go without saying, but it may be feared that the English-speaking races at any rate have for the most part learned to regard popular elections, as we practise them, with a kind of reverence which is in some danger of degenerating into a superstition. They have fallen into a habit of accepting it as a fact that in matters political the mind of the majority must be the mind of wisdom, and that so long as everybody has a right to exercise a vote by ballot we have done all that humanity can do to secure the highest expression of political intelligence. In this there is danger.

It is true, indeed, that generally speaking the instincts of civilized men are substantially sound on large and plain questions of good government unless they are upset by sudden excitements or perverted by the schemes of cunning politicians. While such is the case the most universally reliable safeguard of liberty and good government may be looked for in the maintenance of such a system of election to public offices as will give free scope to these instincts, and so far as possible discourage and counteract the schemes of these politicians. It needs but a slight acquaintance with the American politics of to-day to convince any observer that for some reason this safeguard either does not exist at all or is at least singularly inoperative. It would seem to be a fact upon which nearly all are agreed that a large and very intelligent class of citizens is as a rule conspicuous by its absence from the polls at elections, and that the members of the same class are not generally available as candidates for offices of public trust. This class embraces, with comparatively few exceptions, the men whose wealth renders them influential, whose business character, experience, and talents make them looked up to by their fellow men, and whose interests in all that pertains to legislation and good government render it impossible to suppose that their practical withdrawal from politics can arise from a want of appreciation of their importance to themselves.

As a consequence of this, it is said, American politics are corrupt. They have fallen, and are falling more and more into the hands of a class of persons who make a trade of managing the affairs of the community, and who use that trade with more or less open effrontery as a means of money-making for themselves and friends. An election is no longer an appeal to the people, whose instincts may as a rule be trusted to know the distinguishing marks of a good and a bad man, and without much hesitation to reject the one and choose the other;

but to the little ring of party bosses who exist by the support of men who must be bought in one way or another, and who therefore cannot if they would, be honest or public-spirited. It follows that a Caucus is but a private hatching place for schemes which aim at the advancement of individual under the name of party supremacy, and that a Convention is after all but an enlarged caucus with a veil of greater decency thrown over proceedings which are instigated by the same men and actuated by the same motives. From such beginnings it is evident that no good thing can be expected to come, and it need be no surprise that the evil is already wide-spread and manifest. In the municipality, in the State, in the Union at large, the system has spread and is spreading to an extent which may well render good citizens alarmed for the future of a country which appears to be given up to the control not of its best but of emphatically its worst because its most cunning and self-seeking citizens.

In looking for a remedy for such a state of things it is natural, indeed it is necessary, to turn to the one existing element in which men have still reason to confide as at least sound in its instincts, and this element in the problem is the great mass of the people. They, at least, have nothing to gain by misgovernment; they, at any rate, while they may be deceived and made use of, have no interest in the deception and no purely selfish ends to serve by using others. For a time, indeed, they may be imposed upon by high-sounding talk of party loyalty, but they, or at least a section of them, are certain to awake to the perception that a purifying change in the administration of public affairs is of more importance than loyalty to party watchwords or adherence to party leaders. When the awakening comes it is all-important that it should be found possible to give prompt effect to the new-born convictions of those who have awakened. In such a state of things a failure is apt to be a disaster indeed. Nothing is so hard to hold together as a protesting minority in favor of public spirit and good government, in opposition to widely-organized selfishness and far-reaching corruption, and a failure at first may lead to an increase of the evil rather than an emancipation from it. Hence it is all-important that there should be a trustworthy provision for enabling the people,—as distinguished from the mob, which now and always will be found ready to follow the bosses (so long as bosses continue to exist) to the polls,—to give prompt expression to their wishes. This brings us face to face with the question of the efficiency or otherwise of the system of actual election which prevails in the country and the extent

to which it may be relied upon to assist the cause of freedom as opposed to management.

The strongest argument in favor of secret voting has been from the first that it was a system which emphatically made for liberty. It was felt that while it might be decried on the ground that it evidenced, and even fostered, a spirit which was cowardly and might become deceitful, this and all other objections were more than counterbalanced by the protection which it extended to the weak against the strong—to the freedom of action of the individual in opposition to the overpowering influences which wealth, position, and influence might enable others to bring to bear upon him. In the first instance it was naturally supposed that such influences would be resorted to by individuals who might stand in the relation of landlords or employers to men entitled to the franchise, but in principle it is clear enough that organizations and parties might require to be as jealously guarded against if the freedom of the individual was to be ensured. This it was that was kept steadily in view by those who framed the system of secret voting which took its origin and name from Australia; and it is this feature,—the essential and cardinal feature of the system,—which has been more and more lost sight of in the various amendments which have had the effect of turning the Australian into the American ballot system. It may be that the design has not been a deliberate one, though there are many indications that each change has been actuated by purposes wholly foreign to the genius of the original scheme; but, whether deliberate or otherwise, the results have been the same, and the American ballot of to-day is opposed to freedom of individual action in politics almost as essentially as the system from which it sprang is in favor of it.

The two most essential characteristics of any effective system of secret voting when applied to the registration of large numbers of votes must be inviolable secrecy and perfect simplicity. On the first point all parties in the state are at least professedly agreed, and on the second it is probable that no one would admit that there could be any difference of opinion; yet the most superficial examination of the system pursued shows that every step which has been taken to alter the simple Australian plan into its improved American representative is a step which, by destroying simplicity, directly tends, and appears to be designed to tend, toward the destruction of freedom of choice on the part of the individual voter. The charge is a serious one, and it is seriously made. It means an indictment of the party leaders in this country on the charge of aiming at the extinction of the liberty of the people in

the choice of their rulers, and the substitution of a bastard freedom to choose between political organizations, and to assist in giving effect to the schemes of political tricksters. Rightly understood it is difficult to imagine a greater act of treason against the country than this. The traitor who betrays his country to a foreign enemy brings death and ruin, it may be, upon thousands, yet the nation that suffers from war, even if unsuccessful, need not be degraded though unfortunate ; but the citizen, who, for purposes of aggrandizement for self or party, tampers with the freedom of the people, saps the very foundations of public virtue and undermines the whole edifice of public confidence.

The system of the Australian ballot was adopted in America professedly on the ground of its superiority over other systems for securing the freedom of the voters and the purity of elections held under its provisions. In Australia it retains those features wholly unimpaired to-day, and no politician there has yet been found bold enough to propose in any degree to tamper with a system which experience, extending over some thirty years, has endeared to the people. The system, as established in all the colonies of the Australasian group, may be said to consist of three parts, each one of which is designed, and would seem to be essential, to secure intelligent individualism in the selection of candidates, and entire simplicity and consequent rapidity in the actual process of voting. These are, first, the provision for registration, by which the right of the electors to exercise a vote is recognized ; next, the process by which candidates for any office are nominated so as to become eligible for election ; and, lastly, the method by which the actual voting is accomplished. With respect to the registration of persons entitled to exercise the right of voting in any district, the essential principle of the Australian system is that it is the public and not the elector, or the party to which he may chance to belong, that is interested chiefly in seeing that every one entitled according to law to the franchise in any district is publicly placed upon the roll of electors. It is not therefore left to the would-be voter to claim registration, but in every district a permanent official is appointed whose duty it is, with the assistance of the police, to enter upon the district roll the name of every person entitled to vote, and to remove from it the name of every person no longer entitled. The rolls thus compiled are publicly advertised, besides being exposed for public inspection at certain places within each district for a month before they are submitted for confirmation to the court, which sits, under the presidency of one of the regular permanent judges, to hear all objections either to the inclusion or ex-

clusion of names. Of these objections due notice in writing must be lodged by the person aggrieved with the district registrar, and that officer may either admit the error or contest the right claimed before the court. In all cases of contest no one can be heard but the claimant himself, parties being wholly unrecognized in all such matters in Australia, and should a claimant make good his contention before the court costs are allowed against the registrar, while in case of failure the court will award costs against him in favor of the official. The electoral roll thus settled by the court is not afterward open to challenge in any particular, and at an election no question can be raised as to the right to vote of the persons enrolled.

It is held in Australia an essential to simplicity of election and to a really intelligent individualism in the selection of the persons to be elected that there should be a regular nomination of candidates sufficiently long before an election to enable the electors to ascertain the opinions of candidates on public questions, so that there may be no difficulty on the part of the voters in making up their minds beforehand as to whom they shall support. This, which was formerly done by public nomination at a meeting of electors, is now done by notice in writing, signed by a certain number of electors of the district, and addressed to the returning officer a certain number of days before that fixed for the election. These nominations are publicly advertised in the newspapers, and only the names of persons thus nominated can be voted for by any elector.

An election in Australia is a simple and expeditious process. It is not considered either necessary or desirable to make election days holidays, and it has never been found that even the smallest difficulty was experienced by voters in taking part in an election owing to the loss of time involved in attendance at the polling place. Two things mainly contribute to this result—one is that in Australia no two issues are ever mixed at a single election. If the election be for members of the legislature it is never mixed up with an election to any other office whatever; if for any other office, as for instance a mayor, it is never held at the same time as that for members of the legislature. The other reason for the comparative rapidity of the polling is to be found in the extreme simplicity of the operation itself. An Australian polling booth is a temporary erection with doors in front and behind. Where the constituency is large the booth may be divided into a number of compartments each representing so many letters of the alphabet with a front and back door for each. On entering the voter is confronted by the returning officer or his deputy, who, seated at a

table on which stand the ballot boxes, has before him the electoral roll of the district. The voter's name is demanded and found in the roll and he thereupon receives from the returning officer a ballot paper marked with the initials of the official, and his name is erased from the roll. He passes at once into one of the separate compartments provided, and there it is a work of but a second or two to prepare his ballot. On the paper itself there is nothing but a list of the names of the candidates in alphabetical order, and at the bottom a note directing the voter to erase with the pencil provided all the names he does *not* wish to vote for, leaving no more names than the number of persons to be elected. This can be done in a moment, where, as is always the case, the candidates are already well known to the voters, and no confusing considerations of party claims or fantastic party emblems are admitted to divert the voters from the personal issue.

In this way it is that an Australian election is no elaborate function involving a cessation of business, with all the objectionable surroundings of idle voters and busy paid agents of parties or candidates, whose very existence is a menace to freedom of choice and purity of election. Under its operation a single polling booth can be made easily to accommodate eight or ten thousand voters between eight in the morning and four in the afternoon, and the result of the voting—thanks largely to the simple expedient of obliterating instead of marking names—can be ascertained speedily and with certainty. One thing, indeed, the Australian system does not do—it in no way lends itself to party or machine politics, and it is absolutely opposed to everything that can lend an excuse to the use of money in connection with elections. So stringent, indeed, are its provisions in this respect that the courts might almost be depended upon to invalidate any election where it was shown that any subscription for election expenses had been made on behalf of a candidate, or where a candidate himself could be shown to have paid for anything except advertising in the newspapers, a committee room on the day of election, and a day's wages for one representative in each polling booth. These expenses are recognized by law in Australia, and all others are sternly prohibited.

Turning from the real system of the Australian ballot to that which, under its name, has taken its place in America, no one can help being struck by the fact that there is hardly one important feature which has not been altered; nor can it be seriously questioned that every one of the alterations made has been in the direct interest of corrupt politics, or at any rate of a political system which destroys the influence of

honest individual opinion, and substitutes for it the edicts of party managers and machine bosses. Individual opinion is discouraged to the verge of obliteration in American politics, and it is the almost openly expressed object of the system so to discourage it. The party and not the voter is as far as possible made the unit of political influence and the source of political power. And this principle may be traced through every stage of the electoral process and in every working of the electoral machinery of the country. It is the party and not the people at large that is supposed to be interested in the due registration of voters, or rather in the registration of voters, rightly or wrongly, who can be depended upon to vote for the party ticket and hope to profit by the corrupt largess dispensed by the party leaders. It is the party, and not the state representing the people at large, that pays all costs and expenses entailed by the contest as to what party emblem shall be disgraced by the greatest number of bogus voters. It is the parties, through their net-work of unscrupulous agents, that pile up the preliminary electoral expenses to such dimensions as to render it hopeless for any but a very large party, possessed of great financial resources, to enter upon a contest with the smallest hope of success.

The mere announcement of the money cost of an electoral campaign in the country at large, in a single State, or within the comparatively narrow limits of a single city like New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago, would fill the mind not only of an Australian, but of the citizen of any other country where popular election is recognized, with amazement and horror. It is no secret that candidates for office have been expected largely to forestall their expected salaries as the price of the support of their party, and this not as an exceptional thing but as a well-recognized and, indeed, an essentially necessary feature of the system. Nor can it be wondered at, for as the system stands it is essential. Government by party, when carried to its extreme and it may be legitimate results, involves a system of "spoils" throughout which no legislative enactments will ever altogether suppress, and any severe blow that could be struck at corruption in electoral matters would undoubtedly be found to threaten with destruction party rule and party combinations as they exist to-day in this country.

Passing, however, from the preliminary arrangements where parties engage in an indecent struggle for the registration of the greatest possible number of votes that can be depended upon, to the actual working of the ballot, the same principle of sinking individual freedom in a party tyranny is apparent as the leading feature of the system. Complaints

have been made that in spite of the many facilities given for voting, it is frequently no easy matter to register a vote even after the sacrifice of a whole day for that object. An Australian would be utterly unable to comprehend the difficulty until he was shown a ballot paper, and then he would be equally unable to understand how even a small part of the voters ever reached the polling booth. Two years ago each elector in New York was presented with fully thirty separate ballot papers when he came to vote, the mere reading of which might easily have afforded an intelligent person from a quarter to half an hour's amusement; now by way of improvement he receives a document which is humorously termed a "blanket" ballot, and is a combination of the pictorial with the literary curiosity. This document measures about twenty-four inches in length by eighteen in breadth and contains a hundred and forty-nine names submitted in a series of variations and permutations to the bewildered voters at the dictation of no less than eleven different party organizations. In addition to this the voter is offered the privilege of forming a party of his own and voting for a ticket of his own composing by at once nominating and voting for any person real or imaginary he may choose to name. The eleven so-called regular tickets, or in other words party dictations to the electors, are headed by portentous symbols and labelled with the title of the party which these hieroglyphics represent. Thus the voter is confronted by eagles, stars, ships, roosters, anchors, and fountains, with an invitation to cut the Gordian knot of utter perplexity by marking a cross within the circle conveniently placed under the symbol and swallowing at a mouthful the ticket of a little ring of party bosses.

The result of such a system of balloting is not open to a moment's doubt, and to give its authors credit for any intention but that of handing over the electors bound hand and foot to the dictation of parties would be to acquit their moral, at the expense of their intellectual, qualifications. It is conceivable, indeed, that a man of high intelligence and a strong sense of personal responsibility might pause and try to weigh the opposing suggestions of the various parties as to the men best fitted for election to the various offices to be filled up, but if there were many such persons in any district the vast majority of the voters would never reach the polling place within the appointed hours. Practically, however, there is no fear of this. The voter who desires conscientiously to select and vote for the best man for an office of solemn trust rather than to endorse the selection of a small clique which experience has shown over and over again to be corrupt and

self-seeking is entirely out of place in such a system, and he knows that he is so. The polling places are not blocked by such men as these, hesitating in the interests of honesty and good government between rival candidates. Sometimes, indeed, they are blocked even as it is; but it is not intelligence but ignorance that retards the operation of registering the edicts of this boss or that. This indeed is not the boss's fault but his misfortune. In the meantime public opinion is hardly advanced enough to tolerate the improvement of leaving no place for the insertion of the voter's cross mark but the little ring which indicates the straight ticket, but that too may come in time; indeed it would save time and probably would make but little difference in the results if it came at once. Already the individual voter has little or no practical freedom of choice, and it cannot be wondered at if the men who feel that in the privilege of electing rulers and legislators there is comprised a trust which is second to none in its importance and solemnity, refuse to take part in a pretence and a mockery.

Strangers in the United States wonder that her ablest men are not her public men; they are astonished to find that her legislature is filled with men who are not prominent and do not in other directions hold the highest place in the opinion of their fellow citizens; the explanation lies in the fact that party politics afford no congenial field to the really able and highly honorable citizen. The man who has to gain his position by securing the confidence of a ring of professional politicians, and to retain or advance it by dickering with bosses and compromising with dishonest legislation, has ceased, in matters political at any rate, to be an honest man long before he can hope to obtain a foremost place in the politics of America. As yet the home of the Australian ballot is free from these evils. As yet party tickets and party bosses are as unknown in Australia as are professional politicians and corrupt party rings, and so long as the community clings to the principles embodied in its electoral laws it is likely to continue so. When this great country grows weary of being managed by the most cunning rather than governed by the most able of its citizens; when it awakens to the degradation which everywhere waits upon corrupt government, and sees that in public as in private affairs honesty is emphatically the best policy, it will do well to examine the whole foundations and fabric of its electoral system, and adopt something like the true Australian ballot in the place of the counterfeit article imposed upon it under that name.

HUGH H. LUSK.

ROBERT SCHUMANN A LYRICAL POET.

THE musician, like the poet, is characterized by strong passion, exquisite sensibility, and delicate taste. He also, like the poet, draws his inspiration from life, with this difference however,—that, with the true musician, the primal moving influence is not the external world, but the deep life within himself, the powerful and uncontrollable emotions of the soul. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, and Wagner, the great pioneers in the domain of music, may serve as illustrations of this rule. Now, there are individuals in whom the fusion of the poetic and musical elements is so perfect that it is extremely difficult at a first glance to trace their point of union. Robert Schumann is undoubtedly the most striking example of such an organization. In him the poetic and musical, the emotional and intellectual, elements were wonderfully blended; yet, judging him by the rule which I have just quoted, he was, strictly speaking, a poet and not a musician. When I consider the productions of Schumann in their entirety (and I refer here more directly to his independent instrumental compositions, which were purely his own invention) I recognize in him one of the greatest lyrical poets of Germany, who, owing to the intense fervency of his nature, chose *tones*, instead of *words*, as his medium of expression. What then do these tones of Schumann express? the reader will ask. This question can best be answered by an illustration in the form of a comparison taken from the poems of one who, in many respects, resembles Schumann very closely.

It was said by contemporaries of Robert Burns, that to hear that poet recite one of his own productions was a revelation never to be forgotten. We are told of the wonderful modulations of his voice, always attuned to the subject of inspiration, and suited in inflection and compass to the slightest gradation of thought and emotion. Even we who read these moving poems can but faintly conjecture how marvellous must have been that voice which could utter with such irresistible pathos the pleading accents of love, echo through deepest sympathy the plaintive tremolo of a bird, or burst into a peal of thunder when the subject of inspiration was some scene of battle. Let us imagine for a

moment that we were in an audience which Burns sometimes favored, and could listen to the bard's own recitation of the "Battle of Bannockburn." Let us suppose furthermore that we were so far removed from the eloquent poet himself that, while we were unable to distinguish the words themselves, we should nevertheless hear the eloquent tones with which they were delivered.

How shall I attempt to describe the effect of that first verse which epitomizes in itself a whole volume of Scottish history? What breathless haste, what increasing agitation in those short, hurried accents! How fearful the exertions of Bruce to relieve his pent-up heart upon which at this critical moment all the memories of the past are crowding in one overwhelming volume, choking his utterance and making him gasp for breath! And with what a cry at last does Bruce unburden the swollen current of his emotions!—

"Welcome to your gory bed,
Or to victory!"

It is the cry of a man who is summoning all his strength for the supreme effort of his life; the cry of an indomitable leader who is about to fight with the energy of despair.

The second verse is like the loud alarum of drums. With what a roar the first line bursts upon the ear!—

"Now 's the day and now 's the hour."

How fearless the tones with which Bruce tears away the curtain from before the very front of battle, exposing it in all its terrors! Where again shall we find so graphic a delineation of battle in tones of such startling reality? In the third verse we hear the scathing tones of contumely which pursue the coward fleeing before the hail-storm of battle,—tones like the sharp, icy blast of the whirling hail-storm itself. In the fourth verse what ringing, penetrating notes of command, soul-compelling trumpet-tones which sink into every manly heart, nerve the arm of every freeman, and draw forth every sword from its scabbard! In the next verse the voice of Bruce is answered; it is borne to our ears as if supported by a vast chorus, a chorus which shapes itself into a hymn of battle. In the last verse we hear the sounds of the fray, the yells of fury and the exasperation of that wild multitude, echoing in the words of Bruce, and culminating in one united, determined cry like a thunderbolt,—

"Let us do or die!"

Now, even though we did not know the title of this poem, would not these verses, when delivered with the rapidity, power, and fury of the whirlwind, suggest some scene such as that which is actually described? Knowing the title, however, the voice of Bruce, as it labors under the all-controlling excitement induced by the circumstances of the time and the place, will excite in us sentiments, ideas, and images kindred to those with which this poem abounds. I have not spoken of the words of the poem, but of the tones with which I conjecture Burns himself might have delivered them. So great is the power of human eloquence; and it is this eloquence, the quintessential element of the lyrical poem, which Schumann gives us in his music. He, too, like Burns, was primarily inspired by some *idea* or *event* which took complete possession of him. Burns, owing to the crystalline clearness and flashlike rapidity of his thoughts, was enabled to stamp his ideas indelibly into words. Upon Schumann, however, at the moment of inspiration, all the ideas and feelings inspired by the subject rushed at once in such rich profusion as to completely overwhelm him. He could find no time for words; but was compelled at once to seek utterance in the intensified *accents* of speech, in the tones of which I have just spoken.

It is true that, at a first glance, such an expression of the poetic idea in tones merely would seem extremely unsatisfactory. But let us look more closely into the matter and consider for a moment, that—barring Schumann, who occupies a unique position in this respect—the lyrical poet bequeaths to us nothing but the written word, the bare framework of the idea. Now, this written word must be converted into the sound for which it stands; the images which are embodied in it must once more be awakened into life; the emotions which here lie dormant must be expressed with all the fervor and intensity with which they once stirred the heart of the poet himself. All this must be done before the effect intended by him can be produced. But the gift of true eloquence is extremely rare. He who possesses it must not only have the power of insight in a high degree, but a wonderful voice as well, or a complete mastery of other instruments of interpretation. What this implies becomes apparent, when, glancing over the whole field of interpretative art, we consider the extremely small number of those who may be said to have received their diploma directly from nature. Some time ago, the writer listened to a recitation of Burns's poem, "Lady Isabella's Lament." He had been led to expect a true revelation of the beauties of this production. What was his disap-

pointment, however, when he heard this exquisite little poem rendered in the conventional, pulpit-like tones, and spiced with that everlasting sentiment of impotent longing, which is so barren of ideas and so completely devoid of real human passion !

“ Raving winds around her blowing,
Yellow leaves the woodlands strowing—
By a river hoarsely roaring,
Isabella stray'd deploring—
' Farewell, hours that late did measure
Sunshine days of joy and pleasure ;
Hail, thou gloomy night of sorrow,
Cheerless night, that knows no morrow ! ”

Behold how the poet within a few brief lines has here wrought all nature into a perfect frenzy. We hear the raving Demon of the Wind mercilessly blowing about the lonely wanderer. Mingling with the sound of the wind we hear the dry rustling of the storm-swept leaves as they are whirled through the dreary and deserted autumn forest. The turmoil and confusion of the elements increase with fearful rapidity. The deep-swollen river blends its hoarse, loud roar with the wild chorus ; but the climax is not yet reached, for the loud-swelling symphony of nature which the poet has evoked pinnacles in a cry of human distress. Surrounded by all the elements in their fury, a forlorn woman enters distractedly upon the scene. Wringing her hands in the abandon of her grief, she strays through the deserted halls of the forest. Her voice blends in sympathy with the loud “lamento” of nature. It rises upon the wings of the gale in wailing accents of regret. Its dying cadence is heard as she consigns herself to the wild companionship of the elements.

I have cited this verse to illustrate to how great an extent the poet must rely upon the interpreter to reanimate the written word ; and only when we realize this fact do we begin to appreciate the importance of the element which Schumann has given us ; for each of his compositions is an original, lyrical poem, transmitted to us as it was conceived *at the very moment of inspiration*. Here are combined all those elements of expression of which the eloquent orator avails himself,—the modulations of the voice, its dynamic shadings, the rhythm in its minutest ramifications, the subtle gradations of time, and pauses more eloquent than speech itself. If the words be lacking, therefore, in the poems of Schumann, we see that he has given us all those rich elements of expression which are almost totally lost in the written poem.

The text of Schumann, if rightly read and properly construed, will be found to be literally strewn with marks, all pointing to eloquent delivery. Furthermore I believe that, when this text is properly interpreted, the ideas which the poet intended to convey will frequently be presented with remarkable clearness and distinctness. This is true more particularly of those compositions in which the subject treated is simple in itself. As an illustration I shall choose one of the "Fantasy-pieces." We all know that Schumann has adorned many bright pages with the charming tales of childhood, and the little piece entitled "Fabel" ("Fable") undoubtedly belongs to this class. If we carefully follow the text and trace the relation between the different parts, the story upon which this extremely simple little poem is based at once suggests itself. Here is a general outline of the various themes as they are presented: A mother's advice to her child not to stray into the dark forest alone; the playful little one carelessly tripping about, unmindful of the mother's words; the injunction of the mother repeated, but of no avail; the catastrophe; the moral. In the first phrase the accents are simple, such as one might use in speaking to a child. It is the warning counsel of the mother. We hear her voice rising in solicitous, impressive tones, and notice the stress laid upon the last syllables. In the next movement we see the child gaily tripping about. The lightness of the movement is indicated by the "staccato"; the waywardness and giddiness of the little one by the turn of the notes. In the following phrase we again hear the admonition of the mother. It is given in a higher key (a fifth above); moreover, it is twice repeated. But the little wanderer no longer hears the mother's call. We see her playfully skipping away (for the second theme is here again introduced). Farther and farther she strays, but suddenly all her gaiety changes into alarm. She has lost her way. For a moment we hear the ominous sounds that precede the flood of tears. The next instant we see the child running through the woods weeping aloud in her distress; and as she strays deeper and deeper into the gloomy shades her agitation increases. She runs frantically to and fro, screaming with terror. She calls aloud in a voice shaking with fear. "O mother, mother!" she seems to say; only a strange echo replies as if in mockery from the mysterious depths of the woods. And now we hear the voice of the poet; for in the long passage which follows he seems to say, "Thus the child wandered and wandered through the intricate mazes of the gloomy forest, encountering many hardships, until overcome with fatigue," etc. Where the moral is introduced at

the end, the poet admirably preserves the tone of the fable and carries us back by slow degrees to the beginning. The order in which the story began is reversed. The tripping, playful rhythm is first introduced as if the poet would say, "Such is the story of the child," etc. The first theme then appears again and our attention reverts to the unheeded advice of the mother. The accents become fainter and fainter. Slowly and softly the story dies away to find an echo in the hearts of the little listeners whom the poet always loved so tenderly.

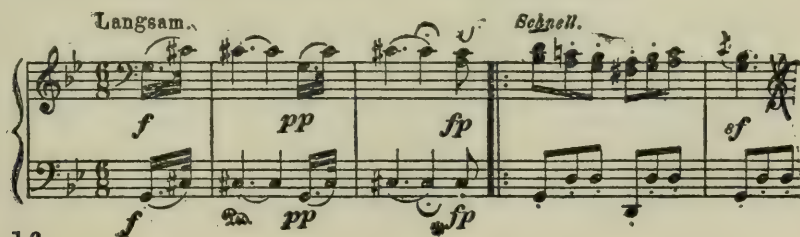
The simplest and humblest incident of life is interesting and sympathetic to the true lyrical poet, and even the author of "Faust" has portrayed just such a story as the above in the little ballad entitled "Die Wandelnde Glocke" ("The Wandering Bell"). I have chosen this poem "Fabel" to illustrate my point, for the reason that, while the subject treated is extremely simple, the various elements of expression of which I have spoken are here very clearly presented. There is a passage in the piece entitled "Arabeske" which may also serve as an excellent illustration of the extreme nicety with which the most delicate shades of thought are expressed in Schumann's poems.



The dialogue form is unmistakable in this piece, and at a first glance, owing to the grace, lightness, and sprightliness of the opening movement, we might be led to believe that the dialogue in question is one of such extreme delicacy as that between "The Youth and the Brooklet" in Goethe's poem of the same name. As we penetrate deeper into the spirit of the piece, however, we find that it suggests something far more tangible and definite. It is as if we were carried into some quiet rural retreat. A simple lassie has been chiding her erring lover. She has listened to his defence (in Minore 1, in which the same theme is constantly reiterated with greater vehemence). In the passage quoted above she begins to speak again in a wavering, doubtful voice as if she were but half convinced. How peculiarly the first movement which began so glibly is gradually introduced in this passage! How much is expressed by the elements of eloquent delivery which are here so profusely indicated!

Thus we see that Schumann has given us, first, the sounding, thought-impregnated accents of speech; and, second, all those elements of eloquent delivery which are hidden in the written poem. But this is not all. The entire structure of Schumann's productions is that of the lyrical poem. It is impossible in this article to enter into a close technical analysis of them; I shall therefore merely touch upon salient points.

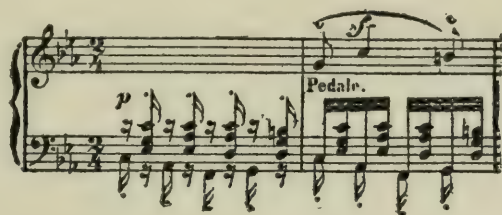
As soon as the compositions of Schumann are construed in a purely poetic sense, many peculiarities of style, many symbols, indeed, which have hitherto had a rather vague signification, will be found to have been employed for a perfectly clear and definite purpose. I have spoken of the accents of speech. Now, those accents, if the tones of which they are composed are properly condensed, resolve themselves into the accented and unaccented syllables of the poetic metre, the thesis and arsis. Upon the musical page, however, these, the principal subdivisions of the metre, would frequently be obscured. To obviate this difficulty Schumann has resorted to a very ingenious device. I refer to the accent-marks with which his pages are thickly strewn. By means of these he has, in my opinion, sought to give prominence to the principal subdivisions of the poetic metre. As the artist, however, employs an infinite number of dynamic shades, so Schumann was compelled to introduce a great variety of accents. Now, if the reader will bear in mind that all these accents are not only relative to one another, but relative also to the character of the piece in which they occur, he will perceive how admirably Schumann has accomplished his twofold purpose of indicating the poetic metre and all the dynamic shades at the same time. But this is not all. The most noteworthy feature about these accents is this: that Schumann, by means of them, was enabled to considerably augment the strength of those beats of the musical measure which are usually unaccented, thus giving clear and definite expression to the arsis which would otherwise, in many instances, be entirely lost; for it is needless to say that the arsis, although called the unaccented syllable of the poetic metre, demands a much stronger emphasis than the unaccented beat of the musical measure. A few brief examples must suffice to illustrate this.



How tamely this stirring ballad would sound were it not for the accent which marks the arsis! What vim this accent imparts to the whole piece! First we hear a solitary voice; a pause ensues; and then, as if at the given signal "All together," a rattling chorus breaks forth, sung by the lusty voices of sailors. An effect almost identical with the above is produced at the beginning of that rousing ballad, the "Scherzo" of the D minor symphony. No composition furnishes better proof of the importance of Schumann's accent-marks than that unique composition, the "5th Novelette." He has strengthened the arsis here, until it becomes almost equal to the thesis. This, in addition to the peculiar movement, produces an effect as if the rhythm were stamped by the hoof-beats of horses. Indeed there is a passage where, mingling with the trampling of horses, the ear can almost distinguish the jingling of spurs, and a picture of a brilliant cavalcade cantering by upon gaily-caparisoned steeds is presented to the imagination—a picture whose brilliance is heightened occasionally by a burst of song.

There is another peculiarity of style whose *raison d'être* becomes manifest when construed upon a positive poetic basis. This is the radical "syncopation." By this term I refer to those passages in which Schumann was compelled to introduce a long syllable, as indicated by a note of longer duration upon a weak beat of the measure. In the mild form of syncopation to which I have alluded in speaking of accents, we noticed that Schumann was compelled to considerably augment the ordinary accentuation of certain beats. Where the radical form is introduced, however, we shall see that he had to break through the confines of the musical measure altogether. Here is still stronger proof of his purely poetical intentions. All our great composers have, in the main, conformed to the musical measure, but the rhythm of Schumann is frequently entirely at variance with it for the reason that he always chooses a measure which will conform to the poetic metre which he has in mind. As the metrical arrangement of the syllables, however, is likely to vary at the introduction of a new line, or at the beginning of a new stanza, Schumann was very frequently compelled to depart from the musical measure altogether, *i. e.*, to shape his metre in accordance with the demands of the poem. So long as this mode of expression is interpreted in a musical sense, it will lead to an accentuation against the time (*contra-tempo*), and the effect produced will be purely negative and, so far as Schumann is concerned, absolutely meaningless. So soon as we banish from the mind the framework of the musical measure, and endeavor rather to scan the metre according

to the comparative value of the principal tones, every passage distinguished by what I have designated as the radical syncopation will acquire a positive meaning and will resolve itself into a perfectly clear-cut poetic phrase.



The staccato movement in the bass is like the sound of pattering footsteps, while occasionally an eager, hurried ejaculation, such as "Ich fang' dich" ("I 'll catch you"), is heard in the treble. The whole piece when properly rendered suggests to me a lively, exciting chase such as Burns describes in his poem on "Hallowe'en":—

"The lasses staw frae 'mang them a',
To pou their stalks o' corn ;
But Rab slips out, an' jinks about,
Behint the muckle thorn ;
He grippit Nellie hard an' fast,
Loud skirled a' the lasses ;" etc.



I quote this example from the poem entitled "Whims" not merely to show that Schumann, owing to the varying metre of his poem, was compelled to introduce the thesis upon a weak beat of the measure ; I have still another purpose in view. In the second measure we notice that two accented syllables, which are not closely related, follow each other. Upon closer inspection we discern here the clear demarcation of two phrases, and, having separated these, the whole passage or stanza resolves itself into four perfectly symmetrical lines (as indicated above), which, however, are closely interlinked. Thus we see that by en-

deavoring to trace the metre we are frequently enabled to form beautiful and harmonious poetical lines,—indeed, even couplets and stanzas. Many and varied are the passages which might be adduced to prove this.

A separation into lines and stanzas is not necessary, however, except in certain instances where the phrasing is obscure. Furthermore, so far-reaching an analysis would be extremely difficult, for the reason that Schumann, in nearly every poem that he has given us, may be said to have created a new and original form. Strange as this assertion may appear to those who are familiar only with the conventional forms of English poetry, it will not seem so to those who are familiar with Goethe's poems. In a very large number of them Goethe has totally departed from the trammels of conventionalism; and the spirit of the German language, which he understood as no poet before him, sanctions such a departure. Thus Goethe may be said to have largely created independent poetic forms; and this is true, not only as regards the metrical construction of the lines, but also as regards the form of the stanzas, which are frequently of unequal length. Now Schumann, whose knowledge of the poets was extraordinary, must undoubtedly have been deeply influenced by the genius of Goethe,—whether directly or indirectly, it is difficult to tell; for it is not easy to trace those subtle influences by which one genius affects and stimulates another. Suffice it to say, however, that what is true of a very large number of Goethe's poems, is also true of all of Schumann's. They are free and independent poetic productions. It would be interesting to show here, for example, the effect produced by the unique arrangement of the stanzas in the poem "Erster Verlust" by Goethe, and in the exquisitely delicate production "Kind im einschlummern" by Schumann. To do this carefully and conscientiously, however, would require too much space. Yet there is one word which I desire to say about this last-mentioned poem by Schumann. We occasionally find that the lyrical poet, in order to produce a more vivid effect, resorts to sounds and exclamations, rather than words. In the refrain to the "Zigeunerlied" ("Gypsy Song"), Goethe has in this way produced a very powerful effect. Yet if the entire poem were made up of such sounds, the effect would, for obvious reasons, be ludicrous in the extreme. Schumann, unfettered by words, had far greater latitude in this respect. He could, above all things, produce extremely *delicate* effects. Thus, for example, in the little lullaby "Kind im einschlummern," we hear the —Ssh! —Ssh! of a mother. We hear all the soothing tones with which

she lulls the infant, nestling in her arms, to rest. In this poem Schumann has been enabled, by reason of his peculiar endowment, to admirably present a situation requiring an expression too soft and tender, and a treatment too exquisitely delicate, for words.

In quoting the poem "Fabel" I have stated that, if a composition by Schumann is delivered with true eloquence, the hearer can form an approximately correct idea of the nature of the subject that inspired it. This statement, however, does not apply to his lengthy and involved compositions which are not distinguished by a clear title. If it may be said of the symphonies of Beethoven, that they possess all the charm of the indefinite (for who can trace the numerous, complex, and hidden sources of inspiration here?), it may be said of the symphonic compositions of Schumann, that they lack the charm of the definite. They are nothing more nor less than poems in four parts, and it is almost impossible for the hearer who follows a performance of one of these symphonies to trace the relation of ideas between those parts. The same applies to some of the larger pianoforte compositions, such as the "Humoreske." I believe that while there is a perfectly logical relation of ideas between the detached and fragmentary portions of this composition, yet it would nevertheless be unsatisfactory, even if played by a Rubinstein, for it imposes altogether too great a tax upon the imagination of the hearer. This obscurantism of Schumann, as to the title and plan of his productions, is unfortunate. It may be traced to a number of causes, which, however, are too complex to admit of analysis here. After all it may be said that, if he has given us the most striking proof of his greatness and originality as a poet in his independent instrumental productions, he has undoubtedly found the most satisfactory form of expression in his "Songs," or, to be precise, in the poems which he has "set to music." Here we have the lyrical poem in its perfection. The words give us the clear and definite expression of the ideas, while all the rich elements of eloquence are supplied by Schumann. Here he gives us an additional proof of his peculiar endowment; for while Schubert, the musician, raises the lyrical poem into an ideal realm and completely transforms, one might almost say, transfigures it, Schumann adheres strictly to the oratorical accent.

It is astonishing how completely our conception of Schumann becomes transformed, so soon as we judge him calmly, dispassionately, thoughtfully, *i. e.*, from the strictly objective point of view. We shall marvel at the fairly kaleidoscopic variety of subjects presented, most of which, however, may be termed genre pictures gleaned from Ger-

man life. In one poem we listen to the artless prattle of a child; in another, we see a group of old crones shaking their heads together as they exchange an important bit of village gossip; in another, the swinging, rattling couplets of a rollicking ditty are dashed off with a swagger. Frequently we find ourselves amidst the mirth and uproar of a German festival. Some poems are characterized by an extraordinary power of invention, and others again by bold and dazzling imagery. We shall not only be astonished at the great variety of subjects presented, but we shall also marvel at the faculties called into play in shaping them. We shall realize that in many of Schumann's more pretentious poems a great number of elements are involved (sounds, sights, emotions, ideas, and actions), and that all these various elements are, by reason of his marvellous power of condensation, blended into a homogeneous entity,—into that marvel of beauty and harmony, the lyrical stanza.

I shall now give an example of Schumann's eloquence which will at the same time illustrate in a general way the standpoint from which I believe he should be judged. For this purpose I shall select the poem entitled "Aufschwung" ("Excelsior"). Here we have the idea of the Parnassus, an idea as old as the human race itself. For there has never been an individual cast in a heroic mold, who has not at some period of his life beheld himself, as in a vision, toiling up the steep sides of that towering mountain whose summits are hidden in clouds. Amid booming, crashing chords that surround it as if to oppose its progress, that crowd in upon it as if to overwhelm it, we hear a heroic "motiv" steadily pressing forward as if bearing away all impediments. What superhuman effort, what heroic exertions in this "motiv," which at the end of the phrase break forth into a ringing cry of "Onward! Ever Onward!" As we listen to the mighty tread of this movement, what a host of ambitious spirits pass in review before us! We behold the inspired artist who with uplifted eyes presses ardently forward to embrace the shining ideal of his soul, the hero leading his armies onward upon the paths that lead to victory, the bold pioneer who braves the terrors of the unknown. "Forward!" is the motto of this first movement, and the key-note of the entire poem. The next "motiv" is almost indescribable, for upon its wings it bears all the soaring aspirations of youth, and to describe the intensity of these is beyond my power. How describe that glorious period of our lives when forms of enchanting loveliness flit before us and draw us onward, when the sounds of the syren's song set our senses all awirl?—

“ When our blood is all afire
With unquenchable desire ! ”

How describe the dazzling visions that fill the bright perspective of youth, visions that seem so real, so tangible? What are beauty, fame, power, and perfect freedom but ideals, that flee from us as we approach them, that ascend into the clouds as we pursue them? Yet they fire us on to ever higher endeavor, and all human progress may be traced by the footsteps of those who have pursued these ideals, even unto death. Such, in brief, are the ideas and emotions suggested by the second division of the poem.

Let us now endeavor to trace the lines more closely, in order that we may follow the train of thought. The first two lines express the idea of aspiration, “*per aspera ad astra*” (measure 17-21). In these lines the voice of the hero rises higher and higher, as if upon wings. In the two following lines his voice falls again as if mingled with the longing which consumes him, a thought of the unattainability of his ideal fills him with despair; and yet, only momentarily, for the next two lines are full of manly resolve. He sees the difficulties that beset him, yet they are as nothing to the attainment of the shining goal. He solemnly vows to stake all upon the accomplishment of his purpose. The stanzas of the second division are repeated, whereupon the motto of the piece is again introduced. Now it is blended with the wild music of the pouring torrent and the roar of the sweeping flood. It battles with the chaos of sounds that seek to engulf it. It rings out victorious. “*Louder than the fanfare of the cataract and fiercer than the sweeping tide is the voice within me that bids me onward! Defiance to the buffeting waves! On! Onward to the goal!*” As the voice of the hero, which seems to come from a great height, is borne away, the theme is changed and for a moment we seem to listen to the poet himself; to the voice of age and experience. We hear the despairing tones with which we call upon the loved ones, whom we know are doomed, whose step we would fain arrest, but cannot. But the voice of the poet is overshadowed by the movement itself, which steadily proceeds with undiminished pace. The next passage is more descriptive. The poet seems to follow the impetuous career of the wanderer in thought. What a picture of a storm-tossed landscape, ruled by the Demon of the Wind, is here presented! The wanderer presses forward against the fierce wintry gale (the idea of bitter adversity), which makes its melancholy music about him as it sweeps along upon its desolate path. Swiftly in the wake of the wind follows the

snow. It encircles the wanderer in a white, whirling maze. It sweeps about him in sharp, eddying drifts. Swiftly and silently it spreads its chill mantle over the landscape. The paths disappear; the wanderer is cut off from the world. And again, though the movement steadily proceeds, we hear the despairing outcry of the poet, "He passeth on, no aid can save him now from sure destruction!" The watchword of the hero now once more resounds! Above an ominous, rumbling tone the first theme of the piece rises steadily, yet with fearful effort. The very chords seem to gather themselves together as if preparing for an approaching catastrophe; louder and louder becomes the sound of the rolling masses of tone. It increases in fury and velocity. Now it is as the sound of chariots rolling in thunder! And now the very mountains are shaken to their foundations, as the avalanche crashes along in its mad career into the valley, carrying death and destruction before it. Yet in the midst of the universal downfall, we behold a hero grappling with all the demons of the elements, undauntedly treading upward and onward, amid all the terrors of nature! Now, once more, we hear syrenic sounds which fill the heart of youth with longing and draw him onward to his destiny; and the poem closes with the original motto, which is given concisely as at the beginning, with the exception of the last line, which rolls away in a minor key like the glorious farewell of a hero, heard from afar.

I consider it no derogation to say that Schumann was not a musician. It is true that he has diverted music from its proper channels, and in this way set a bad example to mediocre imitators. Yet this circumstance can be traced, first, to the fact that the relation between the arts was very little understood in the time of Schumann; and, second, to the nature of the man himself. Have the wranglings between the so-called disciples of the Wagnerian school and the supporters of Schumann—wranglings distinguished by blind passion and prejudice—given us an insight into the nature of the latter? None whatever. Now, the spirit of a man manifests itself directly in his productions, and these do but radiate from his inmost soul as the rays of light from the prism—they all focus in the nature of the man. It is only when we can fully grasp the individuality of Schumann, when we can behold the man, as he actually was, stripped of all the conventionalities and artificialities that modern investigation has woven about him, that we begin to appreciate his true greatness.

JOSEPH SOHN.

THE STUDY OF FOLK-LORE.

THE end of the nineteenth century will always be noted for the wonderful interest taken in the study of man, his works, his thoughts, and his opinions, past and present. It will be marked, moreover, by the rise and growth of a new science,—the science which studies mankind from the time when the earth and the human family were young down to the present time. This science (whether called Anthropology or Comparative Folk-Lore) studies the progress of man in culture. It reveals the evolution of modern culture from the beliefs and usages of savages and simple-minded folk. Now, folk-lore is concerned more particularly with the “survival” of primitive or ancient ideas and customs in modern civilization: that is to say, our study traces the development of tribal custom into national law; of pagan custom into Christian ecclesiastical usage and popular festivals; of sorcery and magic into astrology, and finally into astronomical science; of song and dance into Greek drama and poetry; of nursery tales and *Märchen* into the epic and the modern novel.

Again, the end of the nineteenth century is remarkable for the immense number of books devoted to the Folk—to people who have shared, as Mr. Lang puts it, least in the general advance. These people are, first, the backward races, as the natives of Australia and our Indian tribes; then the European peasantry, Southern negroes, and others out of touch with towns and schools and railroads. Within the last twenty years at least a hundred volumes have been published containing the legends, traditions, or tales of the folk of Germany, France, England, Russia, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Greenland, Italy, Greece, and Spain. The folk of Asia and Africa have contributed their lore to the collector of popular tales. Besides, missionaries and travellers have published volumes in which the curious customs, beliefs, and usages of the folk are set forth in detail.

The comparative study of all this material has disclosed some remarkable facts, and some highly important conclusions have been reached. Thus, it was early discovered that in popular or folk tales are imbedded the remains of rude customs, pagan beliefs, and savage

usages; so that nursery tales and fairy stories, which were regarded with contempt by scholars until the brothers Grimm made their collection of "Kinder und Hausmärchen," now seem to have a scientific value for the ethnologist, the comparative mythologist, and the student of comparative literature.

It is an accepted conclusion that human civilization has passed through the stage of mental development which we find among the folk. This point was brought out by Major J. W. Powell in a recent address at the meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society. He said:

"All savage peoples, all barbaric peoples, all the lower classes of mediæval civilization, and all mankind in the higher stages of civilization, have ideas and opinions which they have inherited from the past, and these ideas and opinions we study in the folk-lore of the past. This gives us a Folk-Book."

But it should be remembered that folk-lore includes what is unwritten. It is limited to such human ideas and opinions as are *orally* transmitted from generation to generation, from age to age. This knowledge ceases to be the lore of the folk when it is put in writing.

The term "folk-lore" was first suggested by the late W. J. Thoms in the London "Athenæum" in the year 1846. In a communication Mr. Thoms urged the collection of popular antiquities or popular literature, which, as he said, "is more a lore than a literature, and would be most aptly designated by a good Saxon compound, 'folk-lore,'—the lore of the people." He included under this term, "manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs." The new name met with favor, and "folk-lore" has become incorporated not only in the English language, but has been adopted by foreign tongues. Some of the Continental peoples still use the expression, "popular traditions."

In 1878, thirty-two years after the introduction of "folk-lore," the English Folk-Lore Society was organized, and has since grown into a large and powerful organization, with a membership of five hundred, including the leading scholars of Great Britain. The work of the Society is recorded in the numerous volumes published under its authority, and also in the special monographs. It now issues a journal entitled "Folk-Lore." There are to-day folk-lore societies in almost every country of Europe, and also in the far East. Most of these societies publish their proceedings. In France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, Holland, Greece, Norway, and Sweden, there are papers and publications devoted to the collection and discussion of folk-lore.

The American Folk-Lore Society was organized at Cambridge, Mass., in 1888.¹ The seven volumes of the "Journal of American Folk-Lore" already issued show the wonderful wealth of popular traditions in this country. Our folk-lore is highly composite, resulting from the great tides of immigration which have rolled over our shores and formed our present strange commingling of races. The material gathered in the "Journal" has a very wide range. It includes the myths and tales of the Indians, of the negroes, and of the Creoles; the customs and superstitions of the Germans in Pennsylvania, of the Portuguese in New England, and of the "poor whites" in the South; and it records the belief in witchcraft lingering not only in the remote mountain ranges of the Blue Ridge in Tennessee, but in the thicker-settled sections of the East and West. It collects the current superstitions, belief in ghosts and haunted houses, omens, portents, queer customs, and weather warnings, brought more or less by all European immigrants, as well as the games, songs, jingles, rhymes, and riddles of children, which often have a curious meaning or significance. The American Folk-Lore Society has now a membership of nearly one thousand, and its influence has been greatly extended by the formation of branch societies in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Memphis, Chicago, Minneapolis, and in Montreal, Canada.

A few years ago the English Society issued "The Handbook of Folk-Lore," in which the material of which folk-lore is composed was classified as follows: 1. Superstitious Beliefs and Practices: including those relating to natural objects, as trees, plants, and animals; goblinism, witchcraft, leechcraft, magic, and divination; beliefs relating to future life; and superstitions generally. 2. Traditional Customs: including those relating to festivals, ceremonies, and games, or identified with certain localities. 3. Traditional Narratives: such as nursery tales (or *Märchen*), hero tales, drolls, fables, and apologues; creation, deluge, fire, and doom myths; ballads and songs; place legends and traditions. 4. Folk Sayings: as jingles, nursery rhymes, riddles, proverbs, nick-names, and place rhymes.

The student of this subject uses the comparative method. Thus,

¹ Its chief object is stated to be the publication of a journal of a scientific character designed: 1. For the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of folk-lore in America, namely—(a) relics of old English folk-lore (ballads, tales, superstitions, etc.); (b) lore of the negroes in the Southern States; (c) lore of the Indian tribes of North America (myths, tales, etc.); (d) lore of French Canada, Mexico, etc. 2. For the study of the general subject, and publication of the results of special studies in this department.

he places the superstitions of the European peasant, or of the Southern negro, side by side with similar superstitions among the Indians, the Hottentots, and other low races. He compares the modern belief in ghosts and goblins with the savage belief in the spirits of the dead. He finds little or no difference between savage ghost stories and the "facts" adduced by the Society of Psychical Research. The difference is simply one of degree, not of kind.

It is perhaps not generally known that savages hold séances. Among the lower races the shaman, or medicine-man, is always a "medium." He can control spirits, and, like *Owen Glendower* in "Henry IV," can call spirits from the "vasty deep." The lowest savages are perfectly familiar with many of the "doings" which so surprise educated people of the present day. Mr. E. B. Tylor writes:

"Suppose a wild North American Indian looking on at a spirit séance in London. As to the presence of disembodied spirits manifesting themselves by raps, noises, voices, and other physical actions, the savage would be perfectly at home in the proceedings, for such things are part and parcel of his recognized system of nature."

When it comes to magic or legerdemain, I doubt if any modern magician could rival the following performance which took place some years ago on an Indian reservation in Wisconsin, and is vouched for by the late Col. Garrick Mallory of the Bureau of Ethnology:

"The shaman was tied much as before mentioned; then a fish-net was tied above his clothes, enveloping the whole person; and horse-bells were attached to his body, so as to indicate any motion. . . . When examined afterwards, the clothing had been stripped from his person; the nets, and ropes, and bells placed in a separate pile in the lodge; and the clothing was found by direction under a designated tree a *mile off*."

If as clever a feat could be given in the Academy of Music, New York, and the magician's clothing could be found at the close under a tree in Central Park, we might admit that civilized magic is as good as that of the savage.

The second division of folk-lore above indicated is that relating to traditional customs, including games. Folk-lore students have shown the identity of many curious marriage customs in different parts of the world. So, too, with burial customs. The harvest customs of the folk shed a flood of light on their manners, modes of thought, and beliefs. Perhaps the most interesting as well as the most important are the folk-festivals.

All savage peoples, all the lower classes no higher than peasants,

and all people in the higher stages of civilization, have their festivals, many of which have come down from the remote past. The festivals of the lower races are mostly of a religious nature, either instituted by, or held in honor of, some god. Our Indian tribes, without exception, seem to have been fond of feasting and dancing. The Zuñi Indians, for example, still maintain elaborate ceremonies in midsummer, in order to obtain rain for the growing crops. Those who have read Captain Bourke's book on "The Snake Dance of the Moquis" have some idea of the remarkable features of a religious festival. In this dance venomous snakes are carried in the hands and mouths of the performers. Another feature of ancient festivals was the setting forth in action the story of some traditional event or of some deity. After a while this developed into a kind of play or drama. Indeed, we find the germs of the theatre and the music hall in the mystery-plays of the Indians and Greeks. The Navajo Indians have a ceremony lasting nine days, in which the myth of their tribal history is presented in a dance or series of dances. It is accompanied by the usual stage features and "properties," such as picturesque dances and costumes; while the shaman, or medicine-man, is the stage manager and directs the actors and *corps de ballet*.

The final step in the evolution of the real popular drama from religious mysteries or miracle-plays is seen in the rise and growth of Greek tragedy. Few scholars need to be told that the Greek plays were simply a higher development of the dances with which the early Greeks celebrated their religious festivals. At the rustic Bacchic festivals the people sang hymns in honor of the wine-god, and danced on goat-skins filled with wine. They smeared themselves with wine-lees, painted their naked bodies, put on masks, covered themselves with skins of beasts, and tried to take the parts of nymphs, fauns, and satyrs. Thus Dionysus, the god of Bacchic revel, became later on the patron of the Greek drama. Year by year, and generation after generation, the choral songs and dances at the festival grew in variety and beauty. Then some one (Thespis, it is said) introduced a simple dialogue, and finally, in the hands of the poets Æschylus and Sophocles, were evolved those masterpieces of dramatic poetry and art which are the wonder and admiration of their successors.

The important feature of all festivals, as I have noted, is dancing; and dancing—in religious ceremonies especially—is a serious matter. On certain occasions the dancer who made a mistake was killed. The leaders of the dance were always medicine-men or chiefs, and it was

through their skill in the dance that they either won or maintained their position and power. Hence it is instructive to note how dancing—in primitive times so serious an affair—has become the comparatively frivolous matter that it has been for centuries and is to-day. This is the result of a general law of mental evolution, namely, that things and practices which occupy an important place in the minds and doings of people in a low stage of culture survive only as matters of amusement, or of play, or of æsthetic feeling, in a period of civilization.

This law holds good in the customs connected with many games. To cite a trivial instance: children the world over use "counting-out" rhymes in their games, in order to determine who shall be "it." We all know the queer doggerel beginning:

"One-ery, two-ery, ickery, Ann," etc.

—or, the rhyme beginning—

"Ana, mana, mona, mike,
Barcelona, bona, strike," etc.

These mysterious formulas, containing an admixture of gibberish with words of some meaning, are found in many tongues; and yet, how many people have any idea that the children are repeating the practices and language of a sorcerer in by-gone days? Very few; but there is good reason for believing that the custom of counting out is a survival of sortilege, or divination by lot, and that the doggerel is a relic of the spoken or written charms used by sorcerers in their mystic incantations.

To cite another curious example:

"Snail, snail, come out of your hole,
Or I will beat you as black as a coal."

A formula of this kind was employed as part of a mediæval rite which was performed in order to keep mice from doing damage to the field crops. The people of certain parts of Europe used to turn out in a body, form a procession with the priest or magistrate at their head, and thought to drive the mice from the fields by repeating or crying out certain mystic words or formulas. This mediæval rite was undoubtedly a survival of some old Greek or Roman festival. As Mr. Newell has pointed out in his "Games and Songs of American Children," the very common childish game of the "Knights in Spain" beginning with—

"Here come three lords out of Spain
A-courting of your daughter Jane,"

—involves the idea of marriage by purchase. Not only that, but the whole game literally represents other ancient marriage usages which obtained in Europe at a comparatively recent period, including, as Mr. Newell thinks, a reminiscence of marriage by capture.

In regard to the third division of the subject—traditional narratives—we have, in the first place, those narratives which attempt to explain natural phenomena. These are called myths. They relate to the sun, moon, and stars, the animal and vegetable worlds, and various natural surroundings. Man is curious, and he wants to know about certain things; so he asks: "How was the world made?" The answer is told in the Greek myths of Cronus. "Whence came man?" The myths of some peoples reply, out of a hole in the ground; others represent him as the child of a rock or stone; others, again, make him the descendant of the animals. Then there are myths that attempt to answer more trivial questions, such as "Why is the sea salt?" "Why is the crow black?" and "Why has the woodpecker red feathers on its head?" Do you know why the bear has only a stumpy tail? No: but the Iroquois story-teller can explain it. He says that the cunning fox induced the ancestral bear to put his tail to fish in a hole in the ice, where it froze fast, and the bear had to leave it there in order to get away. The negro philosopher in Col. Jones's book of "Negro Myths" has a different explanation for Buh Rabbit's short tail. It seems Buh Bear had a fine well of pure water to which Buh Rabbit helped himself without asking. Then Buh Bear took a big crawfish and dropped it into the well; so that the next time Buh Rabbit came to carry water the crawfish seized him by the tail, and, in pulling away, the tail came off.

In the second place, we have a class of narratives which do not explain anything. They range from the fables of the ancient Hindus and Greeks, and the popular tales of the Zulus, to the household tales of the European peasantry, even to the romantic and heroic tales of civilized peoples. Thus, the savage makes the characters in his stories beasts or birds; the Southern negro says "Brer Rabbit" or "Brer Terrapin"; the German peasant tells of the adventures of "a poor boy" or "a soldier"; the French countess describes the doings of princes and princesses; the epic poet sings of "Knights of the Round Table." Now and then the tales of the folk achieve literary fame and immortality. The "Iliad" and "Odyssey" are largely made up of the stories that were first in the mouths of the people, but it took the genius of Homer to produce the grand epic.

The two problems raised by folk tales are: (1) their origin; (2) their distribution. When and where were they invented? How do they come to be found alike the world over? These are the problems which folk-lore students are trying to solve. It is doubtful if the whole truth will ever be known about the origin or the diffusion of popular tales. All we know is that a folk tale can take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost parts of the earth. That is why the stories of old "Uncle Remus" are found in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In fact, the germ of the famous "Tar-Baby" story of the old negro is discovered in one of the *jatakas*, or "birth-stories" of the ancient Buddhists.

The fourth and last division of our subject is concerned with folk sayings. Under this heading we have many of the minor elements of folk-lore. Let us conclude with one curious example. Take riddles. They seem to us trivial things, and yet they have played an important part in folk life, and that from antiquity, as the stories of Samson, Œdipus, and Apollonius of Tyre plainly show. Very curious is the use of riddles in courtship. It is a custom which has no parallel or explanation in anything in modern life. The interest in riddles is seen in the large number of folk tales in which riddles are the chief feature. Thus, there is a class of stories in which the bride is won by the solution of a riddle. In another class the bride proposes the riddle, and the suitor who fails to answer it correctly is killed; or the suitor is obliged to propose one himself, and if the bride fails to answer it she must marry him; but if she succeeds, the suitor is killed. Evidently, where the penalty is death, riddles have a serious aspect and a significance which modern suitors do not fully appreciate or understand. And yet the use of riddles in courtship, described in European folk-lore, survives to this day in plantation courtship among the negroes.

Such, in briefest outline, is the scope, nature, and value of folk-lore. We have only touched with the finger-tips, so to speak, the main points: many important features of the subject have remained unnoticed: for example, folk-song and folk-music. Folk-lore is a study to which every one can contribute his or her mite. It is also a study which will lead one into pleasant paths, but into strange nooks and corners: into the African kraal, the Indian wigwam, the Esquimau snow hut,—even into the parlors and kitchens of city folk, and the busy marts of trade in Wall Street.

LEE J. VANCE.

The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1896.

“AS MAINE GOES, SO GOES THE UNION.”

SINCE 1840 the results of the elections in the State of Maine have been anticipated with intense interest, because they were thought to indicate the trend of public sentiment throughout the United States. Until after 1880 they were followed by the elections in Ohio and Indiana, which, in the public mind, determined the ultimate issue. Since that time Ohio and Indiana have joined the States holding elections in November, and the effect has been to still further increase the anxiety with which the results in Maine are everywhere looked forward to. “As Maine goes, so goes the Union” has not always been true; but so correct has it usually been in its indication of the final event that confidence in the general truth of the saying has suffered little diminution from the exceptions.

The effect of the Maine election is twofold: it serves as an indication, and its influence is considerable. If Maine goes Republican by a strong majority it encourages that party, and proportionately disheartens the Democrats. The election in Oregon comes too early to be much of an indication, for in April the issues of the campaign are not so sharply defined in the public mind that the declaration then made can have any great force. This very year, for example, when the Oregon election took place there was not even a reasonable probability that silver would become the paramount issue. Vermont, under all circumstances,—at least within any reasonable memory,—has been so steadfastly opposed to the Democratic party under all the varying phases of its existence

Copyright, 1895, by the Forum Publishing Company.

Permission to re-publish articles is reserved.

that no one expects or even dreams of a change. The action of Vermont, therefore, is always forecast and creates but little change in the popular estimate of future results. But in Maine the contest is always a warm one; the battle is well fought; and there are real reasons—aside from the mere time of the election—why that State should indicate what the results will be in the other States. The election, while early, is seldom so early that the national issues have not become well defined and, consequently, the permanent issues of the campaign.

The voters in Maine, while they do not have the advantage of the very latest discussions and the most recent facts and figures bearing upon the questions to be decided, have advantages which are very great. All the country being interested in the Maine election the most strenuous efforts are put forth. The best speakers are secured, as, August and the first part of September being too early for campaigning in the other States, men of ability, standing, and national reputation are able to give their assistance in Maine. In times past we have had Wade and Banks, Benjamin and Howell Cobb, Garfield, Harrison, Morton of Indiana, Allison, Ingersoll, Emory A. Storrs, and hundreds of men of like eminence, until it came to be a byword that no Maine School District would look at any less person than a United States Senator, and not even at him unless his oratorical powers justified the partiality of his constituency. Nor were there wanting at times some elements of discussion unusual in New England: as when Mr. Blaine debated the questions of the day, now with one Democratic leader and now with another, upon the same platform. Mr. Blaine's high standing in the party enabled him to command the services of the ablest men, and in every campaign which he conducted the issues received full discussion and complete elucidation.

For more than fifty years this full discussion by strong men has been going on in Maine, giving the people rare opportunities of becoming acquainted with the principles of government and with practical and sensible politics. In the files of the "Portland Advertiser" for 1840 there can still be found a speech delivered from the steps of the old City Hall by Sargent S. Prentiss,—a son of Maine of whom the State is still proud,—which, in vigor and power as well as in light banter and in severe reproach, would to-day hold an audience as it held that before which it was spoken for three hours on a summer evening nearly sixty years ago. Stump oratory generally has greatly improved since then, but Prentiss would carry with him the multitude of to-day as he did his audiences of 1840.

It is sometimes the fashion to sneer at stump oratory, and before we get to the end of this campaign we shall doubtless have had such a surfeit of it that we shall have much sympathy with the sneerers; but it cannot be doubted that the meeting of great bodies of speakers with the people throughout the country has a wonderful influence. The effect of the printed word is great, and by the aid of the newspapers it has the tremendous advantage of daily iteration; but when speech-making begins, its power is felt from one end of the country to the other. There is something in the presence of the man—talking and looking you in the face—that makes what he says effective beyond the printed word, no matter how often reiterated. In the Greeley campaign, before the speech-making began, the tide of public feeling seemed to be running against Gen. Grant and the Republican party; but, after the first fortnight of speech-making, the tide visibly turned, and the result was as surely indicated as it was by the elections in Maine and the October States.

Maine, therefore, has had the advantage for many years of a good political education; consequently, when new questions arise her voters are ready to grapple with them, and to give in September a judgment as mature as can be rendered in November by the rest of the Union.

It is true there have been seeming exceptions to the impression which seems to be established in the public mind, that Maine is a fair index of what the country will do; but if each of these exceptions be carefully analyzed it will be found not to disprove the popular idea. In 1880 Maine went against us: the country elected Garfield President, notwithstanding. In fact our elections that year gave the country such a shock that our party was probably saved by it. We had been so long in power that our own people had an idea that we reigned by divine right; whereas, in fact, we were really on the edge of defeat without the country meaning it or knowing it.

This disaster in Maine had a twofold cause neither part of which was national. We were that year cut off by local circumstances from the general feeling and were not so situated as to indicate the sentiment of the whole country: we only indicated our own state of mind. The Greenback wave had passed over us in 1878, followed by what was called the "State Steal,"—a series of frauds so appalling that we could not denounce them strongly enough. As we made little distinction between those who were innocent and those who were guilty we maddened the innocent without frightening the guilty, and Gen. Plaisted was made Governor of a State we thought our own. In

November, however, when we were in some small degree emancipated from the effect of these local causes, we carried the State for Garfield.

In 1884 the State declared for Blaine by 20,000 majority. Since McKane's conviction, however, there cannot be much doubt as to where the vote of New York should have gone; so the vote of Maine in 1884 was not an exception to the rule. In 1890 also we carried the State by figures which gave no indication of the result in the country. We re-elected our Members of Congress by increased majorities and yet were overwhelmingly beaten at the general election, the country giving us an overthrow in the House of Representatives,—a defeat which was, at that time, unequaled in our history. The election of 1894, however, placed our opponents in a worse position even than that. But the election in Maine in 1890 was held, for once, before the issues had really become settled. The election was early in September, and the McKinley bill was not passed until the middle of October. That campaign was entirely without parallel. The House of Representatives, by the acts of its own party in the Senate, was held in session the whole season long, and we had no time in the campaign to explain or defend what we had done; for, by reason of this very detention, the campaign was too short. We had been sacrificed to silver.

This year of our Lord 1896 Maine was in a fair condition to represent as usual the feeling of the people of the United States. We had the issues fully discussed by both sides, though I am bound to admit that the silver side was not presented by very able advocates. Mr. Bryan, after his New York experience, decided not to come, and most of the gentlemen who did come were but little known. A similar lack of eminent and able speakers seems likely to prevail through the country generally, either from the fact that the silver cause fails to enlist able service, or because all the well-known Democratic leaders are in hot opposition to the Chicago Convention.

The Chicago Democrats were also troubled—though not so greatly as might have been supposed—by the fact that their candidate for Governor had been nominated on a gold platform and was a gold man. Consequently there was a condition of things which required a new alignment. A new candidate had to be nominated: a new platform had to be made. As similar embarrassments seem to have existed all over the country we may fairly conclude that in this respect we only represented the average condition of things elsewhere. At first there was some fear in the State that the Silverites had made progress. Declarations, both public and private, to that effect were very common;

but when that progress was carefully noted it was found to be confined to the Democratic ranks. Many Democrats, it appeared, had, in obedience to the behest of the Convention of their party, surrendered their temporary allegiance to sound money, and had declared in favor of silver. It became equally well known by the same process of observation that many Democrats were still true to the platform established before Mr. Bryan's nomination; hence they could not be reckoned upon to vote the regular ticket and to endorse the new faith. In the Republican ranks there were no defections. The problem then arose, What will these sound-money Democrats do? Will they be carried away by party allegiance, and vote as usual? Will they stay at home, or will they make their views effectual by voting for the Republican candidates? Arguing in the parlor, at home, and away from the polls,—especially arguing for another man,—it seemed very clear that a vote for the opposite party was the only way to express the true sentiments which these men felt. But in real life it is tolerably hard to refuse to vote with your party. All your ties are there. Most of your friends are there. If you are an old man and have always stood firm, it is very, very hard to change the record. It is also a shade harder for a Democrat than for anyone else. Many Democrats have followed their party through pretty hard places, through some good and much evil report, so that it seemed like treachery to friends of long standing to leave them for even one election. Many men passed through the ordeal bravely, and deserve more credit than they will ever get. Many whose belief was just as firm stayed at home. The result all the world knows.

Even when comparison is made with 1894, when the people were simply indignant and there was no Presidential result hanging upon the question then to be determined, it will be found that the Republican candidate gained 13,444 votes more than his predecessor; while the Democratic candidate received an increase of less than 4,000,—this under all the stress of the Presidential year and of a Vice-Presidential candidature from the very State. The plurality in 1894 was 39,827; this year it was 48,377. But if the comparison is made with the last Presidential year, namely, 1892, the results are startling. The Republicans had nearly 15,000 votes more than in 1892, and the Democrats, about 21,000 less. In that year we had 12,522 plurality; in this, 49,000. In 1884, when Mr. Blaine was the candidate for the Presidency and every nerve was strained, we had 20,000 plurality; this year, when the election was distinctly on the silver issue,—with

due understanding however that the Republican party is for protection,—we had 49,000 plurality.

Surely this cannot fail to be an indication of what the country intends to do in November. The same causes must operate everywhere and must produce similar results.

While, as we go West, there are more Republicans who are known in a general way to be friendly to silver, there has really been very little disposition toward the coinage of silver at 16 to 1, free and unlimited. Outside the silver-mining States there has been only a vague feeling of willingness to do something for silver, without much idea of what that something should be. The truth is, we have tried all the "somethings" which have been suggested, and the full discussion now taking place will show that, of all the indescribable somethings for silver, the proposition before the people at this present election is the worst. It seems on the whole, however, fortunate for the country that we are having this battle and this settlement. For many years the Republican party has been at great disadvantage because of its silver advocates. Six years ago the alliance between the silver men and Mr. Gorman, representing the South, caused us a bitter defeat at the polls. In the last Congress the honest effort made by the Republican House to pass a revenue bill which would have gone a great way to revive business, and which would have helped the Republican Administration very much on its accession to power, was doomed to death by the very men whose States owed their admission to our efforts and who owed their own places to our votes. This bill, so essential to the welfare of the country, was deliberately sacrificed by silver representatives, who hoped that out of added confusion and sore distress this country would buy redemption by some other sacrifice of its better judgment. It is well therefore that the question should be fought out; and the sincere hope of every believer in upright government is that the victory may be so decisive that the Senate shall no longer refuse to represent the wishes of the American people.

We all hope the day will soon come when the States which are disproportionately represented in the Senate may have behind their Senators the teeming populations which their resourceful lands can so easily sustain. Meanwhile it is much to be desired that the power which these Senators now have may be used with some regard to the wishes of the entire people of the United States.

THOMAS B. REED.

THE "SOLID SOUTH" DISSOLVING.

THE Presidential campaign just closing has had many striking features, but none which is of greater significance than its demonstration that we no longer have a "Solid South." How great and important a change this is appears only when one reflects that for twenty years no real doubt has existed as to the way the electoral votes would be cast in all the sixteen States in which slavery formerly existed. In other words, an entire section of the country has for a fifth of a century been solidified in support of one and the same party, and the candidate of that party has had there assured three fourths of the votes that were required to give him a majority in the Electoral College.

Nothing more abnormal could be imagined than the virtual unanimity of political opinion in two fifths of the States of the Union during so long a period. In every nation with a representative form of government two great parties have divided men. One of these parties might always be exceptionally strong in some section, but even then the opposition would include a goodly share of the intelligence of the community. The unprecedented feature of the Southern situation during the past twenty years has been the fact that practically all the education and property has been ranged on one side.

Originally the South was as much divided in political opinion as the North. There were as bitter controversies over the ratification of the Constitution in one section as in the other. When Federalist and Anti-Federalist passed from the stage, and new issues arose, men were still as far from being unanimous in the South as in the North. When Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828, Kentucky cast 31,460 votes for John Quincy Adams, the New Englander, as against 39,397 for the "favorite son" of its next-door neighbor, Tennessee. Maryland gave Adams a majority, while Delaware chose a legislature which gave him her electoral votes, and in Louisiana the contest between the two candidates was a close one. When "Old Hickory" came up for reelection in 1832, Henry Clay, his only serious opponent, carried as many slave States as free; Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky sup-

porting him in the South, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in the North.

Sixty years ago there were thirteen slave States, Florida being still a Territory, Texas a part of Mexico, and West Virginia included in "the Old Dominion." In the Presidential election of 1836 South Carolina, as always until the civil war, chose Presidential electors by the legislature, but all the rest by popular vote. It is a remarkable fact that Martin Van Buren, the Democratic nominee, polled, in the aggregate, almost precisely the same number of ballots in the South as were given to William Henry Harrison and Hugh L. White, the candidates supported by the Whigs, the respective totals being 212,283 and 212,668. Delaware went against Jackson's protégé, as it had gone against Jackson himself each time that he ran. Maryland gave Harrison a majority of 3,684, and Kentucky, 3,662. White had a majority of 10,039 in his own State of Tennessee, and of 2,772 in Georgia. Van Buren carried Louisiana by a majority of only 270, Mississippi by 291, and Arkansas by 1,162. In the remaining four Southern States his majorities ranged between 3,284 in North Carolina and 6,793 in Virginia.

The Whigs twice carried a Presidential election—in 1840, and again in 1848. Each time their candidate had a majority in eight of the Southern States, which numbered thirteen in the first contest and fifteen in the second, through the admission in the interval of Florida and Texas. Half a century ago, therefore, the South divided in politics after a perfectly normal fashion. The fact that a State was a part of that section signified nothing as to its being for either party. Thus, in 1848, Maryland went for Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate; Virginia for Lewis Cass, the Democratic nominee; North Carolina for Taylor, South Carolina for Cass, Georgia for Taylor, Alabama for Cass, Florida for Taylor, Mississippi for Cass, Louisiana for Taylor, Texas for Cass. Most of the Southern States were so evenly divided that each party could contest them with a fair chance of success; the majorities in neither Delaware, Alabama, nor Mississippi reaching 900, while in Virginia, Florida, and Arkansas they were below 1,800. In short, the political conditions throughout this section were such as are to be expected when two parties appeal for support.

Slavery changed all this. As the "peculiar institution" came to be the dominant issue, self-interest steadily operated to bring the voters of the South together into one party devoted to the cause of slavery. The organization which came into existence during the 'fifties to op-

pose the extension of slavery could not secure even a foothold in that part of the country. Neither Fremont in 1856, nor Lincoln in 1860, received a vote between the Potomac and Ohio rivers on the north and the Rio Grande on the south, save a few hundreds in Kentucky and Virginia in 1856, and less than 2,000 in each State in 1860. Despite the Democratic split in the latter year, the South was solid in opposition to the party which had swept the North. In 1848 Vermont and Massachusetts cast their electoral votes for the same Presidential candidate as North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana. Twelve years later nobody in these latter States would have had the courage to propose putting in the field the ticket which received the overwhelming support of New England.

Slavery was abolished by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, five years after Lincoln's election in 1860, but its influence upon the political attitude of the South has survived for a period covering the lifetime of a generation. Through the enfranchisement of the late slaves and the disfranchisement of many of their former owners, the party which had no existence in the South in 1860 established temporary control over nearly all the States in that section. The freedmen had been given the ballot by the Republicans with the expectation that they would always use it for the benefit of the party which had given it, and that only a small white contingent in addition would be required to constitute a majority in almost every State. Shrewd politicians fancied that they had thus insured the dominant party an indefinite lease of power in that section, and, by consequence, in the nation.

When even South Carolina gave a large majority for Grant in 1868, it looked to the casual observer as though the scheme might prove successful. But in a very few years the Republican managers discovered that they had been living in a fool's paradise. Although the natural leaders of the Southern whites had been largely disfranchised for their course during the war, the demand for amnesty was too strong to be resisted, and it was not long before they enjoyed their old rights and resumed their old prominence. These leaders had been Democrats before the war, because Democracy stood for the maintenance of slavery; and they were still more inclined to Democracy after the war, because the Republican party then stood not merely for opposition to slavery or even for its abolition, but also for the much more hateful policy of making the former slaves the rulers of those who had been their masters.

The blacks largely outnumbered the whites in South Carolina and Mississippi, were as numerous in Louisiana, and constituted almost half the population in several other States. They were as anxious to vote the Republican ticket at every opportunity as had been expected. A small element of the native whites, and another white element composed of "carpet-baggers" from the North, were ready to organize the black vote into a solid mass. Such a combination seemed, theoretically, invincible at the polls, and, consequently, certain to control the section. But practice soon set theory at defiance. That happened which anybody familiar with either human nature or human history should have expected. The whites simply refused to submit to the rule of the blacks. It made no difference if the blacks were in a large majority, as in South Carolina and Mississippi. When the issue was made one between races, the superior race soon won the victory over the inferior, without regard to their relative numbers. Intimidation kept so many of the blacks from the polls, and fraud cheated so many of those who persisted in going there, that the returns showed a majority for the candidates of the white minority even in Mississippi as early as 1875. By 1876, or within ten years after the blacks had been given the suffrage with the expectation that they would make the South permanently Republican, that section was practically solid for the Democratic party. South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were, to be sure, counted for the Republican candidate in the Presidential contest of 1876 between Tilden and Hayes, but Hayes surrendered the control of all three States to the whites almost as soon as he had been installed in the White House.

Theorists had supposed that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution would suffice to secure to the freedmen untrammelled exercise of the suffrage. As soon as it became evident that the matter was not settled by their ratification, a demand arose for the "appropriate legislation" to enforce their provisions, which Congress had been given the power to enact. The Republican national platform of 1872 declared that "the recent Amendments to the national Constitution should be cordially sustained because they are right, not merely tolerated because they are law, and should be carried out according to their spirit by appropriate legislation, the enforcement of which can safely be entrusted only to the party that secured these Amendments." The platform of 1876 declared it "the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers

for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political, and public rights." Such a resolution came to be considered a necessary plank in every Republican national platform. The Convention of 1880 stated that "the equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws, and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution, are the first duties of the nation"; and, after a reference to "the dangers of a Solid South," declared that "the honest voter must be protected against terrorism, violence, or fraud." The Convention of 1884 pledged to the Republicans of the South "our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights."

The so-called Federal election laws, enacted more than a quarter of a century ago, were the first response to the demand for legislation to enforce the Constitutional Amendments. They represented an attempt on the part of Congress to regulate elections in the South through supervision by Federal officials, who were to secure the blacks "a free ballot and a fair count"—to quote a phrase for a long time in vogue in Republican parlance—and were to punish through the Federal courts those whites who should deny the negroes a fair opportunity to register and to cast their ballots. The "tidal wave" in the Congressional elections of 1874 gave the Democrats a majority in the House of Representatives, for the first time since the ante-bellum period. No sooner did the Republicans see power in the national Capitol thus slipping from their grasp than the more radical among them, under the lead of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, attempted to fortify the position still left them by the passage of what came to be known as the "Force Bill." This was a measure designed greatly to extend the powers of the Federal Government over elections in the Southern States; and it was so extreme that the more liberal element in the party revolted against it, and delayed its passage through the House until so late in the session that the Democrats in the Senate could easily smother it there.

Nothing could have been devised better calculated to keep the South solid than the threat of Force-Bill legislation, and this threat was held over it for many years. Meanwhile enough attempts to enforce existing laws regarding elections in that section were made to harass the whites without benefiting the blacks. In the long run no laws, Federal, State, or Municipal, can be enforced in any locality in

which they are not sustained by the public sentiment of that locality. There was nowhere in the South any pronounced sentiment in favor of supervision of elections by officials appointed from Washington. Such interference would have been resented in the North. It was most odious to the whites of the South, because it was exercised in behalf of the blacks and was designed to help the latter to outvote the whites and control the States. It was rendered the more intolerable by the fact that the supervisors and deputy marshals employed were often men justly obnoxious to the communities in which they served.

Six years passed after the failure of the first Force Bill before the Republicans recovered control of the House through the Congressional elections of 1882. Even then they did not have a working majority in the Senate, and no attempt was made to pass anything in the nature of sectional legislation. Again did the Republicans go six years without controlling the House, but when they once more secured it, through the elections of 1888, they captured the Senate and the Presidency also. The party could now, therefore, formulate a policy which it might expect to enact into law and then to enforce. The two chief features of this policy were a high-tariff bill and a Force Bill. Of the two, President Harrison was perhaps the more earnestly devoted to the latter. The platform adopted by the National Convention of 1888, upon which he had been elected, explicitly committed the party to such legislation by a resolution which "reaffirmed unswerving devotion to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign-born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted," and proceeded as follows:—

"We hold the free and honest popular ballot, and the just and equal representation of all the people, to be the foundation of our Republican Government, and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of public authority."

This was universally understood to mean a demand for a Force Bill, and a desperate attempt was made by the Harrison Administration to redeem the party's pledge. No serious difficulty was experienced in pushing through the House the measure that was framed, although discussion revealed the existence of opposition to the policy among Republican members from the South. But the bill stuck in the Senate at the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, and was finally shelved by that body during the second session, after the coun-

try had pronounced overwhelmingly against the Republican party in the Congressional elections of 1890. Thus for the second time the South had a narrow escape from the actual enactment of a most objectionable law. But the threat of a Force Bill still survived. The Republican National Convention of 1892 renominated the President who had strained every nerve to secure the passage in the Senate of the House bill of 1890, and it adopted a platform which declared that "the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State"—a declaration which was universally understood to mean that, if the Republicans should again be given full control of the Government, a Force Bill would be passed and put into effect.

The Democrats were only too glad to meet this issue, and they held their opponents to it. A long and elaborate plank in their national platform of 1892 was devoted to "the policy of Federal control of elections to which the Republican party has committed itself." This policy was declared to be "fraught with the greatest dangers," and to be one which "strikes at the North as well as the South, and injures the colored citizen even more than the white." The resolution expressed the "belief that the preservation of Republican government in the United States is dependent upon the defeat of this policy of legalized force and fraud," and proceeded to "pledge the Democratic party, if it be intrusted with power, to the defeat of the Force Bill." This was the first time that the issue had been distinctly made between the two parties in a Presidential contest. The original attempt to pass a Force Bill early in 1875 was not included in the indictment of the Republican party which the Democrats framed in their national platform of 1876, reported by Lieut.-Gov. Dorsheimer of New York, and representing the plan of campaign formulated by Samuel J. Tilden, the Presidential candidate; consequently, the policy was not clearly at issue between the two parties in that year.

No doubt was left as to the verdict of the nation upon this question in 1892. The tariff was indisputably the dominant issue in the campaign, and the result was, first of all, a decision in favor of greater freedom of trade. But the sectional question was also much discussed, especially in the South, and it was an important consideration in the minds of many voters when deciding how they would cast their ballots. This was particularly true of some regions in the South where the recent development of industrial enterprises had inclined the people to look upon protection with more than the traditional de-

gree of favor. It was Harrison, the personification of the Force-Bill policy, who was defeated, almost as much as Harrison, the representative of McKinleyism.

Whatever may be the final verdict of history upon the second Cleveland Administration, we can already see that it will be credited with one beneficent achievement of epochal importance. Its Tariff Act will, of course, be repealed or amended, sooner or later. By this time everybody realizes the truth of Lincoln's allusion, in 1860, to "the old question of tariff—a matter that will remain one of the chief affairs of national housekeeping to all time." But one act to which Mr. Cleveland has set his signature will stand as a landmark in our national history. That is the act to repeal the Federal election laws, by which all those statutes that gave the General Government power to interfere with elections in the States were swept away. This was the final elimination of the slavery issue from our politics, and it ended an era in American history. It was a step forward in our national progress, which needed to be taken, but which the Republican party could not take, because the record of that party required it to claim—however reluctantly—that it was a step backward.

In truth the opposition of the Republicans in Congress to the repeal was only perfunctory, while many of the wiser party-leaders outside Congress at heart welcomed it. Even in 1890 there had been Republicans in each branch of Congress who were not afraid to denounce the Force Bill. The Democrats were thus enabled in their national platform of 1892 to characterize it as "a measure deliberately and justly described by a leading Republican Senator as 'the most infamous bill that ever crossed the threshold of the Senate.'" This Senator was Mr. Teller of Colorado, who has recently left his party on the silver issue, and his attitude toward the Force Bill was rendered somewhat questionable by the appearance of a "trade" between Republican Senators from the mining States and Democratic Senators from the South, to secure the shelving of the sectional bill in return for help in passing a free-coinage bill. But no such suspicion had attached to the opposition of Representatives Ewart of North Carolina and Coleman of Louisiana.

Both these Congressmen were native Southerners of Confederate antecedents, Mr. Coleman having served in the army on that side, as Mr. Ewart would also have done but for his youth. They belonged to the comparatively small class of such men who embraced the Republican cause after the war, and who by their ability and character commanded

the respect of the great mass of the whites who abominated their politics. There could not be better judges as to the effect of a Force Bill than such Southern Republican Congressmen. Both of them condemned the measure as sectional and as certain to work only harm to the section for which it was designed, by creating trouble between the races, in which the blacks would fare the worst, and by solidifying the white vote, which seemed on the eve of disintegration. Mr. Ewart concluded his speech with this manly statement of his own position:—

"I do not know what course other Southern Republican Representatives may take in this matter; but, speaking for myself, I will never by my vote or voice support a proposition that tends to humiliate or degrade my people. I shall, if I am the only Republican on this floor, protest against the passage of a law that will sow the foul seeds of factional discord among the people, and be a fruitful cause of unutterable woe to the unfortunate class it is designed to benefit. If that be treason to the party to which I have ever been loyal, make the most of it."

The Federal election laws were repealed in February, 1894, and the effect was plainly visible in the elections of the following November. The Republicans carried Missouri for the first time since 1868, when many thousands of Democrats were still disfranchised. They carried Tennessee for the first time since reconstruction days (except once when a Democratic split gave them the victory), their candidate for Governor having a small majority of the votes cast, although the Democratic legislature refused to seat him. They swept all four congressional districts in West Virginia, which had been Democratic for more than twenty years. With the help of the Populists they carried the State ticket and the legislature in North Carolina against the Democrats, for the first time since the reconstruction era.

Another twelvemonth showed still more clearly the change in political conditions wrought by the elimination of the sectional issue. Maryland and Kentucky had been slave States, and had opposed the party which abolished slavery, so long as any trace of the slavery issue survived. The negro element was comparatively small in these old border States, but the feeling against the "Radicals" for their policy of disfranchisement had been almost as strong and lasting in Maryland as in South Carolina. In 1895 each of these "sure Democratic" States, for the first time in its history, elected a Republican Governor by a good majority in the heaviest vote ever polled.

The general reaction against the Democrats as the dominant party, which followed the panic of 1893 and the hard times that ensued,

was an important element in the overturnings in these Southern States. But that reaction alone would not have given the Republicans victory if the old slavery issue had enabled the Democrats to draw the race line as clearly as before. In both Maryland and Kentucky last year Republican Governors were elected only by the help of many thousands of men who had previously always voted the Democratic ticket. If 4,500 such sound-money Democrats in Kentucky had supported the free-coinage Democratic candidate, the revolution would not have occurred. The reason for Democrats voting according to their convictions on the financial question, instead of "standing together" on the race and sectional issues which had grown out of slavery, was that the Federal election laws had been repealed and a Force Bill was no longer threatened. Proof of this is found in the fact that the Democratic candidate and other campaigners in Kentucky made desperate attempts to solidify the party by appeals of the old kind, which had always proved effective, but were now received with indifference.

The election laws having been repealed, the question for the Republican party was no longer whether it should sustain a policy which it had initiated and championed for a quarter of a century, but whether it should advocate the revival of a policy which had been done away with. All that was necessary to be rid of the matter was—to say nothing more about it. Thoughtful Republicans had long doubted the wisdom of trying to do anything more for the blacks through legislation, and they were quite ready to accept the advice of such authorities as Congressmen Ewart and Coleman. While philosophers and philanthropists had lost their faith in legislation as a help to the negro, practical politicians had at last become convinced that there was "nothing in it" for the Republican party. They had hardly passed the original laws in order to establish absolutely their control of the South before that section had escaped from their grasp. They had never started a movement for a Force Bill without injury to their own party. On the other hand, they found the repeal of the laws welcomed by the Republicans of the South, as giving them an opportunity to make headway among the whites of that section. Most impressive of all, they saw the first elections after the repeal in several Southern States resulting in Republican victories, which the Democrats themselves admitted were due to the loss of the rallying cry by which so long as a Force Bill was threatened they had always been able to weld the whites together.

The first indication of the changed attitude of the Republican party was afforded only a few weeks after the passage of the repeal measure,

when the Congressional Convention in the fourteenth Missouri district adopted a platform endorsing the action—a platform on which the Republicans carried the district, then represented by a Democrat. By December, 1894, the drift of party sentiment toward acceptance, and even welcome, of the repeal was so strong that a Republican Congressman from New England, who had himself voted for the Force Bill of 1890, declared that "there will not be three men in the next Congress (and I do not believe there will be one) who will any sooner propose to enact any kind of a national election law than they would propose to put the national troops at the points in the South from which they were removed by President Hayes in 1877." This forecast was fully justified by the event. Not a single voice has been raised in Congress in favor of enacting new election laws since the repeal of the old ones.

The issue thus recognized to be dead has been buried by the formal action of the Republican party this year. Not a Convention for the choice of delegates to the National Convention in any one of the forty-five States said a word in favor of Federal election laws; while the Texas Convention, composed largely of colored delegates, adopted a resolution declaring that "we view with satisfaction and pride the rapid growth of Republican sentiment in the South; and, relying on the force of a healthy public opinion demanding fair and honest elections, believe that further legislation on this subject by Congress is undesirable and unnecessary." The National Convention reflected the feeling which had pervaded the State gatherings, and absolutely ignored the pledge contained in the platform of 1892 that "the party will never relax its efforts" to this end. Finally, the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1896, who was "the leader of the House" in 1890 when that body passed the Force Bill, put into his letter of acceptance a passage which is virtually a recantation of the sectional views that he used to hold, and a promise that he will lend no countenance to any attempt at such legislation in the future.

North and South alike recognize that no resurrection is possible for this issue. After the Democrats recovered control, several Southern States changed the time for choosing State officers to some other month than November and incurred the trouble and expense of a separate election solely in order to avoid the presence at the polls of Federal officials, who could attend only when Congressmen were to be chosen. In the October following the repeal of the election laws the Democratic Governor of Georgia told the legislature that the State suffered from

the frequency of elections, and that "there no longer exists sufficient cause for the separation of national and State elections." The following spring the Florida legislature voted to submit to the people this year an amendment to the Constitution abandoning the separate State election in October, and consolidating it with the national election in November. The popular discussion of this proposition developed scarcely any opposition, the fear of a Force Bill having almost vanished.

Most important development of all, several Southern States are doubtful in the Presidential election. In more than one which the Democrats have always carried since the slavery issue became acute forty years ago (except during the war and under the abnormal conditions of the reconstruction era), the chances seem to be in favor of the Republicans. In short, we have witnessed this year, for the first time in nearly half a century, a Presidential campaign in which there has been an approach in the South to that normal division of opinion on public questions which should always exist among intelligent men in every community. Great wrongs are still to be righted in that part of the country, and grave problems yet remain to be worked out by Time, but the outlook for its future was never so promising as now, when the "Solid South" is dissolving.

EDWARD P. CLARK.

CONDITIONS FOR A SOUND FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

DURING the ages when the earth was supposed to be flat mankind became accustomed to the danger of falling over the edge and so paid but little heed to that danger. When this same earth was found to be round it was not the weakness of the evidence which made the discovery unpopular, but the fact that the people did not know how to get along with it in its new shape. The danger of getting on the under side and pitching headlong into space was too awful. Humanity had not yet learned that truth is never experimental, that law is regnant and harmonious ; nor have we yet learned it, except in theory.

Science is knowledge of law, and there is no inexact science because there is no inexact law. Whenever the science of Money shall be written it will be found in perfect harmony with all other truth ; that is to say, with all other facts and with all correct ethical laws. It will not be popular, because we have lived so long under the rule of thumb and built so many dykes to hedge in the floods of error that we shall at the outset resent the smooth flow of a scientific system which will leave our dykes in plain view as mere rubbish. We have worked too hard on them to give them up easily. Nevertheless, truth claims all things for its own, and time will surely perfect the title. The sooner we accept this fact, the sooner life will be relieved of unnecessary friction and we shall have more time to devote to other things.

The first step in building a scientific structure is to find a working hypothesis. This must agree with all known facts or admitted truths, for, if inconsistent with any fact, it is not tenable. If, however, time shall prove that hypothesis to be in harmony with all facts, it is no longer a hypothesis but an exact science. In the search for a working hypothesis on which to found the science of Money, perhaps the natural method is to note the points at which we are now out of harmony with law, and then to seek for that which will avoid these errors.

I. VOLUME OF MONEY.

I think it will not be easy for the student of the future to repress a smile when he reads the history of the nineteenth century and discov-

ers that learned men seriously discussed the question, "How much money *per capita* ought to be in circulation among the people?" His vision being clarified, so that he will not look upon a due-bill or an evidence of debt or a "promise to pay" in any form as money, he may be pardoned the smile. He will read how a great nation, waging a gigantic war, with an empty treasury, unable to meet its expenses with ready cash, found a patriotic people ready to supply its needs and accept its promises for future payment to an unlimited extent, and he will admire that patriotism; but he will wonder how it came about that afterward, when the Government found itself in funds, the people who held its notes objected to having them paid, on the ground that it would result in "contraction of the currency." It is certain that only the antiquary of the future will find any meaning in the phrase quoted. Assuming that some grave professor shall be able to explain it all, will not that same student wonder why a people, ingenious enough to augment a short supply of money by substituting therefor mere evidences of debt, and to curtail a long supply by refusing to coin one of its money metals, was not able to increase its crop of sugar or decrease an excessive crop of cotton by the same factitious methods?

There can be but one measure to the volume of money, just as there can be but one measure to the volume of wheat, corn, cotton, or any other commodity: that measure is the exact amount in existence and possession. There can be but one excuse for the existence of a note, and that is the inability of a debtor to pay in spot cash.

There is no commodity in this wide, wide world which animal life cannot dispense with and continue existence. (Water is a commodity only when it is produced by labor and exchanged for value, and need not be considered.) For everything a substitute can be found, and therefore the value of every commodity is determined by the measure of its convenience to the human race. The measure of that convenience is in turn made up of the superior utility of that commodity itself over any substitute, plus the labor of producing the substitute.

A correct understanding of the law of supply and demand is the key to many problems financial and commercial. Such understanding is by no means universal. Let me state it in the simplest possible terms. The more a person has of anything, the more of that thing he will give for some other thing which he desires. This is the law of supply. The law of demand is, the more a person desires a thing, the more he will give of what he has in possession for it.

If any reader shall look upon these two propositions as being the

same, then his understanding is vague. The distinction is not at all subtle. It is, however, practically one law, for both sides are always represented in any transaction. A clear comprehension of this law easily settles such heresies as that of money being a thing of fixed value while all other values fluctuate; or, that money is a fiat of law and may consist of anything regardless of intrinsic value; or, that gold and silver have no intrinsic value, all value being given to them by the statute which makes them money; or, that money is not a commodity.

To illustrate the law of comparative values, let us suppose that at a given time all the commodities that enter into our commercial life are in exact normal supply; that is to say, they exist in such quantities as are the result of average agricultural, manufacturing, and mining conditions and activities. This exact normal supply will carry with it an exact normal demand at all points. Now let us suppose that a considerable portion of some one commodity be suddenly destroyed. This article will immediately become dear as related to every other article. Again, let us suppose that, while the relations of other things are undisturbed, a greatly increased production of some one thing occurs. That commodity will become cheap relatively to all other commodities; and the phenomenon is the same in either case, whether the commodity be money or shoe-pegs. What then is the ultimate unit of value? Evidently not money; for it fluctuates with supply and demand as readily as eggs. The day's labor? Hardly. One man works all day throwing stones over a fence, only to find that they are more in the way than before; another makes a machine that the next day and all days thereafter will do the work of a dozen men.

Let us cease to search for what does not exist. All values are relative, and all values fluctuate with supply and demand. There is no ultimate unit on this side of the wall that bounds space.

Gold and silver are commodities because they are produced by labor and exchanged for value. The mint performs no service other than putting the commodities into convenient parcels for the uses of commerce. The only reason why this service should be performed by civilized governments instead of by individuals is, that each parcel carries in its mint-stamp an absolute guarantee of weight and fineness, so that it does not need to be weighed or assayed each time it changes hands, as would be the case if it were coined by a less responsible party; a fine mint-stamp having the added advantage that loss by abrasion or defacement is easily detected.

Money is intrinsically valuable, just as a railroad, a ship, a wagon,

or a wheelbarrow is intrinsically valuable, and for precisely the same reason ; namely, because it saves time and trouble in the exchange of commodities. If some better method of effecting exchanges than by the use of money shall ever be devised, then money may become valueless ; similarly, if some better methods of transportation (only another name for "effecting exchanges ") shall be devised, then the railroad and the ship will retire from the volume of the world's assets.

The exact normal value of any commodity is fixed by an exact knowledge of the amount of that commodity available for use, and of the amount of it required for use. It is for this reason that so much labor is bestowed on the statistics of production and consumption of the world's principal commodities. Any deception practised upon the commercial world in these matters is looked upon as little less than criminal. Let us suppose, for instance, that the owners of the great elevators should band together and issue certificates for two bushels of wheat for each one that is received in store. Assuming that this piece of rascality should pass undiscovered, it is only a modern schoolboy's problem to forecast the result. Wheat would fall far below its normal value because of the apparent over-supply ; it would be lavishly consumed ; everybody would be bountifully fed ; and everybody, except the wheat-grower, would be happy. At this point let the bogus certificates be retired, leaving only those outstanding which represent actual wheat. The real supply is found to be short,—much short of what it would have been but for the excessive consumption ; famine is in the land ; and the people curse the men who deceived them into folly. Would anybody be ass enough to demand a re-issue of the bogus certificates in order to feed the people ? Not at all. The plain remedy is to produce more wheat. But when it happens to be a question of money instead of wheat—although the commercial principle is precisely the same—the ass-market is in long supply.

Ever since the enormous issue of "demand" and "indefinite" notes from 1861 to 1863, the country has been flooded with something which has masqueraded as money, but which is not money ; things which are evidences of debt, instead of things with which debts can properly be paid. Every tyro in finance understands that the day has come when this bogus money should be retired. The debts which they represent must be paid. This does not mean "contraction of the currency," but a reduction of this long inflation and a realizing sense of true conditions. Try as we will, we cannot make money out of paper any more than we can make wheat out of the same material. We can

keep on our course of self-deception for a time longer perhaps, and suffer the consequences; or we can face the fact now, that we have not money enough, and supply the deficiency by producing more. We shall find abundant use for all our money metals, of which a false conception of the money supply has caused us to export in the past ten years the enormous sum of \$450,000,000. Our supply of money is not sufficient for domestic needs; and, with a full knowledge of the economic facts, we should find no surplus for export for many years to come.

Surely it would be a waste of words to discuss the subject of "fiat" money, with the experience of the Confederate States fresh in our memories. Money (so called) was plentiful enough, and the source of supply practically inexhaustible. Everything that money could be exchanged for was dear enough, but still the people did not enjoy that heaven of prosperity which the advocate of fiat money thinks ought to prevail under like conditions. It is not worth while to theorize when a fact which exactly fills the niche is ready to hand.

II. FREE COINAGE.

Free coinage is an ethical error founded on a false idea of the functions of the Government in connection therewith.

The Constitution of the United States (Art. I, sec. 8) gives Congress the power to "coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin." There was no need of a constitutional provision to give Congress the power to coin money; and as for the balance of the clause Congress might just as well have been granted the power to "regulate" the snow-fall of the Sierra Nevadas. Anybody can coin money. The only difference between money coined by the Government and that coined by John Doe or Richard Roe is, that the former gives a guarantee of weight and fineness that is accepted the world over, while these perhaps very respectable private individuals can not. A thousand acts of Congress can not weigh a hair in regulating its value. It takes the whole commercial world to do that; and no one individual can be more than an infinitesimal factor in the operation. In the old days when it was treason to "mutilate the King's head" there was something of sovereignty in the mint-stamp, but that has all passed away simultaneously with the doctrine, *Dei gratia Rex*. There is no "hoodoo" in the mint. It simply puts the miner's metal into merchantable parcels and passes it back to him to trade with as he best can; and there is no more valid reason why the miner's product should be put into convenient

parcels free of charge than that the farmer's cotton should be put into bales in like manner. The work is done for the benefit of the owner of the metal; and if it is not worth to him the cost of doing it let him trade with his native metal as he best can. There is sufficient public utility in it to justify doing the work at actual cost, but not more. Free coinage is plainly a tax on all the people for the benefit of a few. Let us have no more of it.

III. RATIO OF VALUES.

It may be accepted as an economic axiom that two products which vary from time to time in relative cost of production, cannot be held to a fixed ratio of value. This is the Law of Omnipotence and yet there are men (with little sense) who propose to override it by a statute, and other men (with sense enough to know better) who propose to override it by a series of statutes called "international agreement." A very strong man may carry a very heavy weight so long as to mislead a child or an idiot into the belief that he can do it always. The weight may be divided among several strong men and so carried for a very long time, but gravity will prevail at last. The onlooker, with a streak of indolence traversing his body, only wonders why the load is not dropped on the ground at the outset. Any attempt to fix a permanent ratio of value between gold and silver is in the nature of a burden. This Government has stood under it until it can carry no more, and we now seek relief by a division of the burden. Why do we wish the load carried at all? That we are sustaining all that we can carry was amply demonstrated by the panic of '93, the real cause of which appeared in the fact that the Government was issuing more promises to pay *on demand* (in the continued coinage of silver dollars) than its credit would sustain. It was called in derision a banker's panic, and that was true, although the derision was ill-placed. The country is deeply indebted to the astute bankers who succeeded in calling a halt to this financial anarchy before it became quite ruinous.

I do not wish to thrash over old straw in order to demonstrate that it is not the metal or the mint-stamp, but an act of Congress, which holds the silver dollar to a parity with the gold dollar. It is imperative, however, to impress on the mind the full meaning of the "act of Congress." Its virtue lies in its implied promise *to redeem*, and, without that obligation, that same act of Congress could not hold one silver dollar for one minute to a parity with gold. Put into plain English, therefore, the Government of the United States promises to pay to the

holder of each silver dollar one hundred cents, on the return of the fifty-three cents which he has in hand.

I can take a horseshoe to any store in this, my residence city, and purchase therewith a thousand dollars' worth of any goods in the store, giving a written agreement to redeem the horseshoe within a reasonable time with one thousand dollars lawful money of the United States. Even a tramp would not go gathering horseshoes on the strength of my deal; yet the purchase with a horseshoe and a purchase with a silver dollar differ only in degree, not at all in kind.

That which is necessary on the part of this Government, in order to hold a limited quantity of silver to a parity with gold at any fixed ratio, would be necessary on the part of all civilized governments, in order to hold all silver to a similar parity. In other words, all the governments must agree to purchase the world's stock of silver at nearly double its value; or, in still other words, all the people of all the nations must levy upon themselves an enormous tax, in order that the possessors of silver may sell it at double value; and this tax must continue from year to year, so long as the silver-miner lives to vex the bowels of the earth and the people on its surface. It does not need a prophet to foretell that, sooner or later, gravity must prevail.

IV. LEGAL-TENDER LAWS.

Of all the mossy old dykes that have misled the people and delayed the perfect work of error, a legal-tender law is, perhaps, the most objectionable, because the most effective. But for this, we should long ago have been whipped into better things. The very nature of it is either absurd or iniquitous. Any law purporting to bind the citizen to accept as consideration on a contract just the very thing which he agrees to accept is too rankly absurd to find room on the statute-book; and a law which obligates the party to a contract to accept as consideration something other than, and different from, that which he contracts for ought to find no place in the consciences of law-makers. The very existence of the law is an admission that the things which by it are substituted for dollars are not dollars. Given a poison in the stomach, an antidote becomes a good thing, but normal conditions involve the absence of both poison and antidote. It is not denied that the legal-tender law has performed antidotal functions, but this is in itself proof that the system which rendered it efficacious is unscientific, and if we shall fail to dispense with it wholly we shall fail in our search for a tenable working hypothesis.

To summarize:—It seems to be demonstrated that a correct money system must involve the following conditions; to wit:—

The volume of money must be measured by the exact amount of the money metals in possession and available for that purpose.

That volume must not be increased by the introduction of things which are not money, nor diminished by refusal to coin any money metal on even terms with any other money metal.

There must be no attempt to fix by statute a ratio of value between two different metals.

All mint service should be paid for at the actual cost of such service, and, that being the case, any metal may be coined, the use of which as money is demanded by any considerable portion of the people.

There must be no occasion for a legal-tender law.

To these may be added:—

Our money system must stand upon its own foundation so as to be independent of any action of other nations, and this without disarrangement of international commerce. It must not involve, or even tolerate, a pledge of the Government credit to sustain the value of any commodity whatever; and it is pertinent to remark here that there is no warrant in the Constitution for such pledges as have already been given.

Two coins which are unlike should not be given the same name in such manner as to lead to confusion of terms; thus a "dollar" should not be at the same time a gold coin and a silver coin.

Further, as matters of utility but not of necessity, (1) the decimal system should be retained; and (2) coin—other than fractional—should not be in actual circulation, on account of its inconvenience and the loss by abrasion.

Before any material change in our money system can be made, the exact status of all present indebtedness, both public and private, should be definitively fixed. This will hinge entirely on the interpretation of the term "dollar," and the only question proper to consider in the matter is, What does the word mean *now*? It is of no moment what it meant to the Fathers of the Republic. It is not pertinent to discuss how, when, or where any change was made, except as to whether or not it was made by competent authority.

The proposition that all private indebtedness is based upon a dollar of 23.22 grains of pure gold will hardly be disputed, except by those who would dispute anything on the chance of avoiding honest payment; but it is held by many, and with some show of sincerity, that a

portion of the public debt was contracted when either metal would have been readily accepted in payment, that therefore the option lay with the Government, and that *that option has never been lost*. It is all correct enough except the words in italics, and these are not true. That option has been lost by the pledge of Congress to maintain all dollars to a parity of value. This could only be done by holding the poorer to a level with the best, which is gold. Under this pledge, doubtless every Government obligation in existence has changed hands many times and is now held by innocent purchasers for value.

Whatever *might* have been, that is what *has* been, and it has been done by competent authority. That is why every dollar of Government obligation is a gold dollar, and this rule must include every standard silver dollar that has ever issued from the mint.

Whatever Congress does is the act of the people, and the people are bound by it. Any subsequent discovery that the act was foolish does not release the penalty of the bond.

How, then, shall we place our financial system upon a sound basis?

First fix the value of a dollar by statute past all question and then put the unsightly thing into liquidation. It has always been a rule-of-thumb term, meaning one thing to-day and another to-morrow. It has always been a plaything for money-tinkers, and we have outlived playthings and should no longer be money-tinkers.

Let the standard coins be also standard weights, so as to give them some significance. Let the ounce troy of standard metals be the unit coins and the minor coins be decimals of these.

The gold coins would naturally be the ounce, half, and quarter. The silver coins would be the ounce, half, quarter, and tenth, leaving the token coins as at present which is good enough.

This would give us gold coins about 7 per cent lighter than our present twenty-, ten-, and five-dollar pieces respectively, and silver coins about 16 per cent heavier than those of our present coinage. The terms dime, half-dime, and cent could be retained and the half-cent should be added.

Let it be kept firmly in mind that the office of the Government extends not one hair's breadth beyond receiving the bullion from its owner and passing it back to him in manufactured (coined) condition, deducting therefrom the cost of the service. The Government has no more right to influence the market value of a person's property in gold or silver than it has to manipulate a "corner" in peanuts. In

reality, it is as powerless to do so as it is to give metes and bounds to a water-spout.

The Government should refund every dollar of its present indebtedness in bonds of the new money denominations and at such dates as are consonant with its ability to pay them.

Provide by act of Congress for receiving into the United States Treasury all coin that may be offered (or bullion, after being assayed at the mint) and issuing therefor certificates in such denominations as shall suit the depositor.

Establish in each State a depository at which certificates can be issued or cashed.

Last of all, repeal all legal-tender laws and substitute therefor a provision that, in case United States certificates shall be tendered in payment of any obligation and refused by the payee, all legal proceedings for recovery shall be at the cost of the payee until sufficient time has elapsed to enable the payor to send his certificates to the nearest depository and receive back the money therefor.

We may now consider some of the consequences that would follow the adoption of such a financial system as I have suggested. Unfortunately there are many of us who not only wish to be paid for being good (for that always happens) but we wish to know just what and how much the consideration is to be. What then are we to gain by getting into harmony with law?

First,—An entire cessation of those panics caused by violent fluctuations in the volume of our circulating medium. There could no more be either plethora or stringency in the money-market, but a steady volume that would hold business to a steady level based on perfectly normal conditions.

Second,—Gold would be the money for large transactions and silver for the smaller every-day business of life. Inasmuch as the smaller transactions aggregate much more than the larger ones, and from the further fact that the small transactions call in much larger proportion for the actual money in hand, the demand for silver money would press upon the supply in greater measure than gold, and therefore the relative value of silver would steadily appreciate.

Third,—We should find that the volume of money now in possession is not sufficient to keep up a rapid and easy system of exchanges, and this would give a wonderful stimulus to our mining industries, especially to silver-mining.

Fourth,—As we should have no gold or silver to spare for export, we should pay our bills for imported goods in agricultural or manufactured products. If these should be refused, then we should manufacture the goods which we have heretofore imported; an enormous impetus being given in either case to our home industries.

Fifth,—We should have scarcely any work for our mint except for fractional coin, as the bulk of the money metals could more conveniently be held as bullion.

Sixth and last, so far as it is necessary to enumerate,—Our money system would be so simple and sensible that it would be adopted by other nations and, after an international conference to settle the standard of alloy, the coinage of the world would be interchangeable piece for piece.

The poor, the vicious, the foolish, and the afflicted, we should have with us still, but something of human ills would have been removed.

E. W. CODINGTON.

WOMAN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF A NATURALIST.

“ And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee : nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.”—1 Cor. xii. 21.

I HAVE been asked by the editor of *THE FORUM* to write on the zoölogical aspects of female suffrage: a task for which I feel quite incompetent. In fact I doubt whether the subject has any zoölogical aspects, although I suppose I have as much confidence in the virtue of zoölogy as anyone. I believe, however, that the general natural history of the human race, regarded as part of the history of the animal kingdom, makes us acquainted with facts which have important bearings on this and other social problems, although it may give no solution to practical questions.

Some seventeen years ago I published an article on “The Condition of Women from a Zoölogical Point of View,” in which I tried to show that the respective shares of men and women in the intellectual, moral, and social evolution of our race are, like their parts in the reproductive process, complementary to each other; that there can be no question of superiority or inferiority, since both are equally essential to the welfare of society; that one cannot say to the other “I have no need of thee” without injury to both.

As we review the history of the evolution of life we find that at every stage of its progress the welfare and the very existence of each species demand, as the price of success in the struggle for existence, that it hold fast to all that has been gained in the past, and that it also escape from competition by widening the sphere of its activity or by increasing the accuracy and definiteness of its responses to the order of nature within that sphere.

In modern civilization, progress by bodily change has been replaced by progress through education and training and culture, but both the retention of all that has been gained and advancement to higher levels are as essential in the domain of thought and morals as they are where bodily structure is concerned. We may be confident that the human population of the future is to be descended from those families in which, other things being equal, these two things are best

attained ; and that families in which they are not attained are, other things being equal, the ones which are destined to be crowded out.

Modern scientific research has given to the very old belief in the continuity of life clearness and definiteness undreamed of by the ancient philosophers. It proves, so far as any negative can be proved by evidence, that there is no point at which the embryo or the germ begins to live, but that life goes on unceasingly from parents to children, generation after generation, in an unbroken chain. While capable of indefinite increase, life is never added to from without. No organism and no germ which has died is ever endowed, in course of nature, with new life. This scientific generalization is quite independent of any opinion as to what life is, for it is founded on observation and not on reasoning.

The life of every being now in existence has flowed on without any break in its continuity by death, and without any interruption,—except the alternation of periods of latency with periods of potency,—for a length of time which, at the least, is estimated by cautious palæontologists at a hundred million years, and there is no reason why the life of some who are now in existence should not continue to flow on just as far into the future.

Duration of life for an indefinite and practically limitless period, with a share in all that the unknown future has in store for the inhabitants of earth, is within the reach of some of us ; and, if life be worth living, it would seem to be the greatest of earthly blessings. No matter how great its burdens, life is the sum of all things on earth, for to him who is joined to all the living there is hope. It can, however, fall to the lot of few to be thus joined to all the living, for while many family lines may persist for a few generations, speedy extermination is the destiny of most. Whatever value we may set on this possibility of boundless life, there can be no doubt as to the fate of the exterminated ; for the memory of them is forgotten. Also their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished ; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun.

Survival in the struggle for existence is the condition on which the possibility of any future share in terrestrial life depends, and while this fact may be ignored by those who despise the things this life can give, all who love life must admit the importance of everything which helps to maintain permanent advantage in this struggle. The price of survival is what students of social science call division of labor, while zoölogists call it divergent specialization.

In the essay above referred to I gave reasons for believing that the intellectual and moral differences between men and women are due to division of labor; that the mind of woman is specialized for the retention of the fruits of the training and culture and education of the past; while the mind of man is specialized for perfecting the correspondence between mind and the order of external nature. I also tried to show that families in which this specialization is most perfect are likely to be the successful ones in the struggle for existence.

Among men, at least, there is pretty general agreement as to the nature of the mental differences between the sexes, although there is great diversity in opinions as to their causes and meaning. Some assert that woman has been "subjected" by man. Some believe one sex is superior to the other; the supposed superiority, often determined by the sex of the speaker, being always measured by the standard which the speaker has in mind. Still others believe that there should be no question of superiority or inferiority, since they are complementary and neither is complete without the other.

Those who hold the last opinion are logically bound, and usually quite ready, to admit, that if, through male selfishness and oppression, or from any other cause, women are hindered from the highest perfection which our times permit, the interest of all, both men and women, demands the removal of this restriction; but one may admit this without admitting that the needs of the two sexes are identical. We must also remember that human progress is slow, and limited by obstacles and lack of opportunity. If women find that they cannot reach their best and most lofty ideals; if they cannot, at once, become all they would like, or have all they want; they are not peculiar in this respect, but are only sharers in the common lot of humanity.

The history of civilization shows that its growth has been attended by slow but steady improvement in the condition of women, and that it may be measured very accurately by this standard. It is often assumed, by those who review this history, that the improvement has been wrung from unwilling men, or granted by generous ones, and that more may be got in the same way. It is also assumed to be not only improvement in the condition of women but progress toward the condition of men, although the one by no means implies the other. I venture to believe that man—the adult male human being—has had little to do with either the "subjection" or the "emancipation" of woman, and that her improvement is only one aspect of that progress of the race in which her share is precisely the same as his.

Primitive man was, no doubt, an ugly, ferocious brute, but there is evidence that primitive woman admired his ferocity and was quite ready to abandon him and follow a more ferocious brute with resignation and even with exultation. If the woman of the heroic age was in constant danger of life-long slavery under covetous and able-bodied neighbors, her men-folk were, according to the "Odyssey," in no less danger of furnishing a bloody meal for dogs. Any delicate and refined woman of to-day would find the common life of a woman of the Dark Ages unendurable. The women of the Dark Ages were not over-refined, nor, for that matter, were those in the time of good Queen Bess; and the life of either of those periods would be misery and wretchedness to the men of the nineteenth century as well as to the women.

Those who talk of the subjection of woman to man's dominion, and her emancipation from his tyranny, forget that, during historical times, the whole human race has improved in the virtues of self-restraint and humanity, and that, even if there has as yet been no material progress in disinterestedness, selfishness has unquestionably become more enlightened and broad-minded. Instead of being something wrested from hard-hearted man, the improvement of the condition of woman is only one aspect of that progress which benefits all,—the young, the mature, the aged, women and men, alike. Man has not deliberately worked out his destiny. He has been shaped and controlled by influences of which he has been, for the most part, totally ignorant; influences which are purely natural, shining like the sun on the evil and the good, and descending like rain on the just and the unjust; and woman, like man, has had her part in the whole history of our race.

While admitting that the average woman may not be the most admirable or the most useful one, men are tolerably unanimous in the opinion that there are well-marked differences between the average male mind and the average female mind. They hold woman superior to man in concrete acquaintance with those principles of conduct which are of most general application, and in constitutional aptitude for applying them to special cases, without deliberation, and, as it were, by instinct; so that she is able to act wisely in the affairs of practical common life without waiting to weigh motives and to compare consequences. In other words woman is held by man to surpass him in intuition.

On the other hand man holds himself superior in power to abstract

and to compare, to deliberate, to suspend judgment, to reach new generalizations by the slow process of logical reasoning, and to perceive these generalizations in their pure and native light, free from all practical complications. By these means he is able to extend the domain of mind over nature and to escape competition by opening new fields for action. He believes he has especial aptitude for winning his way in the field where bold and aggressive qualities count. He takes upon himself the task of challenging competition by striking out into new lines; and he believes he excels woman in power to discern the laws of thought, of society, and of the material universe, and in ability to make these discoveries the basis of conduct, and thus to widen the sphere of human activity. Where intuitions, instincts, emotions, and past experience furnish no guide to conduct, he believes his judgment is better than hers. His power to originate and to generalize from new experiences fits him for success in occupations where competition is fiercest; where marked success depends upon the addition to the knowledge and skill of his rivals of the inventiveness which gives him advantage over them.

If women wish to abandon the domain which he considers more properly their own, and to compete with him, they should have a fair field, but they can expect no favor. If they are driven to the wall they may, if they choose, attribute their "subjection" and his success to his big lungs and muscles, and to his brutal energy of body and mind, rather than to any difference of mental quality,—but the result will be the same.

Competition is only one factor in human progress. Few of our acts meet new conditions. Experience or organic structure has already determined what we should do in all the circumstances which most directly affect our safety and welfare. Here action must usually be too prompt to permit deliberation or reflection. Ability to act promptly in the innumerable exigencies of common life is, at least, as important as ability to extend the field of rational action. Man believes that woman is more richly endowed than he with the instincts, intuitions, habits, and principles which come to us from the past, and he holds that those women who desire independence, and those who are forced to care for themselves, would do well to seek occupations where ready tact and versatility are more valuable than the narrow, technical skill which comes from training,—positions where success does not involve competition with rivals.

The use of both these sides of the human mind is clear, and it

is hard to see how anyone can admit the aggressive superiority of man, and the intuitive superiority of woman, without suspecting that this specialization has a meaning, and without wondering whether it may not exist because of some benefit to the race. It is obvious that the excellence of woman's intuitions fits her to be the intellectual and moral as well as the physical mother of mankind; while man's originality fits him to make a place in the world for his family by surpassing his competitors in the race of life. No one has ever pointed out the nature of the mental differences between men and women more clearly than Mill ("Subjection of Women"), and it is surprising that one who recognizes their use, as he does, should hold that they are not natural. He says:—

"Looking at women as they are known in experience, it may be said of them, with more truth than belongs to most generalizations on the subject, that the general bent of their talents is toward the practical. . . . Hardly anything can be of greater value to a man of theory and speculation, who employs himself, not in collecting materials of knowledge by observation, but in working them up by processes of thought into comprehensive truths of science and laws of conduct, than to carry on his speculations in the companionship, and under the criticism, of a really superior woman. There is nothing comparable to it for keeping his thoughts within the limits of real things, and the actual facts of nature. Woman's thoughts are thus as useful in giving reality to those of thinking men as men's thoughts in giving width and largeness to those of woman."

If the really superior man needs woman to protect him from the eccentricities of genius, to keep him on the track which has terminal facilities, to give "reality" to his thoughts, is he not as subject to her as she is to him? May not that to which there is nothing comparable for a man of speculation, be of use also to a man of action? May it not have wider scope and be of value to humanity as a whole? Play is sweeter than work; to common men as to philosophers. Men are kept at the treadmill by conjugal and parental obligations. If woman has aptitude for holding not only the really superior man but the very common man by the tight rein of stern reality this seems no more than natural, but it is no evidence of inferiority or subjection.

While I cannot agree with Mill that the feminine characteristics which he notes are the result of subjection, I most heartily concur with his opinion on the value of education, and I wish to say a word on the educational aspect of this many-sided question.

We may hold the opinion that the mental differences between men and women are natural without believing that boys and girls differ in

the same way or to the same degree. Zoölogists know that when allied organisms become divergent during their ancestral history the difference is not, as a rule, manifested in the early part of their individual history, and that, when modern, it is not fully established until they reach full maturity. Education commonly means the training of the young; and I know no good ground for believing that the capacity of girls differs materially from that of boys. The modern movement in liberal education for both is unquestionably wise and well-directed, and each community must decide, on practical grounds, whether the obvious advantages of separate schools and colleges overbalance the economy and other well-known advantages of coeducation. The ease with which girls and young women have, during the last few years, emancipated themselves from physical imbecility shows that they have been under no subjection, and that, if they contented themselves in the last generation with slovenly and spasmodic attempts at croquet, this only showed their ignorance of their own capacity. The out-of-door life of modern girls and their energetic participation in sports which give self-reliance, independence, agility, and control of muscles which at one time seemed in danger of atrophy, seems altogether commendable. Those who read the signs of the times see, in their free tread, their erect carriage, and their increased stature, hopeful signs that this physical improvement may so lighten the burdens of the coming woman that she may be more reconciled to the inevitable hardships of the lot which nature seems to have assigned to her. So far as physical training and the education of boys and girls at home, at school, or at college is in question, the differences between them do not seem great enough to demand any essential variation in methods, although there is some danger that, in rivalry with boys, the greater ambition of girls may lead them to overtax their inferior strength and energy. Young persons in robust health suffer little by occasional efforts at feats beyond their strength, but the danger increases with age. This argument, like other well-known ones, based upon sexual physiology but outside the scope of this article, in favor of separate education, applies with much greater force to young women at college than to girls at school. Every zoölogist knows that if there is divergent specialization in the minds of men and women, the diversity of their educational needs must increase with age, and the advisability of admitting women to universities which have been founded and organized for the highest education of men turns upon very different issues. But we are now concerned with average men and women, and cannot spare, for

the adequate presentation of a subject which involves only the exceptional few, space which should be given to more elementary matters.

The great educational problem of modern times is the reconciliation of the requirements of general culture with the demands of practical training; an answer to the question how soon "electives," or special studies, are to be permitted. Every parent, every teacher, every student, and every educational institution must meet and answer the question how soon the studies which give breadth and liberality and generous interest in the pleasures and ennobling resources of life are to be made subordinate to studies which are "practical." In the essay of 1879 I tried to show that the intellectual differences between men and women help us here, and as what I said then seems applicable now, I repeat it.

As society grows more and more complex and the sphere of human activity widens in all directions; as the points where man comes into contact with nature multiply, the amount of general liberal education which each of us needs for rational guidance in all the emergencies of life, and for the enjoyment of our share in its benefits, increases in geometrical progression. Meantime the special training which a person needs as a preparation for new and original work in any field of activity increases at the same rate, and encroaches more and more upon the time which is needed for liberal education. Thorough acquaintance with all the results, old and new, of intellectual activity in all branches of knowledge, so far as they conduce to correct living, is culture. This is to intellectual man what inheritance is to physical man. Culture is concerned only with results, not with methods or reasons, and it does not lead to progress. Special training is concerned with methods and reasons, and it values the results of the past only as they lead to advancement. It looks to progress in some one definite line; some one radius in the spreading circle of the domain of human intelligence, and it ignores the rest of the circle. It is to intellectual man what adaptive modification has been to physical man. By culture we hold our own. By special training we reach higher levels. Both are equally necessary, and the great problem of the future is to secure each in as much perfection as possible without sacrifice of either. The analogy of the rest of the living world seems to indicate that this must be brought about by division of labor.

If the mind of woman has, during its evolution, gained peculiar aptitude for acquiring and applying the results of past progress, by empirical methods and without need for proofs and reasons, it would

seem especially fitted for culture as distinct from training ; while the mind of man is best fitted for that inductive training by experiment and demonstration which leads to new advances. The hard fate which compels the boy to sacrifice some of the delights of culture in order to fit himself for competition with men presses less heavily upon girls ; while, on the other hand, nothing equals a cultivated family circle for giving the advantages of culture,—in course of nature as it were,—without encroaching on the time needed for training.

If each type of mind is developed in the manner for which it will, after maturity, have especial fitness, we have the strongest reasons to believe that this will gradually extend that habit of judicious conduct which is the common property of our race, and that it will thus give more time for special training to those who are compelled to acquire it.

I do not feel competent to discuss the bearing of the difference between the sexes on the problem of female suffrage, for this is a practical question which must be handled by each community on its own ground, and abstract principles can give us little help. Still, so long as any considerable number of persons are convinced, from faithful study of the lessons of the past, that there are good reasons for caution and conservatism they may fairly demand proof of their error before they approve of any far-reaching change.

Many thoughtful persons are convinced that the average woman is far more likely than the average man of the same condition in life to act upon some other motive than mature disinterested judgment, and that the enfranchisement of women might add to the number of voters, already far too numerous in our country, who are led by tradition or self-interest or emotion, rather than by intelligent zeal for the welfare of the whole nation.

If this opinion is an erroneous one, the advocates of the enfranchisement of women must, as their first step, not only prove its error, but they must also prove that the participation of women in politics would make government distinctly better than it is now, for no change in established institutions which is not a definite advance can be considered. Nor can the plea that the votes of women would benefit women as a class be admitted ; for every act of class-legislation is a national disaster, and no democratic government can recognize the existence, before the law, of any class with interests which are not those of the whole nation. The claim that the votes of women would remedy social evils from which they believe they are the chief sufferers is inadmissible for the same reason ; for those who think they suffer most

from an evil or would be most benefited by a reform are not competent judges of its relative importance to the community as a whole. If one who is not an expert in social science may be permitted to have an opinion, it seems clear to a zoölogist that the only plea for female suffrage which can be admitted is the claim that it would benefit the community as a whole by strengthening democratic constitutional government.

Men of our blood have never been much given to blind confidence in the disinterestedness of our leaders or the perfection of our institutions, and the reason why no branch of the Anglo-Saxon race has made any retrograde step in popular government is to be found in its allegiance to constitutions. But a constitution is nothing more than a device to secure deliberation by a system of checks and counter-checks on hasty action, and is of no value in the absence of a judicial frame of mind.

If the belief, that women are on the average emotional rather than judicial as compared with men, is an error, opportunities to prove it so are abundant now, and there are alarming signs that they may be still more abundant in the near future. The spread of emotionalism throughout our country gives cause for grave apprehension. The sturdy individualism which carried our forefathers through all their difficulties is commonly called a *manly* virtue. Whether it be manly or not we can never have too much of it; for the habit of looking the ills of life squarely in the face, of accepting them, and doing all we can to make the best of them, is essential to prosperity. If women can help to strengthen this habit among our people every true American man will welcome their aid, nor will he permit any old-fashioned opinions as to their mental character to hinder him from frank and generous acknowledgment of his mistake.

If we have among us any considerable number of persons who have not fallen heir to the steadfastness of our forefathers; persons who, unmindful of their debts to established society, believe they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by social convulsions; persons who talk of their "subjection" to somebody or something, and instead of bravely facing the difficulties which beset us all, try to evade them and wait for something to turn up, or, failing this, to turn up something which, if it do not accomplish what is wished, will be sure to accomplish something else;—if such persons are numerous the outlook is gloomy. Their frame of mind delights the agitator; it is easily led from one project to another; its impulses cannot be controlled by

reason for they are not founded upon deliberation; it is as quick to turn upon its leaders as to follow new ones; and whether its motives be good or bad, whether it be led by craft or by sincere fanaticism, its tendency is not constitutional but revolutionary. If man's view of woman is a mistake; if this frame of mind can not properly be described as feminine; let the women of our country see to it that their influence is brought to bear in favor of judicial deliberation and calm stability.

Whatever may be the outcome of the struggle which is now agitating our country, it has shown the existence among us of an emotional element which can easily be led on from one hasty and ill-considered effort at reform to another. In the past it has been said that women have been in the van of this sort of agitation. Let the women of the United States see to it that this is never said of them, and they need not wait long for any privilege of citizenship they may desire; for they will have shown their title to be enrolled among the bulwarks of our liberties.

W. K. BROOKS.

INSTRUCTIVE DISTRICT NURSING.

IN every form of practical philanthropy it is especially desirable that in relieving distress nothing be done to diminish the sense of independence and self-respect of those who are aided. Yet even the industrious and thrifty laborer works upon a margin so narrow that the protracted illness of himself or a member of his family may at any time not only exhaust his slender savings, but throw him into debt. Or it may place him in such permanent dependence upon others that he finally acquires a sense of right to support by the community. It is at such crises, therefore, that temporary aid is most helpful; and no form of assistance can be less injurious than that which is directed toward an early recovery from illness.

The hospitals long ago recognized this need, but there are people whom the hospitals cannot help,—those who through mistaken prejudice will die at home rather than enter a hospital; those whose diseases are incurable, as, for instance, consumptives, cancer patients, and paralytics, for whom there is frequently no hospital provision; and, finally, those whom it is unwise to separate from their families. For all such cases there is evident need of adequate care in the home. But even a greater good may be accomplished if it be possible to secure intelligent and skilful assistance in those cases of acute illness which may be quickly cured if treated in time. To render such aid in all these cases District Nursing was established; not in any sense duplicating the work of the hospital, but finding its chief function in the direction of *preventive treatment*, the preëminent value of which is now universally admitted.

District Nursing began in England in 1875, when Mr. William Rathbone, M.P., employed a woman to go about among the sick poor of Liverpool and minister to their needs in their own homes. So great and immediate was the practical benefit of the service thus rendered that other cities followed the example of Liverpool. In 1885 Miss Abbie C. Howes, of Boston, who had watched the workings of the English system, came back to the United States filled with the desire to see a similar system established in her own city. Meanwhile Miss

Phebe G. Adam, who was devoted to the administration of day nurseries in Boston, had become convinced that the fundamental need of the little children who were daily brought to these temporary homes was the education of their mothers in simple sanitation. These two ladies, who had thus arrived at the same idea independently and from very different experiences, laid the matter before the Woman's Education Association—an organization which has launched many noble and now independent enterprises—and induced it to undertake the initiation of the new charity in Boston. A committee was formed, a small sum of money was guaranteed, and the work was started with one nurse,—a work that appealed to the public because it promised not only the immediate relief of much suffering, but also a gradual improvement of the public health. Similar work, but upon a somewhat different basis, was begun almost at the same time in Philadelphia, and there are now, in 1896, carefully organized associations for District Nursing in New Bedford, Brooklyn, Chicago, Kansas City, Buffalo, and Baltimore. In addition to the work done by these specific organizations, nurses are sent out by the general charities or by churches in New York City, Wilmington, Delaware; Hampton, Virginia, and other cities, and similar experiments are being constantly undertaken.

It is to be expected that under the widely dissimilar conditions which obtain in various localities, different methods of organization and operation will be followed. It is no less true of District Nursing than of all other important enterprises, that each organization must work out its own best development, adapting itself to local demands and to the possibilities of its situation. The present paper will be restricted to a description of the methods of the District Nursing Association in Boston,—an association entirely dependent upon voluntary subscriptions; which has had a career of uninterrupted success for eleven years; and whose experience it is hoped will be helpful to other cities desirous of establishing similar organizations for aiding the sick poor.

It has always been the aim of this Association to keep its machinery of administration at a minimum, allowing it to develop naturally with the accumulation of experience. The conduct of its affairs is vested in a board of twenty-five managers, all of them women, who hold monthly meetings for the transaction of routine business and for the discussion of the many perplexing and interesting problems which constantly arise. Sub-committees are formed to do special work as occasion demands. The annual meeting, to which all donors are invited,

is held in February, and at this meeting reports of the officers, of nurses, and of physicians are received. The Association has established an office which is in charge of a salaried agent for seven hours every week-day. Her duties include keeping, in books prepared for the purpose, a record of all cases, their treatment, and discharge. She also prepares bandages for the nurses, receives applications for emergency nurses, and acts generally as the representative of the Association.

At the present time the Association employs twelve nurses, eleven of whom are occupied in the city of Boston, being able to cover nearly the entire area occupied by the poorer classes, and one is supplied to the neighboring city of Cambridge. In addition the Association furnishes, at the request of any physician of repute, a nurse for a limited time, during which she lives at the house of the patient as in private nursing. This emergency work is a very valuable accessory to the ordinary routine, but it has been found inadvisable to retain special nurses for it; they are, therefore, as a rule, selected from the Registry of Trained Nurses.

For the last two years the Association has also provided a nurse to care for crippled children sent to their homes from the Children's Hospital. This nurse has gone wherever the surgeon in charge has directed her, frequently traveling forty miles a day. Her duties have been mainly to teach the mothers how to bathe and move the patient, and how to keep complicated apparatus in place so as to avoid the discomfort and mischief which are the result of ignorance. The work has proved so successful and important that it has now been assumed by the Children's Hospital, by whose staff of nurses it can be done with far less effort and expense.

Each district is supervised by two members of the Board of Managers to one or both of whom the nurse makes a weekly report at the office of the Association. Once a month each nurse makes a brief written report of her cases to the president, more especially in order to show what instruction she has been able to give, and its results. Once a month also, the president meets the full staff at the office, for criticism and advice. At this meeting it has of late been customary to invite some physician of the city to read a paper, which may serve to give to the nurses new light upon old subjects and to keep them abreast of the times. Sometimes he illustrates his theme by simple experiments or interesting microscopical preparations.

In the appointment of nurses the Association has found it best to admit to its service only graduates of training schools of the first rank.

In the early days the directors were criticised for the costliness of such a regulation, but experience has proved its wisdom. In illness the best nurse cannot be too good; and in order that these sympathetic women may satisfactorily perform their daily task—which is not only to heal the physical ailments but also to uplift the ignorant and discouraged people with whom they deal—they require the authority which only skill and education can give. The visiting nurse, whose sole gospel is that of cleanliness and health, must inevitably teach all whom she meets the value of decent living, the necessity of respecting one's self and one's neighbor, the interdependence of moral and physical strength. Such lessons cannot be wisely and tactfully enforced save by women of the best training, and even among these District Nursing demands those who have particular gifts. Many a woman who would succeed almost anywhere as a private nurse finds the district work repugnant and overwhelmingly difficult because of the ignorance and prejudice which abound, the exhaustion from the daily exposure and the long distances to be traveled, the meagreness of the supplies, and—in spite of her ardent efforts—the lack of results from her teaching. A strong faith in humanity, a patient belief in the ultimate result stretching on far beyond her own life of service, a self-sacrifice which may amount to heroism, a quick wit, and fertility of resource are the requisites for truly successful District Nursing. Notwithstanding the peculiar hardships, and the relatively small salary of \$600 a year (an amount less than that earned by most nurses engaged in private cases); the home life that is possible for some of them; the independence that all enjoy, with leisure in the evening and on Sundays and a month's vacation in summer; the valuable experience derived from the treatment of so wide a range of diseases,—make the career of a District Nurse very attractive to many women, as is evidenced by the long service of almost all the present staff.

The Association also maintains a staff of substitute nurses for which positions there are many applicants. These supply the places of the regular nurses while the latter are absent on their vacations, and from their number appointments are, if possible, made when new districts are opened or vacancies occur. This temporary experience of District Nursing often reveals to a woman her fitness or unfitness for such work without committing her to it indefinitely.

Before proceeding to review the operations of the Association in detail, it may be convenient here to introduce the following table which gives a history of the work in Boston, its scope, and its cost.

Year ending Jan. 31.	No. of nurses supported.	No. of districts occupied.	No. of cases attended.	No. of visits made.	Average of visits per case.	Average of visits per day.	Annual expenses.	Average expense per case.	Average expense per visit.
1887	2	2	707	7,182	10.15	22.94	\$1,224.01	\$1.73	\$0.17
1888	†4	5	1,836	17,056	9.28	54.47	\$2,691.46	\$1.47	\$0.16
*1889	†4	5	1,543	12,780	8.28	40.83	\$3,524.69	\$2.28	\$0.28
1890	6	6	2,131	26,056	12.22	83.24	\$4,498.14	\$2.11	\$0.17
1891	7	7	2,614	32,303	12.35	103.20	\$4,700.71	\$1.80	\$0.14½
1892	7	7	3,122	37,188	11.91	118.81	\$5,422.57	\$1.74	\$0.14
1893	†8	9	3,475	40,076	11.53	127.63	\$6,247.55	\$1.80	\$0.15
1894	†9	10	3,426	43,244	12.62	118.47	\$7,400.16	\$2.16	\$0.17
1895	§11	12	3,352	42,766	12.75	117.17	\$8,863.73	\$2.64	\$0.21
1896	11	11	3,396	41,857	12.32	114.68	\$9,563.70	\$2.82	\$0.23
Totals.			25,602	300,508	11.73	90.14	\$54,136.72	\$2.11	\$0.18

* During this year an emergency nurse was regularly employed throughout the year; but the calls upon her were so few that the practice was discontinued. The average expense was increased and the average work was less than in other years by reason of this experiment.

† Four nurses were employed during 12 months, and a fifth during 6 months and 9 months respectively.

‡ For the year ending January 31, 1893, a ninth nurse was employed for the last 2 months; and in 1894 a tenth nurse was employed for 6 months in Cambridge.

§ A twelfth nurse was employed for the last 2 months in the Roxbury district.

|| An additional nurse was employed 1 week in Roxbury, and 3 weeks in District No. X, South Boston.

There are two features of its general conduct which the directors of the Association have always felt to be the foundation of their success. First, the rigid insistence that the work of the nurses shall be done, as far as possible, with a view to instructing the patient and his family in the methods of sanitation and the simpler rules of domestic nursing; and, second, that the nurses themselves shall be under constant medi-

cal supervision. Hence the somewhat cumbrous but accurate title "The Instructive District Nursing Association."

1. In order that the benefits shall be more permanent than the temporary relief of pain, the nurse endeavors, after the first demonstration, to have some member of the patient's family take all the actual care of the patient that it is possible to leave safely in her hands, while the nurse stands by to watch and guide. Many are her discouragements; but there are also many instances of intelligent improvement to cheer her in her warfare with ignorance and indifference. The greatest interest and help in this part of the work come from the children, who are eager to learn new ways. They often become expert in simple bandaging or in the preparation of broths. Their elders, too, sometimes learn that fresh air is not deadly if admitted to a room without making a draught, and that the early application of simple remedies may prevent a cold from becoming a serious illness.

2. The second important feature of the work is the daily medical supervision of the cases. It is most desirable that such work as this shall have no connection with municipal politics, even to the exclusion of the regular city physicians. Boston is fortunate in possessing a well-endowed charity, the Boston Dispensary, established by private generosity more than a hundred years ago. For its purposes the city is divided into convenient medical districts, to each of which is assigned a physician whose duty it is to respond, free of charge, to all calls made upon him by the poor, at regularly appointed posts. The Nursing Association provides a nurse for each Dispensary district. In regard to medical treatment the nurse is as absolutely under the medical direction of the Dispensary physician as though she were employed for a private case, but in all other respects she is responsible to the Association. The two organizations are wholly independent in management and in funds; but they coöperate for mutual benefit so perfectly that each would now feel itself seriously handicapped if forced to work alone, and in such coöperation there is economy of effort, as well as a sharing of responsibility. Surely the Association is justified in the confidence that its work is doubly beneficent because so ably seconded by the best practitioners. Furthermore, it has largely conquered the aversion to the "free doctor" which is so common among the poor. As a District Nurse may not attend any case, however urgent, which is not under the care of the district physician, many a person whose neighbor has had her ministrations is induced to call the district doctor in order to secure the nurse.

It was a matter of discussion with the Association in early days whether it would be better to exact payment, even of a few cents, from the patients who receive care. In many cities this is done, or at least where the nurse believes the family able to spare such partial return for the service that is rendered. It is however doubtful whether the self-respecting poor who just manage to live independently while they keep well would not be the ones on whom such a regulation would press hardest, and whether the thriftless who do not object to being paupers would not receive the most help. Besides, while all are now treated free, and in most cases receive the care with gratitude, feeling under some obligation, they would be likely to consider, if they paid anything at all, that they had paid the full value of the nursing, and thus come to demand it as a right. The Association gives no alms, with the exception of occasional Diet Kitchen tickets, but refers all cases of destitution to the appropriate relief societies; in this way doing its utmost to coöperate with the established charities of the city. It lies within the individual discretion of each manager to relieve pressing cases of need without waiting for the relief societies, but she must do it herself and not through the nurse; the latter being of course always in close touch with her managers and able to report needy cases at any hour. For obvious reasons nurses are not allowed to receive presents from their patients nor to give them material assistance on their own account.

Perhaps the most important adjunct of the Association is its Loan Closet. In this Closet, which has four branches at convenient points in the city, is kept whatever is likely to be needed in the sick-room. Bedding, clothing for patients, apparatus ordered by the physicians,—all are supplied in abundance as *loans* to the patient. Each article is carefully marked, and each nurse is required to see that whatever she loans is eventually returned in a condition as clean and whole as possible. Blanks are provided upon which an exact record of each article loaned is made, and the loss during any year is astonishingly slight. The economy of such an arrangement is plain, since the same article may thus be used by several families during a year, and the wholesome moral effect upon those to whom the supplies are furnished has been very marked.

The Association finds a valuable auxiliary in the Boston Diet Kitchens, which are in full coöperation with the physicians and nurses, for with the very poor it is frequently a question rather of food than of medicine. Any Dispensary doctor may sign a "diet order" which a

member of the invalid's family can get filled free of cost, and which ensures fresh eggs and milk daily; or, if the family can spare the few cents necessary, the nurse can send to the New England Kitchen, where a greater variety of nourishing food is supplied at a minimum cost. Some of the managers furnish their nurses with tickets, worth five or ten cents each, which they can give to those who are quite unable to pay for the needed stews or soups or bread, which the New England Kitchen provides.

The Association has been obliged to make one important exception in its work of nursing the sick poor in their homes. It does not undertake to attend normal confinement cases. The time of the nurse is ordinarily completely filled with her regular work so that it would be impracticable for her to undertake duties that are of such indefinite occurrence and duration. Fortunately some of the city churches and some private organizations do provide free nurses for this special work, and it is the duty of the District Nurse to aid the woman in procuring their services, and also to render any assistance that may not interfere with her other duties. As soon as the child is born the Association will accept both mother and child as regular patients, provided only that the cases are put under the direction of the Dispensary physician.

The problem of infectious diseases has always been a most difficult one; nor is it yet solved. So long as the laws do not oblige a diphtheria or scarlet-fever patient to go to a hospital, the nurse can do no more than use such persuasion as she is mistress of to induce the patient to go there voluntarily. Failing in this, it is only possible for her to care for the case as well as conditions allow. Since real isolation is generally impracticable, and since ignorance and wilful carelessness intensify the difficulty, the task of preventing an epidemic throughout the tenement, or even the street, is appalling. Moreover, the nurse must take care lest she transmit the infection on her rounds. The usual disinfectants are employed; the most rigid instructions are given; and the nurse makes the visits if possible only at the end of the day's work, so that she may walk quickly home and disinfect herself. However imperfect this treatment, nothing better has suggested itself; and in the history of the Association there has, in fact, been only a single instance in which a nurse has been infected, and none in which the infection has been carried to other patients. A special nurse for infectious diseases would have little employment in Boston most of the time, and then there would come a time of stress when not one but half a dozen such nurses would be needed. In a case of great severity an

emergency nurse is employed, and for the rest the good judgment of the nurses must suffice.

When a case is critical and the home care uncertain, so that the doctor feels that removal to the hospital is imperative, he obtains the permit and says that the patient must go. Here often comes one of the most difficult tasks of the nurse,—to persuade the family of the individual that the doctor is right. Sometimes it takes days, and the ambulance comes only to be sent away, but finally, if the nurse will go with him, the patient may yield, and she takes him to his bed in the ward; or, it may be, no persuasions avail and unreason has its way. There are cases, however, in which the removal of the mother to a hospital means the neglect or destitution of the children. Both doctor and nurse feel that the home must not be broken up, and both redouble their visits and their care until the poor woman either recovers or dies.

The eight hours of service which it is stipulated each nurse shall give are often insufficient to meet the demands made upon them, and the nurses frequently add many hours of voluntary labor, forty visits being the average day's labor for most of them. No nurse is required to work on Sunday, yet it rarely happens that a nurse leaves all her patients from Saturday until Monday. Motives of professional pride and of humanity are constantly inducing her to make sacrifices of time and effort.

The daily routine of the nurse, while it varies very little in each individual case, may differ considerably in the several districts, since the Dispensary physicians make their district rounds at hours most convenient for themselves. All the nurses begin their work at eight o'clock in the morning; and at some regularly appointed place and hour, not necessarily at the beginning of the day, each nurse meets her physician,—to receive from him her order for the day, to report the progress of cases in the interval since the meeting of the previous day, and to make with him such visits and attend such operations as he may consider necessary. By the elasticity of rule which permits the nurse to suit the doctor's convenience in the matter, she may save him a good deal of needless visiting, or, on the other hand, she may hasten his return to a case where an unfavorable and unexpected change has occurred. After the interview with the doctor, for the rest of the day the nurse is responsible to the Association alone. She carries a bag provided for her, which contains besides other things, scissors, thermometer, atomizer, absorbent cotton, bandages, disinfectants, soap, and towels. Let us follow her on her way. She goes back, it may be, to

some sufferer whose bed she has already made that morning, but who has no trustworthy friend to give him the prescribed medicine. She may even in such a case have to take with her the medicine itself from the apothecary. Having climbed the long, dark flight of stairs and given the drug, she may find that the fire she has kindled on her first visit needs more fuel, that the room needs fresh air, or that the patient is feverish and wants a little more sponging. These things accomplished, with a warning word about medicines and the window, to a perhaps half intoxicated attendant, she goes on to the next case, feeling that if possible she must get back here once more to-day. Her next patient may be a child sick with typhoid fever, whose young mother has the sufferer wrapped in stuffy comforters that are as harmful as too little covering would be. An alcohol bath, a fresh nightdress and sheet properly warmed by the kitchen fire, with gentle words to the mother to show her how freshness and exposure are not synonymous, follow in rapid succession. Then the nurse takes and records the temperature on the chart, watches the mother as she prepares the milk according to directions previously given, and reminds her how dangerous it will be if she disobeys orders and yields to the child's clamor for different food.

On the next street lives a Russian Jewess who has sent for the doctor in great distress. Everything is dirty and neglected; there is no one to interpret between nurse and patient, but signs and gestures are intelligible, and in a little while the nurse brings order out of chaos, has some water heated, and is ready to give the restless, homesick woman a clean, comfortable bed, supplied, if possible, from the bureau in the room, but if that is not possible, from the Loan Closet of the Association. With the woman bathed, her hair brushed, and the bed freshened, the doctor's prescription can be followed. Then, knowing how much better it is for these poor people to help one another, the nurse goes through the tenement till she finds a kindly-disposed neighbor who consents to come in occasionally and look after the sufferer, and who will perhaps clean up the room or let her child go to the Diet Kitchen for the milk and eggs for which the doctor has signed the order. At the next house an ulcer is to be dressed, and the nurse sits by while a young daughter of the patient takes off carefully the old bandage. After the leg is cleaned and ready for a fresh bandage the girl brings with pride one which she has prepared "like Nurse's," and under the careful eye of her teacher puts it on for her mother,—a little awkwardly perhaps, but she is learning, and it answers the purpose.

And so it goes on all day long, back and forth, up and down, till evening comes ; and everywhere the nurse has been the best friend that any of these people know. Children follow her on the street, women brighten and call to her as they see her pass, and although she wears no uniform or badge, even rough men step aside and, with a respectful bow, let her pass. She is known through all the streets of her district, and it may be she has been the only messenger of sunshine and health and hope that some of these discouraged and half-defeated ones have ever seen.

If the children of to-day can be taught how to prepare simple and wholesome foods, how to keep their homes in crowded tenements decently clean and ventilated, how to apply preventive remedies in the first stages of illness, and above all, to respect the sanctity of private life,—is there not reason to believe that in no distant day our poorer quarters will become less of a menace to public health and safety? Whether such hope be justified or not, the effort must be persisted in, and ought to recommend itself to the support not merely of the philanthropist and the humanitarian, but of the most self-absorbed of all dwellers in great cities. From the standpoint of self-preservation alone no one can afford to withhold his aid to the maintenance and extension of all work which directly seeks to improve the health of the poorest citizens, and this work must be continued all the more persistently while the present flood of immigration supplies the lowest stratum of society with increment from the Old World.

Few people stop to think how direct and intimate is their connection with the careless, the filthy, and the ignorant classes of their own city. Yet sanitary science has demonstrated that just so long as the families of the well-to-do are served by domestics whose friends live in the narrow streets and crowded houses of the poorer districts, the peril of direct infection will never be absent. The servant of a wealthy family who visits some friend for an evening and who there fondles an ailing child may return to care for the children of her employer, and these a little later become ill with diphtheria, for which neither mother nor physician can account. Does not a work which seeks to prevent or lessen the chances of such a catastrophe deserve, for this reason if for no other, most serious consideration and generous support?

MARY K. SEDGWICK.

THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF ARMENIA : A SUGGESTION.

AT a time when the antagonism between Christian and Mohammedan in the East has again reached the acute stage, circumstances happen to have directed the attention of the writer of this article to the subject of the Military Brotherhoods of the Middle Ages, and thence he has been insensibly but almost inevitably led to consider some of the resemblances and differences between the age of the First Crusade—in which the Military Brotherhoods had their rise—and the present time.

In several respects the two eras are alike. The eleventh century, like the nineteenth, opened with expectations of vast changes; and the anticipated advent of the Millennium, with its new heaven and its new earth, hardly excited more visionary and extravagant hopes than the reign of universal fraternity which the French Revolution appeared to be ushering in. Later in both epochs, when these bright hopes had paled and faded into the wan reality of evils uncured and the continued strife of nation against nation, there came for both centuries a time when the sun seemed struggling through the clouds; and the proclamation of the Truce of God as a remedy for the misery of the peasant is perhaps comparable—at any rate as a protest against oppression—to the philanthropic legislation in England which has lately produced the Truck and Factory Acts. About the same time too, in both centuries, a new power seemed to have arisen to effect the unity of that somewhat vague collection of peoples, which one age has called “Christendom,” and the other, “the civilized world”: Hildebrand’s lever was to be the universal authority of the Church; while that of the doctrinaire economists of the middle Victorian era was to be universal Free Trade. Furthermore, toward the end of both centuries Mohammedan cruelty to Eastern Christians kindled in Western nations a fierce resentment, and the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities of our own time were foreshadowed eight hundred years ago by the renewal of the massacres of the pilgrims at Jerusalem. And lastly, just as in the present century there has been a greater development of philanthropy in the establishment of humanitarian institutions than the world has ever before seen, so the eleventh, if it were remarkable for nothing else,

should be gratefully remembered as the foster-mother of a particular class of such institutions ; for it was about the year 1020 that some pious merchants of Amalfi founded that brotherhood for the relief of the sick and poor at Jerusalem which was afterward transformed into the illustrious Order of the Knights of St. John.

It is not necessary to detail at any great length all the differences between the two ages. A dozen will at once occur to the reader. The most noticeable points of contrast are, perhaps, the difference between the position and power of Mohammedanism then and now, and the change from the mediæval to the modern conception of the necessary connection between design and execution. The Turk, who then was, and for centuries after was to be, the dread of Europe, is now its scorn, and his continued occupation of Constantinople is only possible for a single day because of the inability of the Great Powers to arrange to their general satisfaction the division of his cis-Hellespontine territories. Yet, enormous as this political change is, it is no greater than that intellectual change which has remodeled our ideas of the relation between the means and the end. Mr. Bryce observes in his "Holy Roman Empire" that,

"In the Middle Ages men's impulses were more violent and their conduct more reckless than is often witnessed in modern society, while the absence of a criticising and a measuring spirit made them surrender their minds more unresistingly than they would now do to a complete and imposing theory."

In fact the child-nations of the earlier age have now become men and learned to look before they leap ; and an enterprise far less difficult than that which the Crusading hosts undertook—as by one impulse, and almost, we are tempted to imagine, without one thought—has within the last twelvemonth been definitely abandoned even before the full cost had been reckoned. With us the question is not merely, Is the end attainable? but, Is it, even if attainable, worth the means to be employed? With them the question was simply, What is the end? Once clearly recognized, that end was attained or attempted in a Bala-klava-like spirit which, if not war, was at least magnificent.

Seldom has the modern attitude been more explicitly stated than by the present British Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Curzon observed, during the debate on Armenia in the House of Commons, that "Crusades to-day must bear not only a chivalrous but a practical aspect." The declaration marks the distance which separates Mr. Curzon or even Mr. Gladstone from Peter the Hermit or

Walter the Penniless, for nothing is more striking than the fact that eight centuries ago the practical aspect was far more completely ignored by Christendom than even the chivalrous aspect is at present. Without military leaders, organization, transport, commissariat, or any clear idea whatever, except that of pressing onward to the rising sun, a vast crowd of 60,000 persons streamed on in motley disorder in the tracks of the goose and the goat which strayed onward before them. Thousands died by the way in Germany, Hungary, and the Eastern Empire, and the rest were cut to pieces almost as soon as they had landed on the shores of Asia. Even the more organized armies which followed that first mad rush had notions but little clearer of the means of attaining their object, and of the 700,000 men who mustered on the far side of the Bosphorus, not one in twenty reached Jerusalem. But though "the aggregate of human suffering and the waste of human power" thus displayed seem terrible to us who have just reluctantly come to the conclusion that the "Armenian atrocities" are not worth a great European war, we cannot, even at this distance of time, help feeling a thrill of emotion at the heroism which could inspire and endure such sacrifices for the sake of an idea. Despite Burke's famous utterance, the age of chivalry is not passed, and the very fact that hostile operations against Turkey were, and to some extent still are, seriously contemplated shows that it is not. All we require now is that, before we give it free scope, our chivalry shall be practical,—that is, that it shall have at least a chance of achieving its object, and that the object shall be to the general benefit. For this kind of chivalry, it seems to the writer, there is still room in the world, and it is toward a definite object that he would like to see it directed.

Political prophecy is notoriously hazardous, and even an opinion which is held by a large majority of dispassionate observers is often ill-founded. But it does sometimes happen that the writing on the wall is distinct enough, not only to need no prophet to interpret it to the king, but to be intelligible to all who see it. When Lord Salisbury uttered his memorable warning, that persistent and constant misgovernment must lead the Power that followed it to its doom, it must have been plain to all Europe that Ab-dul-Hamid had been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and, though a little longer time in which to put his house in order might still remain to him, his kingdom seemed already to be divided among other nations. In other words, the inevitable has become the imminent, and there is undoubt-

edly an enormous preponderance of opinion to the effect that before the first quarter of the twentieth century has elapsed, the Empire of the Sultan as we know it to-day will have been broken up.

Such an anticipation will arouse feelings of regret or delight, of dismay or triumph, according to the political and religious prepossessions of different persons. But in one sentiment almost everyone will join—in grave apprehension for the safety of the Christian subjects of the Sultan. In Turkey in Asia and Turkey in Europe together there are some 4,000,000 Christians under the direct government of the Porte, the Armenians alone numbering over 2,000,000; and one of the strongest arguments in favor of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Turkey has been that such interference, whether successful or unsuccessful, would immediately stir up against these the relentless revenge of the dominant race. The Moslem, fanatically cruel in the hour of victory, is doubly so in the hour of defeat, and if the Ottoman Empire goes down in that "tempest of blood and fire" which has been predicted for it, the consequences to its political and religious foes will be terrible. In European Turkey the Christians are accustomed to act together, and they have powerful nations within hail. The struggle there will be on somewhat equal terms. But in Asiatic Turkey, between Mohammedan Kurds and Mohammedan soldiers, the Armenians might be almost blotted out in a single week. Here then, if anywhere, is a field for the practical chivalry of this later age—the protection of Christians in the East.

"Chivalrous," it may be urged, "but hardly practical!" "Ships," as Lord Salisbury has said, "cannot operate in the mountains of Asia Minor, and before troops could arrive in the interior, the massacres of Sassun might have been repeated in twenty different places." There is considerable force in the objection. It has never been accounted useless, however, to lock the stable door *before* the steed is stolen, and the object of this paper is to suggest a means of averting the evil.

Few more striking instances of complete change of ideal could be given than that afforded by the history of the Military Brotherhoods of the Middle Ages. Remembering a few passages in "Ivanhoe" or "The Talisman," a few denunciations by Carlyle, or a few sarcasms of Voltaire, we are in the habit of regarding them as successively haughty, despotic, unprincipled, wealthy, luxurious, useless, and finally mischievous Orders, about whom when we have admitted that they were brave, we have said almost all the good we can. Yet, if they deserved such a description at all, it was only in their later stages and when they

had lost sight of their original ideals. Indeed, they were at first for the most part purely charitable organizations, founded for the relief of poor pilgrims, and it was only when they extended their work of mercy from the hospital to the battle-field that they took up arms and became the terror of the infidel and the solace of the Christian. But even then their work was by no means exclusively military or therapeutic. Lands accrued to them in every country in Europe, and their priors and preceptors became stewards of great estates. In two instances too—and this more nearly concerns our present purpose—an Order took possession of a large tract of country for its own occupation. The Knights of St. John found the island of Rhodes a wilderness and left it a garden: the Teutonic Knights found East Prussia a swamp and left it a fruitful field. Yet all the time they kept the maintenance of their faith, whether against Moslem or pagan, steadily in view, and were always as ready to attack the infidel as to defend the Christian.

To-day the Turk needs no attacking: the "Sick Man" may be left to meet his approaching dissolution. But during those last hours the Christian may need protecting, and as it seems hopeless to expect any help from the Concert of Europe,—while the intervention of a single nation seems equally out of the question,—it is only from some voluntary organization that help can come. To be strong enough, such an organization must be military; to be imposing enough, it must be non-national, or rather open to, and supported by, the Great Powers; to be above suspicion, it must work without thought of gain, and whatever surplus there may be of income over expenditure must be devoted to the further development of agriculture and industry. An institution—call it a Brotherhood, a Society, a Company, or what you will—conducted on these lines would have at any rate the chance of great usefulness.

"This is all very well," it may be urged, "but how are you going to construct such a Society, and how in constructing it are you going to avoid arousing political jealousies which would shipwreck the whole scheme at the start?" The answer is that such a Society exists to our hand; for in England, Germany, Italy, and Spain there still survive fragments of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; the French "*langue*" has only recently been suppressed; and in Russia, even in this century, not only has a new Priory been created, but the Czar has accepted the position of Protector of the Order.¹ If these fragments

¹ Porter: "Knights of Malta."

could be brought into touch with each other there would be at once, ready-made, the ancient framework on which a modern Brotherhood could be built up.

Metaphor at times deceives us, and we are often led to trace an analogy, which does not exist in fact, between the corporate life and nature of an institution and the corporeal life and instincts of a man. Yet if ever there were an excuse for such argument by analogy there would be an excuse in the case of the Order of St. John, which has at times seemed inspired with a conscious life of its own, and whose history during seven centuries has been one continual and on the whole successful effort to adapt itself to altered circumstances. Before the First Crusade, as has been said above, it had its origin as a hospice for sick and poor pilgrims, whose nurses and monks were already engaged in their works of mercy when, just eight centuries ago, the trumpet tones of Peter the Hermit were summoning Europe to the defence of the holy shrines. With the first successes of the Christians in the East the Order was reorganized and became a military and a monastic as well as a charitable Order. Till the end of the thirteenth century its Knights, with those of the Temple, formed "the regular militia of the Holy Land," and when Palestine was finally lost to Christendom, it found—first in Cyprus and then successively in Rhodes and Malta—an opportunity of carrying on its self-imposed task. Its occupation of Rhodes undoubtedly saved Rome from the fate of Constantinople, and its possession of Malta proved a great check upon the pirates of the North African coast, for both islands were fortified with such skill that for ages all attacks on them failed; and thus possessing an impregnable citadel, the Order was able to extend its maritime supremacy over the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean. It was only when the hurricane of the French Revolution was uprooting the firmest institutions in Europe that the destruction of the Order was apparently accomplished; and yet since then it has again adapted itself to its environment and shown signs of life in various countries. In England it has thrown out one branch which has developed into "The National Society for the Aid of Sick and Wounded in War," and another which has become widely known as "The St. John Ambulance Association." In Germany the Bailiwick of Brandenburg, under its better known name of "the Johanniter," not only did notable service to the wounded on the field in the wars of 1866 and 1870, but took a prominent part in carrying out the Geneva Convention. In Jerusalem, however, is to be found at once the most ancient and the most modern development

of all, viz., the Ophthalmic Dispensary, where a wholly non-sectarian work is being performed by the same society, on the same lines, and in the same place, as when it was begun 850 years ago.

The framework is already to our hand, then, and in being international and charitable it fulfils two of the three necessary requirements. The third or military side of its constitution it could reassume to-day even more easily than it assumed it in the eleventh century, for there is more enterprise and ardor seeking vent now than even at the time of the First Crusade.

Nor would such an enterprise be any real novelty. It is not necessary to lay much stress on the ancient connection between the military orders and the Christians of Asia Minor, though it had important consequences in the Middle Ages. Yet in the last twenty years history has been repeating itself, and the establishment of Military Consuls in Armenia and Anatolia may be regarded as a tentative step in the direction of European guardianship against Mussulman injustice.

The establishment of Military Consuls, however, did not have a fair chance. They only began their labors in the summer of 1879, and in 1881 they were recalled. But in that short time they showed that great possibilities of usefulness lay before them. Mr. H. F. Tozer, —till lately a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and a well-known authority on Eastern matters,—when traveling in Asia Minor seventeen years ago, formed great hopes of the success of the new system. They were not, he says, fixed like ordinary consuls in any one city, but held a roving commission within a certain area, and were to collect information, especially as to commercial matters, as well as to be a continual protest against wrong-doing. In Kaisariyeh he found the new consul "occupied all day and every day in investigating all kinds of grievances." An American missionary in Kharput in the course of a conversation with him "thought that they might in time assume the position of 'residents' or authoritative advisers, and thus gradually become possessed of a more definite control." Even the news of their coming excited great expectations of real reforms, some of which might by this time have been carried out if the consuls had been able to acquire any administrative control.¹

Mr. Tozer's reflections on the subject of the industrial future of the country are worthy of careful consideration. After noticing the ex-

¹ "Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor," by the Rev. H. F. TOZER, pp. 30-32.

traordinary fertility of the soil—a matter which Colonel Burnaby¹ had emphasized a year or two before—and pointing out that it affords “ample openings for colonization,” he touched on the corruption of officials and the ignorance of the government—which disgusts even the Turks,—and proceeded to inquire for a remedy. The presence of a few consuls, however vigorous and able, was inadequate. A native government was impossible, because of the antagonism of creeds. Political jealousy must prevent any European state from undertaking the administration. A fourth suggestion—“the formation of an independent state by the combined action of the Great Powers”—seemed “outside the sphere of practical politics.”² Later in the book, however, he suggested three remedies which would at all events ameliorate the condition of the people; namely, the appointment of a Christian governor, to secure the inhabitants against speculation and oppression; the formation of a local militia, to protect them against the Kurds; and the expenditure of the revenue on local objects, to develop their resources.³ Now it is important to note that these three would all be attained by, and indeed if summarized would almost imply, the establishment of some such institution as has been suggested above.

It would be foolish to ignore the difficulties in the way of putting such a scheme into practice. Leaving aside for the moment the arrangement of details, we have the political difficulty to face. Jealousy, as Mr. Tozer well says, must prevent any European nation from being allowed to undertake the enterprise single-handed, and his further criticism, that the formation of an independent state by the combined powers was outside the sphere of practical politics, seems justified by the obvious reflection that Russia would not permit any military occupation of the country. Yet it may be doubted whether such a reflection, though obvious, is correct. Russia has already as large an extent

¹ “We rode over rich soil which had been left fallow for miles around. ‘There are not inhabitants enough to cultivate the land,’ was the guide’s answer to a question on the subject. He was doubtless right. Asia Minor needs a three-fold population to develop its natural wealth. . . . It could supply the whole of Great Britain with corn, and the mines of coal and of other minerals would prove a source of immense wealth to the inhabitants.” (“On Horseback through Asia Minor,” p. 172.) “It surprises a traveller to find that the Turks make so little use of their mines. In the course of my ride I passed through a country apparently abounding in iron, and with many traces of coal. At Madeh there is copper and silver. With intelligent engineers to explore the mineral wealth, Turkey would be able not only to pay the interest of her debt, but to become one of the richest countries in the world.” (*Ibid.*, p. 168.)

² *Ibid.*, pp. 185–94.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 418–19.

of territory as she can comfortably control ; her orthodox rulers know well enough that they would be likely to have as much trouble with the Monophysite Eutychians of Armenia as they had with the Catholics of Poland ; and, most important of all, her real interests do not at all lie in Asia Minor or in Armenia. The possession of the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, and a ten-mile strip round the Sea of Marmora are worth more to her than the whole of the ancient kingdom of Rûm, with Armenia and Kurdistan thrown in. The reason is evident. Between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean runs a great mountain-barrier, through which no stream passes, and from which no river of any importance, save the Hermus and the Meander, flows southward or westward into the open sea. At the general overturn Russia, as some say, will, or, as others say, will not, get Constantinople. If she does, she will not want the added responsibility of Turkey in Asia ; if she does not, its possession will be of no solace and of no use to her, for the mountains will still lie between her and her next natural objective—Mesopotamia and the road to the Persian Gulf,—as they lie now between Transcaucasia and the Mediterranean.

Yet even if the great Slavonic nation had the universal greed which English Russophobes attribute to her, she need see nothing alarming in the prospect of such an occupation. It is not suggested that it should be more than a temporary expedient with which to bridge over in safety a time of transition. No other European nation has any interest at all in Armenia except the interest of humanity, and Russia is near enough to anticipate any movements which may seem to threaten any interests which she has in that part of the world. Moreover, it would be a distinct gain for Russia—even assuming that she is to be the heir of the Asiatic possessions of the Porte west of the forty-second and north of the thirty-sixth parallel—that she should enter into the enjoyment of the vineyards and olive-trees which she planted not, rather than into the costly and laborious task of developing the resources of a country which for centuries has suffered from neglect, ignorance, and oppression.

It remains to put into shape the proposal to which all these considerations tend.

Ever since the Treaty of Vienna the Great Powers have claimed a gradually increasing right to regulate the affairs of the Porte—as Professor Holland¹ puts it, “to supervise the solution of the Eastern ques-

¹ Introduction to “The Eastern Question,” by T. E. HOLLAND, D. C. L., Chichele Professor of International Law at Oxford University.

tion, or, in other words, to regulate the disintegration of Turkey." "The Turkish Empire," he declares, "is placed as it were under the tutelage of Europe, while the claim of any single Power to settle the destinies of that Empire without the concurrence of the rest has been repeatedly negatived." In Greece, Egypt, Syria, the Balkans, and the Islands, as well as in Asia Minor, this right has been freely exercised, and it is now a truism of morals that the Great Powers have the responsibility of, as it has long been a truism of politics that they have the requisite authority for, the enforcement of good government. Yet good government has proved impossible of attainment, and there was never less promise of it than at this moment. In Article 61 of the Berlin Treaty the Sublime Porte undertook "to carry out without delay the improvements and reforms demanded by local requirements in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and Kurds,"—a promise which had previously been made to England separately, in return, not for the cession of Cyprus, as is so often alleged, but for the undertaking to protect Asiatic Turkey against further Russian aggression. The occurrences of the last two years show that no attempt has been made to fulfil these engagements, and the recent confession of the mingled impotence and disinclination of the Great Powers to enforce them makes one despair of their being any more conscientiously observed in the future than in the past. There is thus on the one hand no question of the right of Europe to insist that Turkey shall take whatever steps the Powers may agree in considering necessary for that purpose, and on the other very little of its inability, perhaps even of its disinclination, to ensure that those steps shall be taken.

Yet if the nations, as political units, are shy of meddling in the matter, there are in almost every nation many individuals who would gladly see it dealt with, and to whom the news of the state of things prevailing in Armenia came with a shock of horror and humiliation. They are of all ages and all classes; some of them young and some old, some of them rich and some poor, some of them hotly adventurous and some more coolly philanthropic; but they represent—in England at least, and probably in more than one other country—a large proportion of the nation. In politics—more especially in foreign politics—they are not apt to interfere, but their dissatisfaction is none the less strong for being suppressed. To such a class of observers, and I believe it to be a very large class, this paper is addressed. International action may be impracticable from the impossibility of securing a cor-

dial international agreement. National action may be impossible just because it is national. But action of some kind must be undertaken unless the Armenian massacres are to be repeated at the first unlucky opportunity. National and international action having failed, there remains voluntary action, and for voluntary action to be effectual, it is not in this case necessary that it should be initiated by national or international intervention. That weapon would be in the background, and could be employed with far more force on the occasion of the very first dispute.

It may seem that the mission of this "Brotherhood of St. John"—if I may so style this suggested society—would be in the nature of a forlorn hope, and that the society would be offering itself as a *corpus vile* for a risky though perhaps interesting experiment. If this were so, I do not think it would tell very strongly against the proposal: there are always volunteers in plenty for the forlornest and most dangerous of enterprises. But in truth it would not be so. It is not to be supposed that a few enthusiasts would recklessly scatter themselves over the provinces of Asiatic Turkey, and proceed to defend the oppressed and defy the oppressor on every possible occasion. The course of action would probably be of a very different kind. Starting with two or three seaport towns as their base, where they could purchase or construct buildings in strong positions, and where they could act in conjunction with, and as supplementary to, the European consulates, they might gradually extend their influence into the interior as their resources of men and money permitted, till a line of posts was established from sea to sea, with branches diverging laterally into the remote valleys of the interior. Each station would possess its own force of militia or police, and some sort of fortress capable of affording at any rate a temporary protection to fugitives as well as to the members of the Brotherhood; and at longer intervals there might be depots of more considerable size capable of holding out almost indefinitely against the attacks of any save regular troops. There would thus be existing, in the very heart of the now disturbed districts, cities of refuge, so to speak, which would not only be effectual sanctuaries in case of sudden local outbreaks, but would be capable of arresting in some degree the torrent of anarchy which will be let loose in Asia Minor when that country falls or is forced from the grasp of the Turk. These stations would also become in the interval centres of trade and industry, and by being the pioneers of commercial and agricultural development would be the first to profit by every fresh extension of their sphere of

influence; while, as they would not be working for their own enrichment,—and the appropriation to local improvements of all profits above a low fixed rate of interest must be one of the first of their rules,—they would be free from the temptations to which the promoters of less disinterested enterprises are prone. Chartered companies are in bad odor just now, but even Mr. Labouchere would hardly condemn a chartered company whose object was genuinely philanthropic rather than financial.

For such a task the descendants of one of the proudest Orders of chivalry may seem but little fitted; but, in truth, the undertaking would hardly differ more from the ordinary conception of their work and constitution than their own ideal differed from itself at various periods of their history. Who, for instance, could have supposed that the nurses and almoners of the eleventh century would have developed into the valiant knights of the thirteenth, and that they in turn would have suffered such “a sea change” as to become the bold sailors of Rhodes or Malta? Yet the same sentiment underlies all these various manifestations—the eager desire to uphold their own religion and to protect its helpless disciples against “the infidel.” It was only when they lost sight of that ideal, and became, as the Templars and the Teutonic Knights had successively become several centuries earlier, merely self-indulgent members of an anachronous caste, that the career of the Knights of St. John, like that of the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, seemed to have closed. At the very time of their apparent dissolution, however, they passed into yet another incarnation, and are probably at this moment in at least as flourishing a condition as they were eight centuries ago. The world may not be about to see another Crusade—though that is by no means certain—but the Brotherhood of St. John has reverted to its original character. If any human institution is capable of dealing with the perplexing and threatening condition of affairs in the East, it is probably an Order which has behind it so noble a history, and has so often proved at once its pliancy and its toughness.

Since the above was written affairs in Turkey have been going from bad to worse. The massacres in Sassun have been followed by the more dreadful, because more organized, massacres in Constantinople itself; and at the moment of writing comes the news of another outbreak of fanaticism at Kharput, in which 4,000 Armenians are said to have perished. It is evident that what is to be done must be done

quickly. Fortunately, too, it is evident that a widespread and at the same time deep and fiery indignation has at last begun to stir the nations. In Italy, Germany, and France there are symptoms of a feeling which, despite the political exigencies of the moment, may force the hands of the mere *politiques*. England is humming like a hive of angry bees ; a dozen meetings are being held nightly in the small as well as the large towns ; and Mr. Gladstone, the great Achilles of the host, has been persuaded to come forth from his tent. Indeed, one English paper (the "St. James's Gazette") has gone so far as to suggest a new Triple Alliance between England, Italy, and the United States, for the purpose of dealing with the matter, in default of—or even in defiance of—the Concert of Europe. Now, therefore, if ever, is the time for action. If the storm breaks before some kind of shelter has been provided, the Christian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire will be exposed to its full fury. It may be that the storm will be upon them—that the Ottoman Empire will be breaking up—before anything effectual can be done. On the other hand it may be that that Empire will last some years yet. If so, we may be sure that the same raids, the same rapes, the same tortures, the same massacres will be repeated, till either the Armenians are virtually exterminated or some Great Power is shamed into forcible interference. The plan sketched out in this paper would then prevent some misery, be some check on the fury of the oppressor, and offer to at least a few indignant or charitable hearts the chance of defending the defenceless and of relieving the destitute.

W. K. STRIDE.

SHALL THE FRONTIER OF CHRISTENDOM BE MAINTAINED ?

I AM quite aware that, even within the limits of our modern civilization, the answer to this question might not be a unanimous affirmative. The century which now nears its close is the one which has most severely questioned and disputed the rights of the Christian religion to the universal dominion claimed for it by its friends and champions. Much of this questioning has been legitimate and important. Some of it has been deeply reverent and devout; and some, less praiseworthy in spirit. But question is not properly a final result. Those of us who have followed even with the greatest good-will the century's pitiless analysis may now be the first to say: "Enough of the negative side of the discussion. The defects of such Christianity as we have attained have been thoroughly considered and amply shown. We now call for a consideration of the other side. It is time for us to give some attention to the benefits which the Christian religion has conferred on nations and individuals that have received it."

We may as well here recognize the fact that, as Christian civilization has progressed and made itself felt, the general consensus of the human heart and intellect has been increasingly in its favor. The machinery which has organized and administered the Christian church, being of human workmanship, has indeed shared the defective character of all things human. Courageous souls have perceived this fact, and have dared to proclaim it, but they have not risen up against the true spirit of Christ's religion. What they assailed were the false doctrines and unjust assumptions with which human ambition and love of power have clogged its progress and thwarted its true direction. The early English reformers resisted the temporal tyranny and extortion of the Bishops of Rome, not the authority of Christ's gospel. Luther raised his voice against corrupt practices and doctrines which were entirely at variance with the spirit of Christian thought and action. For Christianity pure and simple, he was willing and ready to die. In our own age, Priestley, Channing, and Parker have vindicated the progress of the human understanding as shown in the clearer

interpretation and nearer application of Christian doctrine; but the youngest and boldest of these did not gainsay the profound significance of that doctrine, but only the perversion which it had undergone through centuries of partial and insufficient learning. I endeavor thus, briefly, to bring our consideration of the subject to the standpoint of to-day. Thanks to the chivalrous critics who have preceded us, we are somewhat able at this period to define the boundaries between pure religion and mongrel ecclesiasticism; between what Christ taught and what Alexandria, Nicæa, and Rome have seen fit to teach in His name.

With the effete material which the vitality of the Christian body has enabled it to slough off, I do not desire at the present moment to occupy my readers. What I would fain do, is to rouse the slumbering soul of Christendom to a sense of the value and interest of the truth which remains,—free of so much dross, inevitably gathered and mercifully dismissed,—and to claim for the purer interpretation of the Word the enthusiasm which mankind has shown at divers periods in behalf of its less worthy presentation.

Of one of the ancient errors of judgment above referred to, I must here make mention. It is the supposition, long entertained, that, outside the Jewish and Christian dispensations, mankind at large has had no availing religious experience. We are able at this day to understand and apply Paul's noble saying that God hath not left Himself anywhere on earth without a witness in human consciousness. To this end, he quotes to the Greeks one of their own poets: "For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said." Without Paul's erudition the Apostle Peter learns from his dream and its sequence, that "God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."

The supposed claim of Christianity to the exclusive understanding of things divine, and the deprecation of this claim as illiberal and unjust, are matters that have played an important part in the work of question and analysis which has occupied a part of the religious world in our own time. I think that to-day this reproach can hardly be laid at the door of reasonable Christianity. The holding of a Parliament of Religions in Chicago, in the memorable Columbian year; the devout, harmonious, and reasonable tone of its proceedings; the intense interest with which they were followed;—these facts sufficiently vindicate the vanguard of the Christian church from the views so long

entertained of the futility of all other forms of belief. From my own observation and remembrance, I feel assured that the desire of those who organized and ruled over that assembly was not to force any creed or dogma upon unwilling minds, but to find, among all religions, a fundamental starting-point of agreement,—a belief in the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness of God, and in the witness which these create in the conscience of man, wherever that conscience has been raised above the brute tyranny of instinct and passion. It was a proud day for Christianity when it felt itself strong enough to open its doors to all believers, inviting them all to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness. Some words were said in that Parliament from which Christendom can not go back.

“Religion,” it averred, “is not a thing to conjure by. Neither is it a system of propitiation of one or more jealous and dangerous powers. It is the knowledge of divine love, and of its correspondence in the noblest of human affections. Worship is the homage paid to a Benefactor whose benefactions are inexhaustible. It is Man’s induction into his true inheritance, the knowledge of this Almighty friend, and the love which His love should call forth and diffuse among all human brethren.”

One truth the Parliament surely implied, though it did not specifically put it on record,—the truth that religious liberty is essential to religious life, and that no zeal for doctrine of any kind warrants the followers of that doctrine in considering as forfeit the life and human rights of those who do not accept it. Christendom itself has but lately attained this standpoint. Cruel wars have waged between Christians of different churches; persecution, rack and torture, flame and faggot, have been employed by people professing Christianity against Christians differing from them in views of theology and church government. We have passed beyond this now, and could no more go back to it than we could set aside the Copernican system and return to the astronomy of the ancients.

But from the old-time disputes between different bodies of Christians, Europe has inherited a plague-sore which to-day afflicts it to the very core. The mutual jealousies of the Greek church and the church of Rome allowed the remnant of the Byzantine Empire to fall into the hands of the Turk. Barbarism established itself in the city of the Cæsars. A religion based upon the bloody conquest and extirpation of unbelievers erected its shrines above the altars of Christendom, which it bathed in Christian blood. The political jealousies of Europe have made this barbarous power at home within the

borders of civilization. From time to time it has waved its bloody banner and sounded its savage tocsin. For ages it ground Christian Greece beneath its feet. Its officials cut out the tongues of Christian mothers in order that they should not teach their children the faith of their ancestors. In its brutal vocabulary, "dog" is the synonym for "Christian." In the first quarter of this century, it dared in the face of all Europe to perpetrate a wholesale massacre upon the inhabitants of the Greek island of Scio. Europe did not care much about this, but Lord Byron and Dr. Howe did care, and a youthful band of Philhellenes shamed the hoary diplomacy of Europe. The leaven of freedom now wrought a general uprising, and Greece threw off the shameful yoke. Within our own recollection, Crete rose up, and Europe aided the Turk in suppressing her efforts, thus confirming his bloody and barbarous rule.

And now, while we, grandparents of this generation, still linger to behold the things which are done under the sun, the Turk and his coadjutors have made unprovoked war upon a peaceful and unoffending people within their borders. They have glutted their cruel greed with the blood of thousands of Christian men, women, and children. Wholesale slaughter of "Christian dogs" has been their battle-cry. What battle! They have fallen upon defenceless hosts with fire and sword, ignominy and torture. America to-day is feeding the starving population from which Turk and Kurd have taken every necessary of life. And Europe sits quiet, and sees the banner of its Christian faith trampled under foot, and drowned in blood. Voices are raised, here and there, in wheedling and ineffectual protest, but no hand has stirred, no champion has stood forth to offer his brave life for the thousands of lives which have been ruthlessly sacrificed to insatiable greed and impenetrable superstition. Truly, I think that the dying prayer of the Master would avail more for the assassins than for those whose base compliance has suffered the bloody work to proceed. Those indeed know not what they do, following the barbarous maxims of a pre-Christian time; but the others—children of the nineteenth century, with all its enlightenment and lessons fresh in their minds—know full well what they permit and how it should be prevented.

There is a people outside of governments. There is a church outside of sects. To these, in the present distress, we may make appeal. Is this world-nation willing that unarmed and unoffending communities shall be swept out of existence simply to satisfy the love of plunder and the hideous thirst for blood? Is this world-church willing that a creed of bloody conquest shall take the place of a re-

ligion of peace and good-will among men? Are both Nation and Church ready to see the harem replace the Christian home, slavery stand in the room of service, and enlightened conscience strike her flag to Lust, Cruelty, and Rapine? If they are, would that the *fin du siècle* were the *fin du monde*!

But the blood-guiltiness which lies at the door of Europe is not the only evil resulting from the active and passive wickedness of the Turk and his tolerators. In the countries in which his bloody discipline has been allowed to prevail, men and women, with the fire on their roof and the knife at their throat, have to some extent been compelled to renounce their Christian profession in order to save their lives, their children, and their homes. We can imagine a father purchasing thus the honor of his daughters, a mother defending thus the cradle of her babe. But experience shows that these apostate Christians gradually descend to the level of their conquerors, and perhaps fall below it, sinning against a higher culture and a better light. In their offspring the traces of Christian influence become obliterated, and the good work of centuries is lost. Unending mischief to society grows out of these enforced adoptions of the Mussulman creed. Europe, in permitting them, prepares for herself a nursery of dangerous and deadly foes. Subjects and co-religionists of the Turk, these people will hereafter act with him in defence of irresponsible and despotic rule. Despite the prophecy of good Bishop Berkeley, the military progress of the civilized world is now toward the East; so let those whose advance bears the banner of Christian civilization take account of this source of danger—easy to deal with now, but sure to grow more deadly with every year of neglect and permitted existence.

The political economist, Michael Chevalier, some fifty or more years ago, published a work in which he spoke of Russia and America as two young giants, already meeting at the North, and in time destined to come together at the South also. This prediction has not as yet fulfilled itself. On the other hand, Russia and England, representatives of despotism and political freedom, are threatening to come together in the East; not in friendly rivalry as the United States and Russia might have done, but in irreconcilable opposition and deadly conflict. The Turk is now the ally of Russia. See to it, England, that these despotisms, united, do not for all time deprive you of your natural allies, the Christians of the East!

I have said my say; and yet, to the world-church of which I spoke just now, I would gladly make a further appeal. Those of us who

follow the movements of the religious world must have observed among its manifestations that of an increasing desire to be able to take united action against the crying evils which still prevail on earth. The Bishop of Rome places the condition of this accord in the submission of all Protestant sects to his sway. The reunion of Christendom, as I view it, may be promoted in quite another way. The causes which brought about the revolt of Protestantism against the authority of Rome exist to-day as truly as they existed in the times of Wycliffe and of Luther. The universal sway of the Pontiff would be as impossible now as it appeared then. But, instead of an impossible retrogression, can we not go forward to-day to an enthusiasm for Christianity itself which shall impart to the whole Christian body a new unity of sympathy and of action? The flaming heart of Calvary is now the mild and diffused light in which all Christians walk. Can we not heartily greet all who come within its influence? Can not the world-church at large acknowledge this illumination, and turn from its metaphysical differences to give one solemn and united cheer for Truth? And can not this united Christendom set its back against the ocean and its face toward the East, saying: "In the name of God and of Humanity, we will give place to no worship which demands the disregard of human brotherhood or the shedding of human blood. If the creed of Mohammed sanctions the enormities recently perpetrated in its name, we will oppose it with our might, and denounce it as barbarous, accursed, and incompatible with the enlightenment to which civilized Man has attained"?

JULIA WARD HOWE.

MODERN ARCHÆOLOGY: RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.—III.

IN continuation of the recital of the work carried on by the foreign schools of archæology established in Athens, this third article will deal with the exploration of the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Being one of the most important sites in Greece, in point of celebrity and expected results, it was a prize for which the French had long striven, desiring to secure it from the Greek government as the only adequate equivalent of the concession of the Olympian exploration to the Germans. Both were, no doubt, signal favors to two great and friendly nations, and both were conceded not without opposition on the part of Greek archæologists and scholars, who, naturally enough, desired that the *kudos* of the exploration of sites of such paramount importance should rest with the country itself. But the Greek government was morally bound in this matter by the engagement, informal and vague though it was, which its delegates at the Congress of Berlin had assumed toward the late M. Waddington, whose advocacy of the Greek cause on that occasion entitled him to special consideration. Moreover, the French School at Athens had already, in 1881 and 1887, made tentative excavations on the site, under MM. Foucard and Haussoullier, resulting in the discovery of some important data. So that after considerable delay a convention, similar to that regarding Olympia, was signed between Greece and France in April, 1891, the draft of which, however, was dated as far back as 1887.

The recital of these circumstances will prove, I believe, of special interest to American readers. For, while the final negotiations of the convention were in progress, I was approached by a gentleman who was then agitating to secure the concession for the American School, and I was appealed to to use my influence with the Greek Prime Minister, so that preference might be given to the proposals submitted on behalf of that institution. Being then accredited as Greek Minister to the United States as well as to the United Kingdom, I did not fail to urge that request; but I was surprised to be officially informed, in reply, that at the time I had been so approached, and while subscrip-

tions were being collected in America for the sum needed to carry out the provisions of an expected convention as to Delphi, the fact that the Greek government could no longer entertain any other proposals than those of France had already been made known to those who had persisted in the agitation. The funds, however, subscribed meanwhile in America, once collected, were turned to use in prosecuting other excavations at Argos, which, but for this happy coincidence, might perhaps not have been found possible.

In the whole of the ancient world there existed no spot which, to a great religious prestige, combined so widespread a renown and so unrivaled a wealth of artistic treasures as the Oracle of Delphi. Nature herself had endowed it with all that could appeal to the imagination and inspire men with a sense of mystic awe. Landing at Itca and journeying northeast up the small plain of Krissa, the wayfarer enters a mountain-hedged ravine, through which flows the Pleistos, and is soon confronted by a barrier of precipitous crags rising up before him like gigantic buttresses, as if to support the majestic Parnassus, the snow-clad crest of which is seen soaring high into the clouds. At the point where this rocky wall forms an obtuse angle, it is sharply cleft into a narrow chasm hemmed in on each side by stupendous cliffs, whose peaked summits are visible from afar as one approaches Itca from the Gulf of Corinth. They are the famed Phædriades, the shining or resplendent rocks, Nauplia and Hyampeia. Close under the spur of the latter, shaded by two gigantic plane-trees—secular descendants of the old *platanos*, there planted by Agamemnon—springs the ice-cold and crystal-pure water of the Castalian Fountain, at which the pilgrims washed and sprinkled themselves before approaching the oracle. The sanctuary of the god stood to the left, at the foot of the overhanging rocks, on a succession of embankments, terraces, and passages on which rose, amphitheatre-like, a multitude of temples, statues, porticos, and public buildings—all dedicated to the service of Apollo.

It is impossible to conceive a worthier site for a great and mystic shrine. The grand solemnity of immortal Parnassus, the beetling precipices frowning down upon the narrow ravine, the limpid springs bursting out of the rocks, the sudden gusts of wind wildly rushing amid the crags, the mighty echo which resounds along the encircling wall of rocks, form a scene of imposing grandeur and enchanting beauty, which seems to command the enraptured reverence of man. And the religious imagination of the Greeks fixed upon this spot as the abode of a sublime, beneficent, and miracle-working deity.

It was here that, five days after his birth at Delos, the far-darting Apollo slew Pytho, the dragon whose lair was in the grotto of the sibyl, and established his oracle, a source of counsel and comfort to men. Not only Greeks from far and near, but, as Lucian enumerates, "Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Italians, and even Hyperboreans" reverently sought advice of the god in all matters of private interest or of public weal,—from the cure of sickness and guidance in journeys, to the framing of laws and the issue of wars. Herodotus gives a long list of the costly offerings from Asiatic sovereigns; the Greek cities paid a fixed annual tribute to the god; and their colonies, most of which were established on the advice or at the command of the oracle, all sent rich gifts. An enormous harvest of wealth was thus gathered at Delphi, which soon became also the centre of the most ancient confederation of Greek states. As early as 596 B.C. the Delphic Amphictyony, under the direction of Solon, waged the First Sacred War against the neighboring Krissæans, who paid for their systematic depredations on pilgrims to the shrine by the destruction of their city and the annexation of their rich plain to the sacred domain. With the spoils of this war the Pythian games were founded in 586 B.C. and continued to be celebrated every fourth year.

The great temple of the god having been destroyed by fire some forty years later, the Amphictyons decided to rebuild it on a scale of magnificence commensurate with the wealth and fame of the oracle. Of the 300 talents (\$575,000) required—a very great sum according to the value of money at that time—a fourth was supplied by the Delphic treasury, and the rest was defrayed by contributions of the Hellenic world; Amasis, the king of Egypt, also claiming the privilege to subscribe.

The enormous riches thus gradually centred at Delphi naturally attracted the cupidity of the invading Persians who, in 480 B.C., attacked the sanctuary. The Delphians retreated before overwhelming odds, but the god himself worked prodigies of storm and thunder. An earthquake cleft the rocks of Parnassus asunder, crushing many of the pillagers to death, while the rest were put to flight by the Delphians who, now encouraged by shouts of victory proceeding from the temple of Athena Pronoia, had sallied forth from their hiding-place. No less miraculous was deemed the repulse of the Gauls under Brennus in 279 B.C., when again the elements interposed, the overhanging rocks were rent, and the heroes of old, rising from their tombs, led the people against the dismayed barbarians. This victory, which was actually due

to the bravery of the Ætolians, is specially memorable in connection with the subject of this article, because of the remarkable discovery to which I shall refer hereafter.

The Second Sacred War, waged (357–346 B.C.) against the Phocians who had sought to appropriate the plain of Krissa, was instrumental in establishing the power of Philip of Macedon in Greece. But it was only under the Romans that the pillage of Delphi actually began. Sulla first seized the treasure for the payment of his troops, besieging Athens in 86 B.C. Nero carried away 500 bronze statues, and, having been rebuked by the god for the murder of his mother, he parceled out the plain of Krissa among his soldiers and abolished the oracle. It was restored by Hadrian, and regained much of its former splendor under the Antonines. Pliny states that in his time there were still left some three thousand statues at Delphi. But Constantine appropriated most of these for the adornment of his new capital (A.D. 330) and removed there many of the other rich offerings, including the famous bronze tripod, formed of three intertwined serpents, which the king of Sparta had dedicated, out of the Persian spoils, in memory of the victory of Plataea, the names of the Greek states being incised on it. What still remains of this most ancient and most renowned of the world's art relics may be seen to this day in the Hippodrome at Constantinople; its very dilapidation recalling a great event—the entry into the imperial city of the conqueror Mohammed II (A.D. 1453), who, with a blow of his iron mace, broke off the head of one of the serpents as he sped on to Santa Sofia. Julian “the Apostate” (A.D. 362) vainly sought to instil new life into the oracle. Its plaintive answer was its last expiring gasp: “Tell the king the fair-wrought dwelling has sunk into the dust; Phœbus has no longer a shelter or a prophetic laurel, neither has he a sparkling fountain: the fair water is dried up.” Finally, fifty years after Constantine, the neophyte Theodosius closed the temples, suppressed the oracle, and the triumphant fervor of the Christians worked havoc on all objects connected with the idolatrous worship.

In spite of repeated plunders, Delphi must have preserved, almost to the last, the appearance of a veritable museum of art, such as Pausanias describes it (A.D. 160). He refers to some one hundred and fifty statues of gods and goddesses, the works of the most celebrated sculptors of antiquity; to ten statues by Phidias, offered by the Athenians in memory of Miltiades and his companions in arms; to the Phryne of Praxiteles; to many effigies of victors at the games, and to other innumerable offerings in marble, bronze, and gold. He describes

the famous paintings of Polygnotus in the *Lesche* (Club-house) of the Cnidians, and he speaks of five temples besides the great shrine of Apollo. Of its two pediments the eastern was devoted to the representation of Apollo and the Muses, and the western to Dionysos and the Thyiades. The scenes figured on the metopes, as described by the chorus in the "Ion" of Euripides, related to the triumphs of gods over monsters; while the two great victories over the barbarian invaders at Delphi were commemorated by golden shields on the architraves, dedicated by the Athenians and the Ætolians respectively. A bronze statue of Homer stood in the *pronaos*, on the walls of which were inscribed the sayings of the Seven Sages; and the iron chair on which Pindar sat when singing his "Hymns" to Apollo was preserved in the cella. Indeed the whole sanctuary typified the attributes of the great God of Light, the personification of Hellenic culture, as opposed to the obscurantism and ignorance of the barbarians. The statue of the god himself stood in the *adyton*, the holy of holies, where few mortals ever set foot, and where the *omphalos*, the navel and centre of the earth, was treasured. The *omphalos* was a white stone in the shape of half an egg, supported by two eagles, which, when sent by Zeus to the East and to the West, met in their onward flight at Delphi. Here also was the fissure through which the narcotic vapors issued; and over it stood the tripod on which the Pythoness, the prophet-maiden, sat and delivered the oracle. Her responses, often incoherent, were communicated to the enquirers in hexameter verse by the priests, all men of vast experience, great learning, and tried sagacity. That their ministry was on the whole beneficent is admitted not only by the testimony of great poets—Pindar, Æschylus, and Sophocles—but by Plato himself, who speaks of the oracle with respect and veneration. Pausanias refers furthermore to the *Stoa* (Portico) of the Athenians; to the eight treasuries of the Hellenic states which had thus permanent establishments at Delphi; to the gymnasium, the theatre, and the *stadion*.

The site of the latter, on the highest point of Delphi, was clearly visible even before the excavations and was known among the peasants as Lakoma, "the hollow." So also the theatre, of which Cyriaco de' Pizzicolle (Cyriacus of Ancona) counted thirty-three rows of seats still standing in 1448, when he visited Greece. Some of the shafts of the temple, remains of the *Stoa*, and a considerable portion of the wall enclosing the sanctuary were also traceable. A number of inscriptions and other fragments were preserved in a rough building in the neighborhood, and during the preliminary excavations the French deter-

mined also the site of the *Lesche*; but the rest of the sacred precinct was entirely covered by the modern village of Kastri. An important contribution to the topography of the site was the detailed plan made in 1888 by Herr Pomtow, who, with true German thoroughness, had marked every vestige of ancient building visible above ground and every house of the modern village.

The villagers, though liberally compensated, were slow to exchange their old homes for the new settlement built for them half a mile farther down the hill, so that the excavations, inaugurated in October, 1892 and continued leisurely until the following spring, were not seriously taken in hand till April, 1894. Since then, however, they have been actively pushed forward by a force of some three hundred and fifty laborers under the superintendence of M. Homolle, the director of the French School. The steep and uneven configuration of the ground and the deep accumulation of soil presented exceptional difficulties; and the assistance of M. Convert, a distinguished French engineer, was called in for the establishment of an extensive system of inclined tramways, whereby the earth is shot down into the gorge of the Pleistos, while hewn stones and other fragments are set aside until their original position and proper destination can be determined.

The explorers had not proceeded far when they came upon indications of the highest interest. During the preliminary excavations the French had opened up a part of the Sacred Way, the main road leading to the temple, and now they discovered at its lower extremity a structure which originally enclosed the statues of the legendary kings of Argos. The pedestals of the statues were found with the names of Danaus, Hercules, Perseus, etc., written in the primitive style from right to left, apparently with the intention of intensifying the impression of remote antiquity, while the signature of the sculptor, Antiphanes of Argos, is inscribed in the usual way from left to right. As the site of this dedication of the Argives is accurately defined by Pausanias, its discovery served as an important guide to the situation of other monuments. Thus, a small structure measuring ten by six metres only, but of exquisite workmanship, unearthed in June, 1893, was ascertained to be the Treasury of the Athenians. Sculptured fragments and blocks of marble, recovered at considerable distances, were easily identified as parts of this building, both by the style and subject of the sculptures which stood on the metopes, and which referred mostly to Theseus and Hercules, and by the sequence of the inscriptions with which the walls of the Treasury were covered and which

related to Athens and to the part taken by Athenians in the Pythian games. The identity of the building, which can now be almost entirely reconstructed, was finally placed beyond doubt by the words *ΑΘΕΝΑΙ . . . ΜΑΡΑΘΩ . . .* which formed part of the dedicatory inscription. It determines the date of the building, erected out of the spoils of Marathon at about 485 B.C.; and M. Homolle speaks of its merits as follows:—"I believe I am not exaggerating in characterizing it as a masterpiece of ancient art. I know of no monument of the beginning of the fifth century of a more careful, delicate, and elegant execution." Of no less importance is the certainty with which the date of the sculptures is fixed, whereby the development of Attic art immediately after the battle of Marathon is definitely ascertained.

But by far the greatest prize was the discovery, among the ruins of the Treasury of the Athenians, of certain inscribed fragments the text of which was accompanied by a musical notation. It became at once manifest that the French explorers had had the good luck to recover undoubted original specimens of Greek music; the only other discovery at all comparable to this having been a very short musical inscription found in 1883 by Prof. Ramsay at Tralles, in Asia Minor, on the monument of one Seikilos.

Our knowledge of the music of the Greeks is based principally on the writings of Plato, Aristotle and his pupil Aristoxenos, Euclid, Nicomachos, Aristides Quintilianus, and, more especially, on the valuable treatise of Alypius. These authors supply a complete theory of the art of music; but of its practice with the Greeks there existed, up to the time of these discoveries, no example other than four manuscript fragments, only one of which—the beginning of Pindar's first Pythic ode—claimed to be of the classic period. This was first published by Athanasius Kircher in 1650, but its authenticity has not yet been established. The other three were transcribed from a manuscript in the library of Cardinal Sant' Angiolo and published in 1581 by Vincentio Galilei, father of the great astronomer, and one of the originators of Italian opera. Of these three specimens—which, with all other available information on the subject, are reproduced in Fr. Beltermann's exhaustive work on Greek music—two are hymns to Calliope and Apollo, attributed to Dionysius, an unknown poet said to have lived in the first half of the fourth century of our era. The third and most perfect of all extant specimens is a hymn to Nemesis by Mesomedes, who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ. These, as well as a very small and uncertain fragment

of the "Orestes" of Euripides (v. 338-343), found among the papyri of the Archduke Reiner and communicated by Mr. Charles Wessely of Vienna to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in June, 1892 (published in the "Revue des Études Grecques," V, 265-280, with notes by M. C. E. Ruelle), formed the sum total of our acquaintance with the practice of Greek music.

It is therefore easy to conceive the importance attached to the discovery of the Delphic musical inscriptions. Of these, the one best preserved dates, as the style of the letters indicates, from the third century B.C., is inscribed on a stele, and consists of twelve couplets preceded by a honorific decree in favor of the composer Aristonous. Two other fragments contain the now famous "Hymn to Apollo," which has already become the subject of a considerable body of literature. Its text was first edited by M. Weil,¹ who considers it to have been composed at Athens for the *soteria*, the thanksgiving festival celebrated by the Athenians and the Ætolians in commemoration of the repulse of the Gauls. Their rout at Delphi saved the rest of Greece from invasion; and a *theoria*, or sacred embassy, was deputed by Athens to offer thanksgiving for the intervention of the god, whose victory over the dragon was but the antetype of his annihilation of the barbarians. The poet then sings the praise of Athena and the glory of her immortal city; and at this point the second fragment breaks off. Such is the theme of this grand hymn, which was chanted by the noblest maidens of Athens as they advanced at the head of the procession, past the Castalian spring and up the Sacred Way, to the Shrine of Apollo.

This invaluable find was the fruit of the first autumn's campaign. In the following spring it was found possible to supplement and piece together some twenty other fragments constituting another similar hymn, the last line of which is, in this case, followed by a Delphic decree in honor of the author. This second hymn is also addressed to Apollo, whose protection it invokes for Delphi, for Athens, and for the government of Rome. It, therefore, dates after 145 B.C. when Rome subdued Greece.

The musical notation on all these inscriptions, as in the manuscript specimens above referred to, is expressed by the letters of the Greek alphabet which, when marked upright, inverted, or tilted forward, over the syllables of the text, indicate the various notes. Two sets of such musical symbols were in use with the Greeks: the one was vocal and

¹ "Bulletin de Correspondance Hellenique," xvii, 561-583. Also "La Musique des Hymnes de Delphes," by TH. REINACH. *Ibid.* p. 584-610.

is employed in the first; the other, instrumental and figures in the second of the two hymns to Apollo. As, however, the instrumental accompaniment would hardly have been noted at the sacrifice of the song itself, we must infer that not only the voices sang in unison, but that, in this instance at least, instruments and voices were in unison. With the aid of Alypius, M. Theodore Reinach transcribed the earlier of the two hymns into modern notation, although this provides for twelve notes only; whereas the Greeks, with a finer perception of sound, used twenty-one notes within the octave. He was therefore obliged to raise the pitch of some notes, to lower that of others, and even to employ the same modern note in representing two different Greek symbols. These and other conclusions of M. Reinach have been criticised by Mr. Cecil Torr in an able pamphlet just issued,—“On the Interpretation of Greek Music.” However this may be, the hymn discovered and deciphered by the descendants of the invaders whose discomfiture it celebrated, was, for the first time after a lapse of nearly twelve centuries, again sung on March 27, 1894, before the King of the Hellenes, at Athens where it had been originally composed.

A discovery so absorbing in its scientific interest and so striking in its romantic associations could but add to the enthusiasm of the explorers. Their expectations were centred on the site of the great temple of Apollo, which, however, ultimately yielded less than the least sanguine might have hoped. The lines of the foundations were clearly traced, the *adyton* was found marked by a large depression, and the aqueduct, which carried under the temple the waters of the Cassiotis spring, was discovered. Valuable information as to the rebuilding of the temple and its subsequent vicissitudes was also derived from the discovery of another hymn, in honor of Dionysos, dating from the latter part of the fourth century, which, though unaccompanied by musical notation, is full of historic interest. But not a fragment of sculpture and but few pieces of architectural importance have been unearthed. The only explanation seems to be, that some later Roman or Byzantine emperor must have made a clean sweep, not only of the statues and offerings in the temple, but of the sculpture of the pediments, of which Pausanias speaks as the work of Praxias and Androsthene.

The excavators were, however, repaid in another direction. Important and most valuable remains of three more treasuries were soon found. Opposite the Treasury of the Athenians stood that of the Bœotians; built, in the shape of a Doric temple, of a fine quality of

bluish limestone. The numerous inscriptions which covered the walls, and now help partly to reconstruct them, serve also to identify the building, referring as they do to Bœotian and principally Theban matters. On a commanding position between the two treasuries, and forming with them a large square into which the Sacred Way debouches, rose the Treasury of the Siphnians, the remains of which fully bear out the account of Pausanias as to its splendor and richness. The Siphnians, who had grown wealthy from their gold-mines, kept the oracle in good humor by devoting to it yearly a tenth of their produce. The profuse decoration of the doorways, cornices, and entablatures of their treasury—built entirely of Parian marble—are, in point of conception and execution, fully equal to those of the Erechtheion at Athens; while the sculptures of the extensive frieze,—14 metres in length and 0.65 in height—almost all of which have been recovered and reconstructed, are the most perfect and most beautiful examples we possess of the archaic art of the sixth century at the moment of its development into the unsurpassed style of Phidias. The various mythological subjects represented by these sculptures are no longer a matter of conjecture, since it has been ascertained that the name of each figure was painted above or under it. The paint has disappeared, but the scratches made by the painter for his guidance are still sufficiently distinct to be deciphered with some care. The vigor of conception and the delicacy of execution of the frieze—casts of which are already exhibited at the Louvre—led to the supposition that it was the work of Athenian artists. M. Homolle, however, has, after some difficulty, deciphered an inscription, incised in Argive characters on the shield of one of the figures, which leaves no doubt that these sculptures are of the art of Argos. The figures which adorned the pediment have also been recovered and present many peculiarities. Of a less advanced school of art, they are inferior in technique. The upper part of the figures is cut out in the round, while the lower portion is only in relief. They all bear traces of rich coloring, and the harness, spear, arrow-heads, etc., were in metallic applications. Another treasury, identified as that of the Sicyonians, has been unearthed lower down the Sacred Way. Its sculptured metopes—relating to the legends of the Dioscuri, the Argonauts, and the rape of Europa—are of delicate and careful workmanship of the sixth century; they were originally entirely colored.

Close to the Treasury of the Siphnians four caryatides were discovered. They were at first attributed to that building, but are now believed

to have supported, on the *polos*—the tiara-like head-dress, decorated with delicate reliefs, with which they are crowned—a separate portico or tribune of some kind. They are of an early date, the drapery being treated in the style of the archaic statues of the Acropolis at Athens. A little beyond the Treasury of the Athenians the colossal Sphinx, the emblem of music and prophecy, mentioned by Pausanias as having been dedicated by the Naxians, has been found almost intact and has now been set up again on the imposing monumental column on which it originally stood. The pedestals of the statues of Lysander and his allies, dedicated after the battle of Ægospotamos, have been unearthed; that of Lysander, with the inscription of Ion the Samian, recording the downfall of the power of Athens. The bronze statues themselves were no doubt carried away at an early date. Similar must have been the fate of the statue of Philopoemen, dedicated by the Achæans, the pedestal of which has also been recovered.

The theatre, situated above the temple of Apollo, is in so good a preservation as to rank after that of Epidauros, which is practically intact. In its present condition the building dates from the Roman times. The *stadion*, still higher up the hill, built originally of Parnassus limestone, was reconstructed by Herodes Atticus with marble from Pentelicus. Its exploration, which is still proceeding, has revealed, on one of the blocks of the southern wall, an inscription of the utmost interest, dating from the sixth century. It forbids, under pain of heavy fines, the use of new wine by those training for the foot-races. This and another inscribed decree of the fourth century, relating to a case of bankruptcy, fixing the rate of interest, and regulating the mode of lending money, are among the most remarkable of the rich and voluminous body of Delphic inscriptions, several of which were found imbedded in the pavement of the Sacred Way.

Of isolated works of art the most noticeable are a very fine marble statue of Antinous, almost intact, and an archaic Apollo of proportions sufficiently colossal to have made it serve as a buttress to a terrace wall of later date. The signature of the sculptor “. . . . medes of Argos,” is legible on its base. Another statue of Apollo, of like style and dimensions, was found close by; and the two are supposed to have been part of the offering of the Lipari islanders in commemoration of their victory over the Tyrrhenians. Two more archaic Apollos (one somewhat mutilated), a Doryphorus, and a cow, of exquisite workmanship and almost perfect in preservation, are among the smaller bronzes secured.

But by far the greatest treasure which the excavations have so far yielded is a bronze statue 1.78 metres in height, unearthed last April. It represents a young man clothed in a *chiton* reaching to the feet and girdled at the waist, with sleeves half-way down the elbows. The right arm is extended, the hand holding the reins of a chariot. With the exception of the naked portion of the left arm, which is missing, the statue is absolutely perfect, and has a beautiful patina. The hair, curly and somewhat long, is bound with a diadem. The features, though reposeful, are animated by an expression of pride and joy; and the eyes, set in enamel, give a startling, life-like look to a work which, in its serene and somewhat archaic treatment, impresses the observer as the creation of a great artist. This impression is heightened by its dimensions, it being the largest Greek bronze statue extant. It is cast in four pieces, which fit together at the girdle and under the folds of the sleeves with such nicety that they have been united without leaving any perceptible trace of juncture. Close by this statue portions of the hind legs and the tail of a horse have been found, leaving no doubt that they are all parts of a group representing the victor in a chariot-race. M. Homolle was not long in fixing upon Hiero as the victor thus commemorated. He is generally held to have won several races at both the Olympian and the Pythian games, and certain inscriptions unearthed in the vicinity seem to convert this supposition into a certainty, and to point to Ageladas—a Peloponnesian sculptor who had executed several works for the Despots of Syracuse and flourished between 470 and 460 B.C.—as the sculptor of the statue in question. Though these conclusions have been disputed in detail by M. Foucard, of the Académie des Inscriptions, the French are not unreasonably elated by the fact that their exploration of Delphi has yielded as great a work of ancient art as the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, found by the Germans at Olympia.

These excavations, the total cost of which is likely to exceed \$200,000, will, it is expected, be brought to a close next year.

The more varied but no less important work carried on in Greece by the American School of Archæology at Athens will form the subject of a separate article.

J. GENNADIUS.

BOND SALES AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

No part of the campaign against sound money has been conducted with greater bitterness than the outcry against the bond sales by the Treasury. The allegation is made that, under the gold standard, our monetary system is controlled by a plutocracy ; and proof of this is supposed to be found in the successive bond issues for the maintenance of the gold reserve. These inure to the profit of bankers and brokers, increase the national debt, and bring humiliation to the Government. Bond syndicates and Jewish bankers are said to control the Administration,—even to have bought it. Much of this talk is mere froth, undeserving of a serious answer ; but much of it reflects a general uneasiness as to the meaning of the recurring demands for financial aid. It is hardly to be doubted that the Silverites have found here some effective ammunition.

In truth, the situation during the last few years has been neither comfortable for the Treasury officials nor consistent with the pride and dignity of a great Government. The Treasury has been in fact reduced to straits in order to keep intact its gold reserve and to maintain its general solvency. It has been in the position of a suppliant ; it has had to ask aid and forbearance ; and on at least one occasion (when the bond-syndicate contract of February, 1895, was made) it has been compelled to accept almost any terms which the great financial houses were disposed to offer. All these shifts—humiliating to the Government of a rich and prosperous people—have been necessitated by the determination of the Administration to maintain gold payments. It is natural that they should be associated with the gold standard, and should draw invectives from the silver side. Even persons who have no sympathy with the general position of the silver men, shake their heads over the gold loans, and wish that the policy which they support were not encumbered with these unfortunate and unpopular transactions.

The truth is, however, that the bond sales have nothing whatever to do with the gold standard in itself. They are the final outcome of a series of legislative experiments reaching a long way back in the past ; and they are the consequence, not of the maintenance of the gold

standard, but of the fact that the gold standard has failed to be consistently and effectively maintained. In the immediate past, they are due quite as much to the endeavor to force the country to a silver basis as to the endeavor to keep it on a gold basis.

To make clear the grounds upon which this statement is made, it will be necessary to explain the history and the present position of the Treasury of the United States, and to point out how, from time to time, extraordinary duties and responsibilities have been thrown on an institution which was not originally designed, nor at any time adequately equipped, to meet them.

The Treasury of the United States was created by the act of 1846, establishing the independent treasury. Before that date, the Government had kept its funds in banks, and had disbursed them by orders on banks. During two periods it had used great financial institutions of its own creation,—the two Banks of the United States (1791–1811 and 1817–1837). These had proved of great fiscal advantage; but they aroused political jealousies and difficulties which proved them ill-adapted to our democratic ways. During two other periods it had used many scattered banks, chartered by the several States; but these had proved not only a source of political evil, but of financial loss as well. Finally, in 1846, it was decided that the Government should break loose from all banking institutions. It established a Treasury of its own, kept its own cash, disbursed its payments for itself. It refused to recognize the very existence of banking. It would take no bank-notes, and make no bank-deposits. It would receive nothing but specie. Its sole monetary function was to coin specie,—and specie then meant, practically, gold alone. Strange to say, this Treasury, designed to be absolutely divorced from all banking operations, and to recognize not even the existence of paper money, has become inextricably involved in the financial machinery of the country, and is the largest issuer of paper money in the world!

The first and most momentous step in this transformation was taken during the civil war, when the issue of Government paper—the present United States notes, or greenbacks—began. The resource was at the time expected to be temporary,—a war measure, to be repealed when peace should come. But excessive issues and the inflation which they caused had the usual effect,—they created the appetite for more. All industrial ills were ascribed to lack of currency, and a strong party arose which sought to cure depression by having not less paper money, but more. The struggle between sound money and

inflation ended for a while, as political struggles so often end, in a compromise. On the one hand, the Resumption Act of 1875 provided that the Government should pay its notes, whenever presented, in specie,—which was then understood on all hands to mean gold. On the other hand, an act of 1878 provided that notes so paid in specie should not be destroyed, but should be paid out again, and thus should remain permanent obligations of the Treasury. Hence, when resumption finally was undertaken in 1879, the Treasury was saddled with a new duty,—the redemption of a great mass of paper money; while it still remained in its organization simply the receiver of the taxes and the disburser of the public payments.

The obligations put on the Treasury by the peculiar manner in which resumption was attempted (and by good fortune effected) in 1875–79 were further increased by the silver issues of 1878 and 1890. The struggle between sound money and depreciated money took a new form after 1875; it was no longer a question whether our paper money should rest on specie, but on what kind of specie it should rest. The old inflationist movement was adroitly turned into the silver channel, where it had the additional support of the silver-mining interests. The compromise in the Resumption Act, like most compromises, ended the contest for the movement, but settled nothing. It was followed by the others of 1878 and 1890. The Bland Act of 1878 provided—as a compromise with the demand for free coinage of silver—an annual coinage of silver, limited but continuing. In the form of silver dollars and silver certificates it added an accumulating mass of money, whose solidity depended on the general maintenance of gold payments by the Treasury. Though nominally based on silver, the issues under the act of 1878 were virtually paper money resting on a gold basis. The so-called Sherman Act of 1890 added another monetary accumulation; this time in the shape of direct Treasury notes, identical in legal effect with the old United States notes. They are a perfect legal tender; they are redeemable in “coin”; yet with a formal pledge for the maintenance of “parity,” *i. e.*, for keeping the silver as good as the gold.

The repeal, in 1893, of the silver-purchase and note-issue provisions of the act of 1890, put an end at last to the growth of the money which the Treasury was under obligations to keep equal to gold; but not before it had swelled to portentous dimensions. Taking the figures as they stood on August 1 of the present year, we have—

United States notes (Greenbacks).....	346.7	millions of dollars
Treasury notes of 1890.....	128.3	“ “
Silver dollars and certificates.....	431.8	“ “
Total.....	906.8	“ “

Add to this the subsidiary silver coins, amounting to \$76,000,000; the National-Bank notes, \$226,000,000;—both dependent for their value on the quality of the legal-tender money which the Government supplies,—and the mass of currency for whose solidity the Treasury is directly or indirectly responsible is seen to be so huge that even with the best organization and the widest powers its task must have been a hard one.

So far, however, from having an organization and powers adapted to its overgrown responsibilities, the Treasury is still, nominally, the independent Treasury of 1846. It is still the sole depository (with some minor exceptions not important for the present purpose) of the public receipts; it still disburses the public payments. What is more important, there is no distinction between these simple fiscal functions and its more complicated functions as the issuer and supporter of more than a thousand millions of paper money. Its assets serve indifferently to pay the current expenses of the Government and to redeem paper money when presented for payment. If it happens to have an excess of tax receipts over ordinary payments, it is by so much in a stronger position as a bank of issue. If its ordinary payments are greater than its inflowing tax receipts, its cash on hand, *i. e.*, the supply of gold which constitutes its reserve as a bank of issue, must meet the deficiency.

The dangers and anomalies of this situation are increased by the fact that the national revenue is derived in largest part from the tariff, and fluctuates greatly with changes in imports. Much has been said of late years as to the effect of tariff legislation on revenue. But more important than tariff legislation—so far as revenue is concerned—are those ups and downs in imports which take place under any tariff system. When trade is good, imports are high, and the customs revenue swells. When there is depression, imports fall, and the customs revenue declines. As between the McKinley tariff of 1890 and the Wilson tariff of 1894, there would be no great difference, under normal conditions, in revenue-yielding effect: the former yielded revenue enough simply because it was in force at a time when imports were large; the latter has failed to yield enough because during the last three years trade has been depressed and imports have been small. If the Republicans had been victorious in 1892, their Adminis-

tration, under the McKinley tariff act, would have been confronted in 1893 with precisely the same difficulties that President Cleveland's Administration had to face. The Republican party has been lucky in many ways; but nothing more lucky ever happened in its history than its defeat in 1892. The underlying cause of trouble—which the party was fortunate in not having to face—was the radically vicious system, or lack of system, under which the Treasury was burdened with enormous responsibilities, though provided only with slender and irregular resources.

Hence the straits of the Treasury; hence the difficult struggle to maintain gold payments of outstanding paper money; hence the bond sales; hence the popular association of the gold standard with syndicates and loans and bankers' profits and an increase in the national debt. So short is the memory of man, and so easily forgotten are events even of the immediate past, that the present position of the Government Treasury with reference to the gold standard is thought of as part of the natural course of things. Yet that position never was deliberately planned; it is the result of wavering legislation, guided by no principle; and the significant thing is, not that the Treasury should have had to make strenuous endeavors to maintain gold payments, but that, with all the difficulties, the gold standard should have been successfully upheld.

If recrimination were profitable, it might be retorted to the silver men that their demands, not the gold standard, have caused the Treasury's embarrassments and the bond sales. It is the silver issues, and especially those under the act of 1890, which have caused the money dependent on the Treasury for its maintenance at par with gold to swell to such excessive proportions. If squabbling between the two political parties of old were in order, it might be said that the Republicans should be held mainly responsible for the present perplexing situation. They certainly cannot plume themselves on having no responsibility for the Government's ill plight; for it was they who passed the Resumption Act in the form which put upon the Treasury its momentous obligations, and it was they who engineered the compromises of 1878 and 1890, by which those obligations were so greatly increased. But it is more just, and more helpful for an understanding of the real difficulties of the situation, to point out that the whole series of measures was the natural result of that tendency to compromise which is inevitable in popular government. Compromise is sometimes healthy; but it is never decisive. Either the dispute is

settled by time in favor of one side or the other, or it comes to a head in the end. As the compromises with slavery in 1820 and 1850 availed nothing, and only made the final struggle more bitter, the eventual problem harder, so the currency compromises of 1875, 1878, 1890, have only deferred and made more difficult the real settlement, which now has come before the people as suddenly and as peremptorily as the question of union or disunion did in 1861.

In regard to the forms and terms of the bond sales, it may be said with perfect truth that the embarrassments under which the Administration has labored in effecting them have been greatly increased by the opposition of the silver party. All the bond issues have been made under the general authorization contained in the Resumption Act of 1875,—a measure passed when financial conditions were very different from those of the present, and enacted, moreover, with a view rather to the original acquisition of a fund of specie by the Treasury than to its permanent maintenance. The only forms of bonds allowed bear a rate of interest which is high, in view of the present credit of the Government; and they run for a considerable stretch of time, and so necessitate an increase of debt in comparatively permanent form. They must be either 5 per cents running ten years, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cents running fifteen years, or 4 per cents running thirty years. The Administration has repeatedly asked for authority to borrow in a simpler and easier way, by short-time loans at a low rate of interest; but the silver element, while not strong enough to carry its own measures, has been strong enough to block those of the other side. Since 1893, there has been a complete deadlock in monetary legislation,—a deadlock which can only close when once the fundamental question between a gold standard and a silver standard shall have been decided. Meanwhile, the Administration has been compelled to resort to the antiquated forms of borrowing authorized in 1875. The management of all the loans thus made may not have been perfect; but when one considers the extraordinary difficulties of the case,—the fiscal deficit, the industrial depression, the shattering of general confidence, the huge mass of Government paper to be maintained,—it must be admitted that the Treasury Administration has not only shown great courage and a high purpose, but has succeeded in overcoming difficulties well-nigh insurmountable.

But, to repeat, the bond sales have not been the result of the gold standard: they have been the result of the struggle to maintain the gold standard under peculiarly difficult conditions. Had we settled

our currency simply and definitively on a gold basis fifteen or twenty years ago, these loans and negotiations would never have appeared. Even now, the quantity of gold in the country would probably suffice, under wise legislation, as the foundation for all the currency we need. Certainly it would be an easy matter to secure from abroad or from our own mines such moderate additional amount as would be required. But to bring about a solid and satisfactory gold basis, we must overhaul completely our present currency system. The Government paper should be reduced in volume; safest and best of all, it should be got rid of entirely. If the paper is to be retained, something more is necessary to put it in some half-way satisfactory condition than that increase in the public revenue which many of the Republican leaders make so much of. The fiscal weakness of the Treasury is easily mended: a simple revival of business, such as is likely to come after these years of depression, will bring a growth of imports and a gain in revenue sufficient to wipe out the deficit. But the whole system by which monetary stability is made to depend on the current revenue of a Government having a budget as irregular as ours should be abolished. The Treasury, if it is to remain an issuer of paper money, must have that function completely separated from its mere fiscal duties. The safest policy, as I have said, and that which offers least risk, and temptation for future currency tinkering, is to get rid of Government paper entirely, and to replace this inert and dangerous form of paper money with elastic bank-notes, resting solidly and directly on gold reserves held by the banks. But this is a matter for the future, and needs more detailed consideration than the limits of the present discussion permit. If, as we may hope, the silver cause is soundly beaten in the coming election, it will be necessary to set our house in order,—a hard task, not likely to be accomplished satisfactorily for a long time to come. Meanwhile, let us remember that our recent and present embarrassments have been our own fault, and are not any necessary or natural concomitants of the gold standard. We have made hazardous currency experiments, and we have had to struggle hard to avert disaster. We have simply reaped what we have sown. Let us sow better seed in the future; confident that with wise preparation and conservative management we may in due time reap a healthy crop.

F. W. TAUSSIG.

EMERSON'S WIT AND HUMOR.

ON the Pacific coast in 1871 Emerson met John Muir, who has since written "The Mountains of California," every leaf of it a leaf of nature. Muir had read the rocks, streams, and forests of his Eldorado, as Emerson the leaves in the libraries of Boston. He led Emerson as no one else could have done through the valley of the Yosemite and the passes of the Sierras. The two guides—such both were—explored each other as well as the scenes through which they were going. Emerson said that Muir was another Thoreau. Muir was felicitous in replying with an inspiration caught from the grandest trees of the grandest flora in the world. "Emerson," he said, "is the Sequoia of mankind." Speaking of these forest sublimities in his book, Muir points out that the beauty of their proportions is so perfect that the onlooker finds it impossible to realize the size of their different parts, except by actual measurements. Certainly nothing is farther from the common idea of Emerson than that he was a wit and a humorist. This part of our "Sequoia" is a limb which, to be seen for what it is, needs to be separated from a whole too great and harmonious for partial effects. But his audiences followed his lectures with laughter and smiles. Apt quotations from him get quick recognition of the same kind to-day from public and private gatherings.

Oliver Wendell Holmes recognized in Emerson a brother wit of the first water. No one who is not sensitive to humor should venture on Emerson, he says. "If not laughter, there is," thinks Morley, "at least gaiety in every piece." "His fine humor," says Conway. Lowell, in "My Study Windows," commemorates Emerson's "glance of humor"; his biographer Cooke, "his keen and ready wit"; F. B. Sanborn, "the salt of his wit"; Harriet Martineau, "his exquisite sense of humor." Tyndall found "immortal laughter" in his poetry—"in his case Poetry with the joy of a Bacchanal takes her graver brother Science by the hand, and cheers him with immortal laughter." This enthusiastic language might well apply to the last two lines of the famous prelude to Emerson's essay on "Nature," published in 1836, twenty-three years before Darwin's "Origin of Species":—

“And striving to be man the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.”

In the shrewd face which looks upon us out of his portraits we see that there is that sense—that saving sense—which can detect the ridiculous side—the other side—of anybody or anything. None of their commemorators has said more reverential words of the Puritans than he. But he passes in one sentence from an almost choral admiration of the religious pleasure with which they read for daily food such authors as Milton, Flavel, Bunyan, to the anti-climax of the remark of an old lady who remembered them as being so pious that “they had to hold on hard to the huckleberry bushes to hinder themselves from being translated.” He could illuminate the subject of religion as well by a stroke of wit as by the solemn and tender passages of his “Divinity School Address.” “All the religions,” he held, “are one wine in different colored glasses.” In the same manner, he said: “There is but one standard English novel, like the one orthodox sermon which with slight variation is repeated every Sunday from so many pulpits.” Cabot quotes him as writing about “the prevailing Boston beverage of Channing and water.” “The Church”—he is speaking of the English Church—“has nothing left but possession. If a bishop meets an intelligent gentleman, and reads fatal interrogation in his eyes, he has no resource but to take wine with him.” “The clergyman who would live in the city *may* have piety, but he *must* have taste.”

On a certain Sunday morning which he spent in Stratford Church, Emerson remained beside Shakespeare's grave throughout the service. The English friend who went with him was ashamed of the sermon, which was very poor. He was relieved when Emerson asked quaintly, “Did he preach?” Happily perceiving what Emerson meant he replied, “Who? Shakespeare?” “Yes,” replied Emerson. Pope taught that “discord” was “harmony not understood.” Emerson was of this philosophy, which is older than Pope. He called the devil “the great second best.” “If Emerson went to hell,” said his friend Father Taylor, of the Sailor Mission, “the devil would not know what to do with him. The climate would change and emigration would set that way.”

Disraeli, Sir William Fraser tells us in his gossiping reminiscences, had an elaborate code of signals to give notice to his audience that a joke was coming. His well-trained hearers in the House of Commons would begin to laugh in anticipation as they saw his handkerchief travel, stage by stage, from his pocket to the tip of his nose, where

he kept the point of his witticisms, as Herrmann, the magician, uses the same organ as a never-failing fountain of eggs, watches, playing-cards, and rabbits. But in the best wit it is always the unexpected that happens. Emerson gives no notice, does not affect to be a wit, and slips from grave to gay and back again in a flash. He begins solemnly, "The mysteries of creation";—"known only to the pious," he concludes. He made merry with Swedenborg's intimate knowledge of these "mysteries" and declared that his carefully elaborated angels looked as stiff as country parsons. There were other things more important than angels. "An actually-existent fly is more important than a possibly-existent angel." His scepticism about angels extended to the plans of aërial navigators that men should imitate angelic methods of locomotion. "We are not yet ripe," he said, "to be birds."

The wit is even more judicial than the judge who knows neither friends nor enemies. The wit must know both his friends and enemies, and himself who is of both these. Emerson said of himself, "I am always insincere as always knowing that there are other moods." He did not spare himself. He did not spare his own craft. "There is indeed this vice about men of thought, that you cannot quite trust them. . . . They have a hankering to play Providence, and make a distinction in favor of themselves from the rules they apply to the human race." We can see what he meant when we open our Renan, and read where, under the certainly inapt title, "Intellectual and Moral Reform," Renan says in substance to the Church: Leave us literary men alone and we will leave you alone with the people—a passage not too sharply criticized by Mazzini as the most singular and the most immoral compromise that could enter into the brain of a thinker.

In the eye twinkling through Emerson's pages we get the clue which many of his would-be critics have missed. Having no sense of humor concealed about their persons, as he had, they did not detect that he was laughing, if not at them, at their kind. Expressions at which they brayed in terror were not the extravagancies they took them to be, but the broad strokes of an imagination translucent with the inner flames of wit. His one subject, as he put it, was, in all his lectures, "the infinitude of the private man." He has uttered this thought of the partnership of man in the creative power in many inspired passages which have become familiar quotations. But he had more than one way of expressing this thought. Looking out of a window at a winter storm, he once said, as a friend of his told me, "I snow."

Emerson's utterances on Immortality have taken their place among the litanies of sacred anthology. A well-known literary woman of Chicago having heard the reports, current some years ago, of a reaction in his opinions said to him, "Mr. Emerson, you do believe in the immortality of the soul, do you not?" In his essay, whose sentences go sounding on like organ chords, Emerson makes Yama, the Hindoo god of Death, say: "The soul is not born; it does not die; . . . unborn, eternal, it is not slain, though the body is slain; subtler than what is subtle, greater than what is great, sitting it goes far, sleeping it goes everywhere." It had been with such majestic notes that she had been filling her ears. It may well be believed that she was unprepared for the rapid transition in the tone of her oracle, who parried her with, "Madam, we are not swill." For he was no *poseur*; he would not "show off," nor act the augur, and he would take any liberty with words that his audacity or wit or gaiety might prompt. His mind was not only original but, as E. P. Whipple said of it, "aboriginal." Alternation of the currents in the brain as in the dynamo is the invariable accompaniment of power. The great orator swings his audience from tears to laughter, not from the calculated use of contrasts but in obedience to a law of emotion which rules him as he rules his audience.

It was the heat of his high combustion that condensed Emerson's sentences, as he described them, into paragraphs infinitely repellent, "incompressible." It is this which makes him the most quotable of writers. You can find in him the philosophies packed into phrases. We are not in the habit of thinking of scholars and poets as men of high vitality. Rather they have the reputation of being of a low tone physically. But performance is the nigh horse of power, and this low tone of a great author usually evidences not a lack of physical power, but diversion of energy to inner channels. "Health is the first wealth," Emerson said, and one of the secrets of his style is the exuberant spring that rose within him, and overflowed in an affluent stream. It was from this he got the joy of life that bubbled up in his deportment in a perpetual serenity, in his philosophy in common sense, and in his working power in an affluence which had no thought of an eight-hour day but produced during almost every waking moment. "Every man would be a poet," he says, "if his digestion were perfect," and again, "The work of the writer needs a frolic health." Emerson, delicate as he seemed, could eat pie every day, having it always for the first thing at breakfast, and he never had indigestion. To most of us this would be a frolic health indeed.

"How can Mr. Emerson," said one of the younger members of the party with which he made the trip in California, "be so agreeable all the time without getting tired?" His balance was moral as well as physical and mental. It is quite scientific to attribute his goodness as also his good humor largely to the same health which gave him the power of continuous literary production and made him equal at an advanced age to arduous journeys in snow and ice in Michigan and Illinois to fulfil lecture engagements. Health is not only the first wealth, as he says, but the first piety. His sanity or soundness ran through his whole nature. His too brief Boswell, Mr. Woodberry, is not afraid to say that Emerson probably did not know in his own experience what sin was as other men know it. If we pass that by as the admiration of the worshipper, we find the critical Henry James the elder, in his "Literary Remains," drawing the portrait with the same halo. Carlyle must have felt the same thing, for on one occasion he refused to precede Emerson to the dinner-table. "I am too wicked," he said. This is but to say that in his case sanity, or soundness, had evolved itself up to sanctity, and it would not be easy to see why it should not have done so in his case, or why we should not all believe that to be the common destiny. "What one is why may not millions be?" asks Wordsworth. Emerson felt that sickness and wickedness were one and the same. "One sometimes suspects," he put it, "that outer have something to do with inner complaints, and, when one is ill, something the devil's the matter." No machinery could throw him out of employment. He would come back from a walk with a pocket full of little bits of paper on which he had jotted down things that had come to him, as Sir Walter Scott used to return from an expedition in the Highlands quizzing lairds or picking up ballads with a handful of twigs whose notches and crooks were memoranda to be transcribed into a "Waverley," or some "Canto of the Lakes."

The gaiety of health and strength which expressed itself in other men in exuberance of spirits came out in Emerson in exuberance of phrase. The feeble pulse of the didactic exhorter says, "Aim high," but Emerson, the earth light under his happy feet, cries, "Hitch your wagon to a star." So in another address he says the time will come when "we shall be willing to sow the sun and the moon for seeds." He was almost French in his dislike of dull expression. For commonplace phrases about the "Unity of Nature," he substitutes, "The tree is rooted man," or, "The musk-rat is man modified to live

in a mud-bank," or, "Yonder mountain must migrate into your mind." When he wants to tell what *Podsnap* would wave away as, "The universal social unrest," he says: "Nowadays every man carries a revolution in his vest-pocket." "The transfusion of the blood," he says, "it is claimed in Paris, will enable a man to change his blood as often as his linen." He quotes another Parisian fancy that by electro-magnetism our salads shall be grown from the seeds while our fowl is roasting, and dismisses it thus, "Nothing is gained, nature cannot be cheated. Man's life is but seventy salads long, grow they swift or grow they slow." Speaking of the resistance of the party of property to every progressive step, he said: "They would nail the stars to the sky." To make the living virtue of his beloved Montaigne's style comprehended, he says: "Cut these words and they would bleed." Many writers have described the insularity of the English. He brings the metaphor buried in that word to life again. "Every one of these islanders is an island himself." He contrasts French love of display with English love of reality. "A Frenchman invented the dickey, an Englishman added the shirt." It was his frolic health of mind, or, as he said of his friend Carlyle, "this glad and needful venting of his redundant spirits," from which came the felicities, paradoxes, contradictions, he revelled in. "Consistency" he thought to be "the bugbear of small minds." He would say on one page, "Solitude is impracticable, and society fatal," and on another, "He only who is able to stand alone is fit for society." He saw everything in flight, even truth. "The truest state of mind, rested in, becomes false."

Emerson, the reformer, descendant of reformers, inspiring spirit of reform, shot some of his sharpest shafts at reformers. He was a reformer, but he was also a wit. All great wits, from Aristophanes to "Mark Twain," have been reformers, but, alas! all reformers are not wits. Emerson had that love of fun, that insight into the absurd, that sharp ear for the other side, that detective eye for humbug, which makes the wit, and makes the wit the most dangerous enemy of the wrongdoer. In his day in New England the air fairly sizzled with unrest. Every accepted idea, every established institution, every conventionality, had its assailant. It was a time when, as he puts it, "The young men seemed to have been born with knives in their brains." Through this whirl of agitation Emerson held his way, sympathetic but smiling, never off his feet or out of his head. Morley thinks that in him was realized Hawthorne's hope in the "Blithedale Romance" that "out of the very thoughts that were wildest and most destructive might grow

a wisdom holy, calm, and pure, and that should incarnate itself with the substance of a noble and happy life." "In the person of Emerson," declares Morley, "this ferment and dissolvency of thought worked itself out in a strain of wisdom of the highest and purest." Emerson was able to run these intellectual rapids without slipping back into the doubt, aversion, and reaction that caught Burke, Wordsworth, and Tennyson.

Speaking of the enthusiasts who were then discussing the plans that ended in Brook Farm, Emerson wrote to Carlyle: "One man renounced the use of animal food, another of coin, another of domestic hired service, and another of the state, and on the whole we have a commendable share of reason and hope." "I am," he says, "gently mad myself, and am resolved to live cleanly." We recognize his pen in the description in "The Dial" of one of the characteristic conventions of that period, one of many then meeting in Boston. This gathering of 1840 called itself the "Friends of Universal Progress." "There were in it," says Emerson, "many persons whose church was a church of one member only." "Madmen, mad-women, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-Outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and philosophers all came successively to the top, and seized their moment, if not their hour, wherein to chide, or pray, or preach, or protest." One woman, who was always jumping up with a roll of manuscript in these conventions, he styles "that flea of conventions." "Even the insect world was to be defended. That had been too long neglected, and a society for the protection of ground-worms, slugs, and mosquitoes was to be incorporated without delay." Reporting upon these swimmers—these fellow-swimmers—in "the storm-engendering sea of liberty," Emerson made the remark: "There is nothing a reformer hates so much as—another reformer." And with quite as much pungency, he laid it down that "Society gains nothing whilst a man not himself renovated attempts to renovate things around him." He gives a related idea an equally felicitous expression, when he says, "There can be no concert in two, where there is no concert in one." "I go to a convention of philanthropists. Do what I will, I cannot keep my eyes off the clock." "The reformers," he said, "bite us and we run mad too."

These gentle recalls to reason are the notes of a friend, not of an enemy. The reformers smiled at themselves with their critic, a privileged character, for he had been the first American scholar of his generation to thrust his pen into the heart of slavery.

What Holmes so happily calls the inward inaudible laughter of Emerson, "more refreshing than the explosion of our noisiest humorists," is to be seen in his account of Brook Farm. "The married women were against the community. . . . The Common School was well enough, but to the common nursery they had grave objections. Eggs might be hatched in ovens, but the hen on her own account much preferred the old way." He describes the community as "a perpetual picnic, a French Revolution in small, an Age of Reason in a patty-pan." It was a paradise of shepherds and shepherdesses, but, "The ladies took cold on washing-day, and it was ordained that the gentlemen-shepherds should hang out the clothes, but—in the evening when they began to dance the clothes-pins dropped from their pockets."

No weapons have cut deeper into the public enemy than those of the leaders who know how to make the people smile while kindling their wrath. In his speech on affairs in Kansas, Emerson fetched one of these strokes. "The President says, 'Let the complainants go to the Courts.' He knows that when the poor plundered farmer comes to the court, he finds the ringleader who has robbed him, dismounting from his horse, and unbuckling his knife to sit as his judge." He could turn on the farmer too. Writing to Carlyle of the "honest solid farmers" of America, he said, "Horace Greeley does their thinking for them at a dollar a head."

When Choate belittled the Declaration of Independence as made up of "glittering generalities," Emerson retorted, "I call them, rather, blazing ubiquities." Mrs. Carlyle said that Carlyle's love of silence was entirely Platonic. But there was no lack of performance in Emerson's love of utterance. He smote, when need was, with a hammer as heavy as Thor's. He loved Webster, and no finer characterizations than his have been made of the great man, all whose dimensions, as Emerson put it, were such as to make him the personification of the American continent. But when Webster voted for the Fugitive Slave Bill, Emerson spoke in words that still bite. "Every drop of Webster's blood," he said, "has eyes that look downward." Such fierceness is rare in his humor. One more instance of it is in "English Traits," where the rampant and couchant glories of the coats-of-arms of the English nobility are given a turn not to be found in the philosophy of the Heralds' College. After describing "the twenty thousand thieves who landed at Hastings" with William the Conqueror "as greedy and ferocious pirates," who "burned, harried, violated, tortured,

and killed," he turns his pen in the wound he has made. "Such however is the illusion of antiquity and wealth that decent and dignified men now existing boast their descent from these filthy thieves, who showed a far juster conviction of their own merits by assuming for their types the swine, goat, jackal, leopard, wolf, and snake, which they severally resembled."

Emerson was so far from seeking effect that, as Conway found, in printing his essays he would omit passages which when spoken had made a laugh. Thus he left out of his paper on "Superlatives" a remark about oaths which had greatly entertained his audience, to the effect that the oath could be used by a thinking man only in some great moral emergency. He meant his wit to be the sauce, not the roast; a touch of nature, not the intellectual elephantiasis of the professional. His opinion of the class known as "men of wit" is given in his new book, "The Natural History of the Intellect." "There is really a grievous amount of unavailableness about men of wit. A plain man finds them so heavy, dull, and oppressive with bad jokes, and conceit, and stupefying individualism that he comes to write in his tablets." He gives another slap at this class in his essay on "Clubs." "Things are in pairs. . . . A story is matched by another story, and that may be the reason why when a gentleman has told a good thing, he immediately tells it again." This was not the Puritan in him preferring the frown to the laugh. He never frowned; he was, as Mr. Mangasarian has so well said, "the smile of the century." He believed that "a rogue alive to the ludicrous is still convertible." He called "the perception of the comic a balance-wheel in our metaphysical structure." Nothing in Carlyle appeals more to Emerson than his wit—his "playing of tunes," as this fellow-wit most keenly characterized it, "with a whip-lash like some renowned charioteer." "We have had nothing in literature so like earthquakes," he says, "as the laughter of Carlyle. . . . These jokes shake down Parliament House and Windsor Castle, Temple and Tower, and the future shall echo the dangerous peals."

With the same feeling that led him to strike out some of the laughing passages, and made him unwilling to play the man of wit, he always used a quiet note in referring to his own work. When he speaks of giving a course of lectures, he calls it beginning to "sell tickets again," or going "peddling with my literary pack of notions." One reason perhaps why Emerson was so agreeable was this reserve and refinement of his humor. He disliked loud laughter. He came to have a

great friendship for Margaret Fuller, but it had to conquer a strong feeling he at first had against her because she made him laugh more than he liked. He was very seldom heard to laugh. His laugh, as Prof. Thayer describes it, was "a quiet ground-swell." To force a laugh from his readers would have been not to be Emerson. "True wit," he said, "never made us laugh." His sparks fly only when his mind is working at a high heat. His letters seldom reach this level, unlike Lowell's, which bubble and sparkle at every turn with fun which sometimes is all the more agreeable because so obviously produced like ice at New Orleans, artificially, and with the set purpose to be agreeable.

Similarly there was little drollery in Emerson's conversation, though it had a sweetness which the testimony of a cloud of witnesses makes it not extravagant to call ineffable. But we get a touch of fun once in a while. A pleasantry recorded of him is a story he told of a friend who carried a horse-chestnut to protect him from rheumatism. "He has never had it since he began to carry it, and indeed it appears to have had a retrospective operation, for he never had it before." An English friend tells me that while with Mr. Emerson in his garden discussing some problem of life, Mrs. Emerson called to him for some wood. Emerson went to the wood-pile; when he came back he said, with his wonderful smile, "Now we will return to the real things." When Oliver Wendell Holmes asked him if he had any manual dexterity, he illustrated his want of it by replying, that he could split a shingle four ways with one nail. "Which," says Dr. Holmes, "as the intention is not to split it at all in fastening it to the roof, I took to be a confession of inaptitude for mechanical work." In later years he lost his memory of the names of things. Once he wanted his umbrella, but could not recall the word. But he got around the difficulty. "I can't tell its name, but I can tell its history. Strangers take it away." His daughter ran in one day to ask who should be invited to join their berry-picking party. "All the children," he said, "from six years to sixty." Equally tender is the humor of this in the essay on "Illusions": "When the boys come into my yard for leave to gather horse-chestnuts, I enter into nature's game, and affect to grant the permission reluctantly, fearing that any moment they will find out the imposture. . . . But this tenderness is quite unnecessary; the enchantments are laid on very thick."

This recluse could sit in his garden at Concord or wander along the shores of Walden and see into the penetralia of Vanity Fair quite

as keenly as the clubmen of Michigan Avenue or Piccadilly. He was once asked if he approved of Platonic friendship between men and women. "Yes," he said, "but—hands off!" Once when Emerson was in Chicago to lecture to its Fortnightly Club of women, its president said to him, "It is too bad you were not here last week, Mr. Emerson. We were discussing Goethe's 'Elective Affinities,' and would have been so glad to get your views." Emerson bowed with gracious silence. "What would you have said to us about it?" the lady persisted. "Madam," he replied, "I have never felt that I had attained to the purity of mind that qualified me to read that book."

We all know the kind of men he described as those who "seem to steal their own dividends," and the kind of girl like *Lillian* who "began the world with a cold in her head and has been adding to it ever since." Of the type Disraeli chose for the hero of "*Vivian Grey*," Emerson said: "They never sleep, go nowhere, stay nowhere, eat nothing, and know nobody, but are up to anything though it were the genesis of nature or the last cataclysm. Festus-like, Faust-like, Jove-like, they could write an *Iliad* any rainy morning if fame were not such a bore." Very delicate but very penetrating is his characterization of a certain class of the American youth, who are "converted into pale caryatides to uphold the temple of conventions."

He did not care much for metaphysics. "Who has not looked into a metaphysical book, and what sensible man ever looked twice?" He wanted only a teaspoonful a year of its crop of pepper, and he added, "I admire the Dutch who burned half the harvest to enhance the price of the remainder."

There has already come to be an Emerson legend, like the Lincoln legend, grave and gay. This legend is the repository of the familiar story that having gone together to see Fanny Elssler dance, Margaret Fuller said to Emerson, "This is poetry!" and he replied, "It is religion!" Legend also attributes to Emerson the maxim that the consciousness of being well-dressed gives one a moral support greater than the consolations of religion. But it was not his own but a quotation he gives from the talk of a bright woman. Conway tells this story as current about Emerson, though he does not pretend that it is true. Wishing to know Bowery life at its roughest, Emerson mussed his hat, turned up his coat collar, and going to the bar of a saloon called for a glass of grog. The barkeeper took a glance at his visitor, and said, "Lemonade will do for you." This must be classed with the legend that when Emerson visited Egypt the Sphinx said to him, "You're another!" Among

the traditions of Emerson is that one night in the small hours his wife was wakened by hearing him stir about the room. "Are you sick?" she asked anxiously. "No, only an idea." But Cabot spoils this story by saying, evidently with direct reference to it, that Emerson never got up at night, as some one has fancied, to jot down thoughts. In Boston a story is current which is well found, even if it is not true. A believer in the immediate second coming of Christ went about warning people that the end of the world was at hand. Emerson heard him serenely, and only said, "We can do without it." The Emerson legend is as good a place as any in which to put the Concord witticism about his relations with one of its philosophers. Emerson somewhere says that no one can easily be a good judge of his own admirers. Many of his friends thought there was no better exemplification of this than the, as it seemed to them, extravagant estimation in which he held this neighbor. They said this assimilating brother would repeat to Emerson on Tuesday the good things Emerson had said to him on Monday, and Emerson would marvel at the felicities of his inspired friend. The wits of Concord said that Emerson was a seer and his friend a seer-sucker.

Emerson styles himself a reporter merely, a suburban kind of man. He tried to see, he said, and to tell what he saw. To round a sentence or play the oracle was not possible to his integrity and sanity. In Arthur Hugh Clough's phrase, he "wholly declined roaring." When he speaks in the accents of the solemn, the grand, the beautiful, it is because his soul found itself in these deep waters. But if in the next moment the transition to comic or satiric came within, it would be given free speech, without. Wit shading down at one end of its spectrum to the merely comic brightens at the other into celestial radiations of wisdom too strong for laughter, as Wordsworth's thoughts were too deep for tears. From this sublimer wit came the illuminated vision with which Emerson saw and reported realities where others saw only mysteries, and mysteries where others thought they saw realities. Along his whole range from the essay on the "Oversoul" to that on the "Comic," this power of surprising the truth in front and rear is Emerson.

HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD.

WORK AND MORALITY.

THE moral quality which chiefly distinguishes the savage and the barbarian from the civilized man of the nineteenth century is violence of character. Man, as he appears in the anarchy of primitive life, and even a long time after he has begun to organize vaster and more complicated communities, is an extremely violent animal: his passions are extraordinarily excitable, dominating his will, and prompting him to acts of great violence. Grief, anger, love, covetousness, hate, easily rob him of all psychological equilibrium and rapidly put him into a state of transitory but fierce madness in which he loses all sense of right and wrong, and gives way to the violence of passion. The fundamental trait of his psychology is the blind impulsiveness of the carnivorous animal, which, upon the slightest provocation, attacks and bites its enemy. In fact almost all savage nations offer this psychological characteristic.

Herbert Spencer tells us that "early human nature differed from later human nature by having an extreme emotional variability," and that the trait of impulsiveness is to be looked for as fundamental among inferior races. Thus, to cite only a few instances, we find in North America the Snake Indian, who is said to be "a mere child, irritated by and pleased with a trifle." In Asia we find the Kamtschadales, of whom we read that they are "excitable, not to say hysterical; a light matter sets them mad or makes them commit suicide." Burchell describes the Hottentots as "passing from extreme laziness to extreme eagerness for action." Among the Negritos, the Papuan is impetuous, excitable, noisy; the Andamanese are all frightfully passionate and revengeful. The East African is at once very good-tempered and hard-hearted, combative and cautious; kind at one moment, cruel, pitiless, and violent at another; obstinate, fickle and fond of change, a lover of life though addicted to suicide.

But if the inferior savage races are so impulsive, it must not be supposed that men modify their characters as soon as communities begin to be organized and civilization becomes diffused: for a long time the history of civilization continued to be one of terrible acts of vio-

lence. Thus, from the fall of the Roman Empire until the beginning of the eighteenth century, throughout the barbaric periods, the reign of feudalism, and the great military monarchies, the customs of the whole of Europe bear the impress of such violence that we can hardly understand how men who differed but slightly from us, in point of culture, could possibly have lived in such a hell of fierce passions. In the barbaric communities which the Teutonic races founded upon the ruins of the Roman Empire, the philosophy of life seemed to be summed up in a strange motto of the poet Ragnar Lodbrog, which must strike us as madness but which at that period expressed a profound psychological truth,—“He who lives without wounds, grows weary of life.” In the council of Chalons, held A.D. 813, Bishop Jonas, a moralist, affirmed that the vices most common to that epoch, *i. e.*, the Carlovingian epoch, were vanity, pride, anger, and hate. At the courts of Charlemagne, of Louis the Pious, and of Henry the Confessor, the revels and banquets of the nobles often ended in fighting and massacre. At that time the word of Christ had lost its original meaning to such an extent that God’s ministers themselves set the example of violence, and in Paris, during the Middle Ages, the canons of Notre Dame engaged in the most sanguinary conflicts, arising from jealousy, with those of Sainte-Chapelle. The populace naturally followed their example; and on the day on which Louis XIII placed the kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, the Parliament and the Chambre des Comptes came to blows amid great bloodshed in the cathedral of Notre Dame for the sake of the right of precedence in the procession. And the games which formed the pastime of the Parisian students were really battles, in which many of them were mortally wounded.

In Italy, Germany, and England the customs of that era were scarcely more moderate, although general culture and the fine arts were in a flourishing condition. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Florentine nobles used to take part in the insurrections of the town—often sanguinary battles in which many fell—to pass the time away and to procure themselves excitement, just as nowadays young men in society will arrange a shooting party. It was a rare thing, especially among the upper classes, to meet with a man who was innocent of blood; for two individuals—especially if they belonged to the aristocracy—happening to meet in the street were wont to quarrel and to endeavor to take each other’s life for the most insignificant act which might possibly be looked upon as provocative. This was not considered dishonorable, but only called for revenge on the part of the

murdered man's family ; and thus arose those terrible feuds between the great families which sometimes lasted for so many years. Cellini the great goldsmith, once killed a man in Paris in a fit of rage and yet, although this fact was well known, it did not injure him in the estimation of Francis I, neither did he himself consider it shameful, for he mentioned it calmly in his "Autobiography."

Neither the fear of punishment in this world nor the fear of torments in another could subdue this tumultuous violence of temperament. Lupold, bishop of Worms, whose recklessness provoked his brother to say, "My lord bishop, you scandalize us laymen greatly by your example ; before you were a bishop you feared God a little, but now you care nothing for him," replied to his brother that when they both should be in hell he would exchange seats if his brother desired. Richelieu issued the most severe edicts, forbidding duelling among the nobles under pain of death ; but in spite of this, groups of noblemen would engage in duels every day in the streets, which almost always ended in the death of one and often of both the combatants. It has been calculated that 30,000 persons were killed annually in duels in France at that period, and it has been said that duelling swept away even more of the nobles than war itself. In old Saxon poems one even reads of warriors who, at the advanced age of ninety, did not regret the acts of violence committed during their long life, but who complain of having to die in their beds, instead of on the battle-field.

Serenity and equanimity are on the other hand the fundamental characteristics of the civilized man of the nineteenth century. We are a race of reasonable beings, able to control our passions. According to our code of morals it is wrong to allow oneself to be led by passion to commit acts of violence, excepting in cases of some supremely noble passion, such as patriotism or maternal love. He who kills or wounds an enemy in a fit of anger, is to us a murderer, unworthy of pity. The principal streets of our cities contain exhibitions of priceless treasures, before which numbers of miserably poor people pass daily ; they may be covetous, yet it is very rare for any one of them to be so forcibly assailed by this feeling as to cause him to lose his self-control and to impel him to some act of violence against those accumulated riches. Nowadays men's minds are often excited to the highest pitch by political struggles ; yet it is very rare, even in moments of the greatest agitation, that there is any violence, except that of language. Ink flows instead of blood ; and terrible insults are exchanged, instead of blows. Violent acts are indeed committed now and then, but they inspire uni-

versal horror; for no other impulse of passion seems to us more shocking than that which causes man to use violence toward his fellows. We even look upon blows or a box on the ears, which were but playful jokes to the men of the olden days, as acts of violence, unworthy of respectable men, unless it is to defend a child or a woman. Thus, the majority of the inhabitants of towns leave their homes unarmed, because it is now very rare for a man to be attacked or involved in one of those violent and sanguinary disputes which formed an almost habitual pastime for the brave youths of the Middle Ages when taking a walk.

We are, in short, as compared with our ancestors, what a tamed dog is, as compared with a wild dog; for civilization is to man what taming is to animals. Hence there arises the problem, How and by what means has this taming process ensued, and why have so many millions of men thus radically changed their character?

The majority of men nowadays possess a peaceable character because they are accustomed to perform a certain amount of work daily in a methodical manner: the habit of regular and methodical work has destroyed the violent impulsiveness of man's primitive character. When man, as is the case to-day, has succeeded in subduing his natural propensity toward a life of idleness and pleasure, and in transforming himself into a living machine which continues day after day to perform the same work, the character becomes milder, less violent, and more controllable.

An every-day experience will help to explain this great psychological phenomenon,—one of the most important in history. Men who are in the habit of working very hard sigh for a short holiday; but when their wish is gratified, they find to their surprise that idleness fails to afford them the pleasure they had anticipated. They suffer especially from an unusual irritability, which causes them to be more easily roused to anger and to lose their habitual serenity. This increased irritability is nothing but a slight recrudescence of the violent impulsiveness inherent to human nature, a slight weakening of the power of self-control, which a simple interruption of regular work for a few days will suffice to produce even in firm and self-controlled characters. Let us suppose that, instead of an interruption of a few days, it is a question of uninterrupted idleness, of an almost entire absence of methodical work from childhood until old age, and it will easily be understood that this slight irritability will become aggravated until it develops into the violent impulsiveness peculiar to the savage and the barbarian. Another similar experience is that met with among the

working classes when out of employment during some crisis; then they grow so extraordinarily excitable that some slight incident is enough to incite them to frightful acts of violence. Certainly this is partly caused by the feeling of rage engendered by their long privations; but it is also partly derived from the natural impulsiveness of character being augmented by enforced idleness: it is a return to man's natural violence of character, which we are enabled to subdue only by subjecting ourselves to the law of continual work.

All savages, in fact, whose fundamental psychological characteristic is violent impulsiveness, are wandering hunters, fishermen, and gatherers of the spontaneous products of nature, *i. e.* they support themselves by intermittent work, such as hunting, fishing, and warfare, which sometimes require an intense effort of a very short duration, but not an effort of average intensity and of daily recurrence like the work of the modern man in the fields, in workshops, or in offices. From time to time, at irregular periods, they undertake some hunting expedition or they go to war; the rest of their time is passed in idleness, in sleep, in wandering about, or else in the indulgence of some unrestrained and violent exercise, such as dancing, which helps to demoralize their character to an even greater extent.

Hence the general violence of the customs in the Middle Ages must be especially attributed to the nobles, who were not engaged in any regular or methodical work. Enriched by the taxes extorted from their vassals and serfs, they passed their time in warlike enterprise, in hunting-expeditions, and mad, unbridled feasting; all these occupations being rather calculated to increase their innate violence and impulsiveness than to moderate it. On the other hand, the social customs became milder when society was governed by the middle classes;—by tradesmen obliged to pass the day in their shops; by clerks, condemned to seven or eight hours' daily work; by manufacturers, obliged to work incessantly in order to direct their workshops; by working men, subject to the law of daily toil lasting from sunrise to sunset. These men form—at least under ordinary circumstances—an immense body of reasonable and peaceable beings, with a well-balanced and self-controlled character—thanks to their habits of methodical work.

It will appear strange that methodical work should be thus able to admirably subdue the innate violence of human nature; but the phenomenon is easily explained when one considers that the primitive violent impulsiveness is the effect of an excess of unemployed mental energy which methodical work helps to use up. A fit of rage, or

any outburst of passion, gives rise to a waste of mental energy, the greater in proportion to the violence of the outbreak. Now when a man lives in idleness this mental energy accumulates in the nervous centres in great quantities and, finding no other vent, it escapes at the first provocation in the most intense outbreaks of passion. When, on the other hand, man works methodically, he uses up a great amount of nervous energy either in the accomplishment of his work, or in order to overcome the resistance of his attention and of his will, to which work is repugnant. His nervous centres are therefore in a continual state of exhaustion, they are continually expending energy, so that the quantity of mental energy necessary to produce violent outbreaks of passion is wanting. In fact work acts upon the mental energy accumulated in the brain in the same way as the lightning-conductor acts upon the electric energy accumulated in the clouds; it discharges it gradually, so that, not being accumulated in great quantities, it cannot suddenly flash forth. Work subdues man just because it tires him. The psychological process, when analyzed, does not much differ from that used by the Tartars when breaking-in horses: they tie the wild horse to a long rope and allow the animal to tire itself out with its violent efforts to free itself; when it has become exhausted and incapable of rebelling, they put on the saddle and bit.

A certain degree of self-control is the first condition of all morality: for of what avail are moral precepts when the character is the slave of passion and acts upon the spur of the moment? Therefore, the habit of methodical work is the basis of all ethics. There is so much truth in this, that, by one of the most wonderful phenomenon of atavism, the incapacity for work reappears in criminals and is perhaps one of the chief characteristics of their psychology.

The documentary evidence in support of this fact is abundant. Sichart, a German savant, found among 3,181 prisoners, 1,347 (42.3 per cent) who hated work, and who were classed as follows:

Of 1,848 thieves	961, or 52 per cent, hated work.
“ 381 swindlers	172, “ 45 “ “ “ “
“ 155 incendiaries	48, “ 31 “ “ “ “
“ 542 sexual criminals	145, “ 26 “ “ “ “
“ 255 perjurers	21, “ 8.2 “ “ “ “

Wright supplies us with valuable statistics with regard to criminals in the United States. In his interesting pamphlet “The Relation of Economic Conditions to the Causes of Crime,” he says that of 4,340 convicts at one time in Massachusetts, 2,991, or 68 per cent, were re-

turned as having no occupation. The adult convicts numbered at that time 3,971; of these 464 were illiterate, and the warden of the State prison for the year in question stated that of 220 men sentenced during that year, 147 were without a trade or any regular means of earning a living. In Pennsylvania, during a recent year, nearly 88 per cent of the penitentiary convicts had never been apprenticed to any trade or occupation; and this was true also of 68½ per cent of the convicts sentenced to county jails and workhouses in the same State, during the same year. Further, in Mr. Frederic Wines's recent report on homicide in the United States in 1890, it is shown that of 6,958 men, 5,175, or more than 74 per cent of the whole, were said to have no trade. One is led to the same conclusion on examining the valuable reports of the Elmira Reformatory, which contain so many interesting criminological statistics. It appears from the "Twentieth Year Book of the New York State Reformatory at Elmira" that the 7,168 inmates were classed as follows with regard to their professions:

Servants and clerks.....	1,748 or 24.4 per cent.
Common laborers.....	4,001 " 55.9 " "
Mechanical workers.....	1,082 " 15.0 " "
Idlers.....	337 " 4.7 " "

It would thus seem as if the number of idlers was the smallest among the Elmira inmates, if it were not that the number of laborers is only apparent, according to the compilers of the book who add: "It should be stated that those who claimed some occupation were, as a rule, not regularly employed, nor steady, reliable workmen." This would seem to indicate that the real number of idlers considerably exceeds 4.7 per cent.

The researches of Marro are still more curious; he noticed among criminals a very strong tendency to change their profession,—a mutability which is a form of laziness. Thus, whereas in 100 normal cases he found 86 in which a single calling was followed, 13 in which the profession was once changed, and 1 case in which this happened three times; among many thousands of criminals, classed according to their offences, he found that the number of those who followed a single profession never amounted to 50 per cent. There were of the latter 43 per cent among thieves, 22 per cent among pickpockets and swindlers; 45 per cent among swindlers only. It is thus evident that criminals change their profession so frequently because, having but little desire to work, they hope thereby to lessen its irksomeness. For this reason I perfectly agree with Wright when he picturesquely affirms:—

"The idle man's brain is the devil's own workshop. . . . It cannot be claimed that any very desirable working material can be found among convicts. If we except the large number that are unable to work, we shall by no means find workers remaining. We shall find some with trades, able and ready to work, but the greater number lacking a self-supporting occupation and many unwilling to work. I believe that the unfitness for productive labor, whether it springs from lack of trade or occupation, or from personal antipathy to work, is a great and predisposing cause of both pauperism and crime."

In short, the born murderer, the born thief, and swindler are criminals because they are incapable of adapting themselves to the uniformity and regularity of work, as it exists in our civilized nations; they would only be capable of supporting themselves by means of intermittent occupations, such as hunting and war, in which the work of primitive man can be summed up. On the one hand, incapacity for labor causes them to rebel against the great moral training of methodical work which subdues primitive impulsiveness; and, for this reason, they are impulsive beings, and no strong moral feeling is developed in them which might cause the sense of duty to curb the impulses of passion. On the other hand, possessing all the desires of modern men and being unable to satisfy them by means of work, they endeavor to do so by seeking the indirect paths of crime in order to enjoy without effort; hence, if on the one hand they sin from impulse, on the other they sin from necessity.

The capacity for work is such an important quality that I believe it influences not only crime but suicide. A great capacity for work is a safeguard against the temptation to commit suicide at the most painful moments of life. Those who have suffered much know that the worst pang of excessive grief is that one is not able to shake off the thought of one's misfortune. The mind constantly recurs to it, overcome by a terrible obsession, incapable of attending to anything else, and forced to brood over its sorrow, until this painful contemplation slowly wears out all energy of will. In this state of mind work is repugnant, because it diverts one's thoughts from the painful contemplation of one's own grief; and yet work is the only means of saving a man from the depths of despair, because it frees the mind from painful ideas and relieves it from the self-torment caused by the ever-present image of misfortune. Even the strongest of men feel a distaste for work when suffering from some great sorrow; their mental energy and grief are struggling in their minds. If, however, their mental energy wins, if, in spite of their grief, they continue to work just as they did when they were happy, they will be able to set their minds at

rest and to lessen the obsession of the painful ideas which destroy the will-power and lead to extreme resolutions; they will run less risk of giving way to despair and they will be able, although they suffer very much, to await the consolation which will come to them in the course of time. On the contrary those who, possessing less mental energy, slacken their activity under the influence of grief, allow the latter to take possession of their mind and to eat away, like a cancer, all their force of will. I believe that those who commit suicide under the influence of sorrow are men who, in moments of grief, do not possess sufficient energy to continue to work as hard as usual; therefore they lack the principal means of escape from that obsession of the sad thoughts which destroys all moral energy and annihilates courage.

The capacity for methodical work is in short the very essence of morality, the quality upon which all others depend. Those who do not possess it may be able to partially make up for this defect by brilliant intellectual qualities, but they will always remain fundamentally imperfect individuals: those who possess this quality and do not endeavor to develop it by practice are dissipating the most precious treasure with which nature could endow them. It is true that Tolstoi recently maintained that work degrades and vilifies man; and when, in a conversation with him last year in Moscow on the subject of criminal psychology, I told him that the radical defect of criminals was laziness, he answered me: "But laziness is not a vice, it is a virtue." But we must only look upon this as a brilliant paradox of an eccentric mind which mingles the fundamental laws of human psychology with ingenious sophisms. If men were to live in idleness in order to meditate more freely upon the moral aims of life, they would at last grow weary of this meditation and would become irritable, impulsive, easily roused to violence; the amount of mental equilibrium that exists in the character of civilized man would be lost to make room for the continual want of balance noticeable in the savage and barbarian character; for it is only in very strong and lofty minds that such elevated and abstract meditation as that upon the moral aims of life could possibly maintain the equilibrium of character, just as the mechanical exercise of methodical work does nowadays for all men in our society. The capacity for methodical work is therefore the inheritance which a father ought most especially desire to transmit to his children and to see increased by a wise education; because it is the magic shield behind which a man can defend himself in the most terrible adversities of life.

WILLIAM FERRERO.

THE FUTURE OF SPELLING-REFORM.

THERE is now but one opinion among philologists concerning the existing English orthography, an opinion well expressed by Prof. Lounsbury in these words: "There is certainly nothing more contemptible than our present spelling, unless it be the reasons usually given for clinging to it." This spelling is also as much opposed to utility and common sense as it is to linguistic science; for it is easily shown to be a serious obstruction to education and to civilization, wasting and worse than wasting the time of our children in the schools, needlessly increasing the cost of all printed matter,—thus making the distribution of knowledge more costly,—and doing more than all other agencies combined to hinder the spread of English as the language of the commercial world by making most difficult its acquisition by the foreigner. In brief, no rational defense of it can, on any ground, be made.¹

The cause of spelling-reform, however, though admittedly reasonable and practical has not, it must be granted, made much progress in the most important direction, namely, in securing the general adoption of better spelling. It is, of course, possible to demand too much of human nature in a matter in which individual action is so difficult, and unreasonable to look upon slow progress as complete stagnation. It is easy also to overlook signs of actual progress; but, in fact, these appear in the unanimity of scholarly opinion, in the increasing sympathy of literary men and educators with the reform, in the recom-

¹ The only pleas still offered for it that seem worthy of refutation have been fittingly answered by many scholars, most forcibly perhaps by the late Prof. Whitney. "It need not be said," he remarks, "that the objections brought on etymological and literary and other grounds against the correction of English spelling are the unthinking expressions of ignorance and prejudice. All English etymologists are in favor of the correction of English spelling, both on etymological grounds and on the higher ground of the great service it will render to national education and international intercourse. It may safely be said that no competent scholar who has really examined the question has come, or could come, to a different conclusion."—"Century Dictionary," vol. VI, preface to list of amended spellings.

mendations of the American Association for the Advancement of Science with regard to the spelling of chemical names, in the spellings adopted by the Royal Geographical Society and the United States Board on Geographic Names, in the interest shown by various legislatures, and in the strong support which our American dictionaries, beginning with "The Century Dictionary," have brought to the amended spellings recommended by the English Philological Society and the American Philological Association. But when all is said that can be said on this side, it remains true that, in the essential matter of effecting a change in popular spelling, the reform has made almost no headway at all. What are the fundamental reasons for this state of affairs? And can it be changed? These seem to be the practical questions which now face the reformers.

It is obvious, at once, that it would be unreasonable to expect the reform to be carried into execution without the fulfilment of certain preliminary conditions, of which the most important are the education of public opinion and an agreement among the reformers upon a more or less definite plan of action. With general hostility or indifference on the part of the public and disagreement in the ranks of the reform, it would be absurd to look for practical results. Have these conditions, then, been complied with?

As regards education of public opinion an affirmative answer may, without much qualification, be given. The advance in this direction made during recent years is remarkable. It is true that one still hears from "intelligent men" uncomplimentary opinions of spelling-reformers, and that it cannot be said that all of the educated, perhaps not even the greater part, have been led to assent to the desirability of spelling-reform or even to perceive clearly what the discussion is about. But that aggressive prejudice, especially among literary men, which was so important not many years ago is a thing of the past. The public may, of course, be no nearer *adopting* the reform, but it undoubtedly has learned to treat it with respect and, if it does not positively favor it, at least hesitates to pass judgment upon it on theoretical grounds. While, therefore, it would be absurd to assert that the process of educating the public on the merits of the reform is completed, it may be said that the educational phase of the movement is over to this extent,—that if ignorance and prejudice were now the only obstacles in the way of a new orthography the public could certainly be brought to adopt one in a comparatively short time.

It is at the second point—that of agreement upon a plan—that pro-

gress has stopped and has, apparently, been completely blocked. It is therefore a matter of prime importance to the reformer to inquire exactly what are the difficulties that face him at this point.

The selection of a plan of reform involves two fundamental preliminary questions: What are the practical conditions which must determine the selection? and, Who is to make the choice? In answering these questions, it must constantly be kept in mind that the whole purpose of the reform is to reform. Its object is not, as some seem to suppose, to give an opportunity for the discussion of phonetics or the evolution of scientific alphabets, but to persuade people actually to improve the current spelling. However beautiful a scheme of reformed orthography for popular use may be, it is a total failure if the public will not accept it. In other words, the question before the reformer at this point is, *What, if anything, can the public, with a reasonable degree of probability, be brought to accept?* Discussion of the matter upon any other basis is worse than idle. Now there are two general kinds of reform, well described by Prof. Lounsbury as reform *of* the language and reform *in* the language, each of which is put forward, under various forms, by certain reformers as the one which the public should be asked to adopt. The former rests upon the more or less extensive reconstruction and enlargement of the alphabet, is pretty strictly phonetic, and would result in a radical transformation of the written language: for example, in the standard phonetic alphabet of the American Philological Association,—one of the least revolutionary,—*nowadays* would be spelled *nauadēz*. The latter would leave the alphabet alone, and would urge only more or less general simplifications of spelling within the lines of our present orthography, such as the omission of silent letters, the substitution of “f” for “ph,” as in *philosophy* (*filosofy*), and the like. Most of those who support the latter regard it, of course, as only a provisional scheme leading in time to a phonetic basis; but they regard it as the only immediately practicable one, while the advocates of the former believe that such halting methods are unnecessary.

It must, in fact, be conceded that the adoption by the public of any general, radical, phonetic system is one of the most improbable things that can be imagined. The reasons for this assertion are obvious and have often been stated, but their full significance has seldom, I think, been grasped by the radical reformer. They are practically all-powerful, but their force is underestimated by the phonetists because, from a scientific point of view, they are trivial and unworthy of consideration. The first is the closely-knit association, in all minds, between the form

of the printed word, or of the printed page, and the spiritual atmosphere which breathes through our language and literature. There is a deep-rooted feeling that the existing printed form is not only *a* symbol but the *most fitting* symbol of our mother tongue, and that a radical change in this symbol must inevitably impair *for us* the beauty and spiritual effectiveness of that which it symbolizes. Could the literary spirit even of a Shakespeare, we feel, retain for us undiminished its delicacy and power if clothed in the spelling of the "Fonetic Nūz"?

To the feeling thus expressed it is idle to reply that it is unreasonable and ridiculous, for this is not altogether true: it is really neither reasonable nor unreasonable, but non-reasonable, and it shares this character with most of the effective forces of human life, in art, ethics, and society. It is simply a sentiment that has grown up in us as all sentiments do, not by reasoning, but by a complex process of association and habit, and it has struck its roots deep down into the literary consciousness,—the deeper, perhaps, in proportion to the depth and richness of that consciousness. In other words, one may and easily can prove conclusively by theoretical, historical, and practical arguments that if we were *accustomed* to use and read the orthography of the "Fonetic Nūz," it would seem as beautiful to us as that which we now employ; but the fact remains that we are *not* accustomed to it and that upon custom, and upon that alone, depends our feeling, not our knowledge, of its fitness or unfitness. It is to be noted also that the character and power of this sentiment are not altogether expressions of mere literary association, but are also largely genuinely æsthetic. It is perfectly true that *nūz* or *niuz*, for example, when taken alone strikes the eye as pleasantly as *news*, and that to a foreigner or a child a phonetically printed page looks as well as a page of current English. But this does not negative the fact that to any mature English or American eye, habituated to English as it stands, phonetic spelling in the mass comes with exactly the same kind of shock that attends the sight of physical deformity. That is, it appears to be intrinsically ugly or grotesque, even to the phonetist himself; and the truth of this is shown by the facts that it has so often served as the staple of humor with such popular jokers as Josh Billings, and that so many of our dialect writers often use it in attempting to depict vulgar or dialectal speech. It is clear, then, that systematic phonetic reform has to meet, in the sentiment of the literary and æsthetic fitness of our present orthography, an obstructive force of great power, which is not, like mere ignorance or prejudice, to be destroyed by appeals to science

and reason, and which, indeed, is almost inaccessible to direct attack. So great, in fact, is its stubborn resistance that, even if it were the sole obstacle to radical reform, I should feel it to be simply preposterous to imagine that a great literary people like the English-American could, on any grounds of mere reason and practical utility, suddenly abandon its orthography for something radically different.

But there is another obstacle to the adoption of a phonetic system which is perhaps even greater and which is constantly underrated by the reformer, namely, simple inertia or laziness. The most serious fact with which a radical reform has to deal is that the generation which is asked to adopt it has already learned the old inconsistencies and irregularities, and learned them by an effort so painful that the mere suggestion of reversing the process and unlearning them, and then learning new forms, however simple, causes a genuine chill of despair not unmingled with indignation. For the average man—that is to say, ninety-nine out of every hundred—the existing spelling is a personal possession. He has bought it with a price, and a high one. It has become instinctive, except for an occasional reference to the dictionary. It is a tool which well serves all his ends, because he has adapted himself by long habit to its imperfections. What argument has the reformer capable of arousing him to the annoying and time-consuming, if not painful, effort to walk in the paths of phonetic rectitude? Will the arguments of the philologists avail? Will he be stirred by the appeal to help make the language a simpler and better tool for coming generations? Will he be moved to action by the fact that the public is annually losing some millions of dollars by the present system? Will he be profoundly agitated even by the loss of learning-time by his children and the woes of the foreign learner of the language? Verily, none of these things will move him. He will continue to say in the future, as he has said in the past, that he “appreciates the arguments adduced and regrets the loss entailed by the present system, but that the difficulties involved in making the change prevent him from joining the movement, which really should be carried out by the younger generation for whom these difficulties are not so great.” And so, farewell!—for the younger generation can have practically nothing to do with the matter and the reform must be accomplished, if at all, by the cooperation of grown-up people like him.

Another difficulty in the way of a radical change—apparently, perhaps, trivial, but in reality most serious—is that of making a beginning, of getting something actually adopted. Some enthusiasts seem to

suppose that the public in convention assembled will vote to adopt the phonetic system presented, say by the Philological Association, and then give notice that on and after a certain day all newspapers, school-books, and other publications must conform to the standard thus established! On the contrary the public as such not only would never take the initiative, but would be apt to resent dictation from any source. It would at most follow timidly and haltingly some leader whose example would have great weight with it. Who shall this leader be? Shall we look to the Government, and State legislatures? Their influence would be very great, especially through the publications and the schools under their control; but recent experiences with them do not give the reformer any strong hope that they will act the part of leader. To the scientific associations? Their popular influence is not sufficient. To philologists and spelling-reformers? They have hardly any control of the public at all. To literary men? They cannot afford to take the financial risk of being peculiar. In short, we must accept as true the dictum of Dr. William T. Harris, an earnest reformer, "that the selection and adoption of a phonetic alphabet is impossible by any agency known to English-speaking people." It is needless to dwell upon the other practical difficulties,—the inevitable chaos of a transition period, the immense loss of invested capital, the cost of providing new dictionaries, school-books, new editions of the classics, and so on. Though important, these are all secondary.

It appears, then, from these facts that the one who will decide what kind of reform is to be adopted is not the phonetist, but the public; and that the decision will be determined, not by conscious deliberation and election, but by that unconquerable disinclination to any radical change which eliminates all "reform of the language" from the list of possibilities. If it ever comes, it can come only as the last stage of a long process. Reform *in* the language is therefore the only reform that deserves consideration. This conclusion is, of course, not pleasing to the extreme phonetists. They appear to think that it is only necessary for them to agree among themselves upon the details of an ideal reform, and then to lead the public, like willing sheep, into the sweet pastures of scientific spelling! The simple fact, however, is that in this course the extremists step entirely outside their province and do the precise thing which has led the public to regard all spelling-reformers as "cranks," thus greatly hindering, instead of helping, the cause they have at heart.

How then, it will be asked, about the possibility of even this re-

form "*in the language*"? Will not these practical obstacles retard useful change in this direction as in any other? Is the future of spelling-reform likely to be any different from its present and past?

It is, I think, obvious that the outlook for the second kind of reform must be very much more promising than the outlook for the first. No doubt it seems at first almost as difficult to secure the adoption of simplifications, even as moderate as those recommended by the philological societies,¹ as to establish a phonetic system; but this is not true of their gradual introduction. A phonetic system must be taken at once and once for all: mere simplifications may be adopted one by one and the process extended over an indefinite period of years. What an enormous difference this makes is obvious from the simple consideration that all the obstacles to reform which I have noted rest mainly upon absolutely nothing but habit, inveterate to be sure and unassailable directly, but still open to gradual correction and, finally, to complete change, as all habit is. Habits are lines of least resistance, and it is always possible so to vary the resistance at different points that the lines can be modified very much at will. But such modifications can never, in well-established habits, be secured except very gradually; at least the sudden conversions which we regard, even in the individual, as manifestations of Divine power, never occur in communities and great masses of men. The wise man who seeks to secure a reform does not rush at the habit he is attacking and attempt to pull it up at once, root and branch. He rather seeks to find in the person or society he is reforming the elements of an opposite or better habit, and to knit them together and strengthen them until they have sufficient power to prevail.

Just this exactly appears to be the only possible and hopeful course for the spelling-reformer. While it is mere childishness to assume that deep-rooted habits of the public can suddenly be torn up and the phonetic habit planted in their place, it is highly reasonable to assume that these habits will ultimately yield to a well-directed attack of the kind described. No habit is absolute, but about each there is a fringe of thoughts, feelings, and conduct which does not exactly harmonize with it; the drunkard is not always drunk or desirous of being so, nor is the thief always willing to steal: and in the same way it will be found that even the most stubborn sticklers for the "authorized" orthography have a few words which they would not regret to see

¹ See the appendices to "The Century Dictionary," the "International Dictionary," and the allowed spellings in "A Standard Dictionary."

changed, and that even those who are least inclined to make the effort to relearn their spelling find it convenient to use a few of the simplified forms which the dictionaries now allow. In brief, there are, in the variations of our existing orthography allowed by the dictionaries and in the occasional innovations of influential writers which are accepted by the public without any jarring of the nerves, the beginnings of a movement which, if continued along its own lines and gradually pushed to a consistent conclusion, will result in a vast simplification and rationalizing of our language.

This very process, though not always well directed has been going on for three centuries. Why not, then, fasten upon these beginnings, make them clear to the public, stimulate their use, add to them gradually as the sense of their oddness wears off and the appreciation of their utility increases, and thus in the course of years slowly eliminate at least all the gross absurdities from our written speech? Is it not entirely conceivable that, by this steady process of transformation, the sentiment which now clings to the existing orthography will gradually disappear or become attached to the newer forms? And is it not certain that the opposition of inertia and laziness, and of the other practical hindrances mentioned, will be entirely disarmed? This, at least, seems now to be the conviction of most of the wisest of the reformers.

And so, the extremist will exclaim, you will abandon scientific precision and a correct system for a mere patching of the scientifically unpatchable! Perhaps they will only be postponed; but if they are really abandoned, what then? I can only reply once more that the adoption of the reform is wholly a practical matter, something that concerns the general public and it alone. The phonetists have their scientific alphabets and can have as many more as they may care to devise; the use of any of these by the public will not help their science a particle: why then should they insist on cramming them down the public throat, when the public stomach will not tolerate them?

Of the details of this practicable reform and of the methods by which it can be promoted, there is not space here to speak. It is enough to say that the essence of it lies in persuading those who are favorably disposed, on theoretical grounds, to the amending of English spelling, to use in their publications and correspondence, so far as they can, the simpler forms which have the support of any good authority and are most in accord with existing analogies and the historic and philological standard, thus gradually habituating the public to better ways.

This is done to some extent now ; but the practice should and could vastly be extended. In the list of spellings above mentioned recommended by the philological societies, as well as by all the editors of well-known English dictionaries, one has a guide that can safely be followed. The objections brought against it, namely, that it is partial, reforming some words and leaving unreformed others equally bad ; that the principles upon which it is constructed are not consistently applied ; and that to adopt it would be to introduce a new element of confusion into the language—would, to a large extent, be valid if it were put forward as the limit of the reform. This, however, is not its character. It is simply a preparatory guide for those who are willing to take one or more of the initial steps of the reform. Its negative imperfections are therefore of little consequence ; its merit lies in the fact that its use will infallibly tend toward a simple and practically-consistent orthography.

The feeling, however, that the success of the movement depends entirely upon getting a very large number of people to agree to make a small beginning, and that its final speed will be in proportion to its initial slowness, has led the more intelligent reformers to recommend the immediate adoption of much more restricted changes. Rules for these smaller beginnings are furnished by the Spelling-Reform Association and others. The most conservative action is that of the Orthographic Union,¹ which aims to gain wide acceptance for a few useful simplifications, and then to extend them as fast as may be possible. In its list of vice-presidents are the names of William Dean Howells, Edward Eggleston, Brander Matthews, Thomas R. Lounsbury, Andrew D. White, William R. Harper, Francis A. March, William Hayes Ward, Charles P. G. Scott, and others—names which show that literature, as well as linguistic science, is back of the movement.

Is it unreasonable, then, to urge all who are working for the cause to continue their phonetic studies as matters of pure science and theory, and to concentrate their practical efforts upon driving in the thin edge of the wedge which these gentlemen and others think that they can insert into the gnarled block of habit from which the axe of the phonetist constantly rebounds?

BENJAMIN E. SMITH.

¹ Founded at New York in June, 1895.

ANOTHER PHASE OF THE NEW EDUCATION.

THE city of Detroit, Michigan, maintains in connection with its public-school system a Normal Training School for teachers, which is in this country unique. The idea upon which it rests,—that of the “culture-epochs” in education,—first definitely promulgated by Ziller and later practicalized by Dr. Rein of the Jena Pedagogical Seminary, is one, however, by no means unfamiliar to students in the theory of education. Just now, indeed, in the revival of interest in pedagogics throughout this country, the culture-epoch principle is receiving perhaps the lion’s share of attention. In brief it may be stated as follows: Every child repeats in his own development the history of the race; therefore his education should follow, as closely as may be, the lines of progress drawn by the civilization of the race.

Miss Scott, the head of the Detroit Normal School, is, however, not an orthodox Herbartian, and deviates in many important particulars from the systems employed in the German culture-epoch schools; but since these deviations are of interest rather to the student of technical pedagogy than to the general reader, they need not here be specified. It will be sufficient to say, by way of a general characterization of the Detroit plan, that a certain period in the history of world-civilization, studied in all its aspects and relations, constitutes the central core or nucleus for the work of a given grade, from this differentiating all the various branches of study—the history (political, industrial, social, and religious), the literature and language, the art, the ethics, the natural science, the number or arithmetic, the drawing, and music.

All this sounds very ambitious. Perhaps it would be well to see what is actually done to this end in the Detroit school. The system has been in operation for the past four years, under Miss Scott’s direction, in one of the regular ward schools of the city, and, though viewed simply as an experiment, it challenges attention, whatever may be one’s judgment as to the philosophic soundness of the culture-epoch theory. That an actual though very elastic correspondence does exist between the development of the child’s mind during the school period and a succession of phases in the history of civilization, Miss Scott believes

she has demonstrated in her study of the children under her charge. And it is this study which has determined the system, both as to its general plan and in all details.

The general plan is perhaps most easily learned upon a visit to the Washington Building, in which the Training School has its headquarters. It is a typical city school-building of dingy red brick, three stories high, its elbows knocking against the fences on each side, and set down in the midst of a German, Russian, and Polish settlement, with a thin sprinkling of Americans and Africans—surely as unpromising a field as could be selected for an experiment of this kind.

In the first grade, the children between five and six years old are deep in stories of *Hiawatha*, the little Indian boy, a type of the nomadic period in civilization. Every day the teacher tells them a story, either new or old, about *Hiawatha*,—how he looked, what sort of house he lived in, what he ate and what he wore, what he learned in his forest school, how he shot the deer, how he made his canoe, about the animals and flowers he knew, and, with the particularity so dear to the childish heart, almost everything relating to his daily life. These stories are very simple, consisting often of not more than half a dozen sentences. For instance, on the first morning I visited the school the story told how *Hiawatha* all alone walked proudly into the forest with the bow and arrows which the old Iagoo had made for him (the stories of the making of the bow and arrows and of what the birds and the squirrel said to *Hiawatha* had been used, in order, before), and how the rabbit leaped out of his pathway, saying to the little hunter, “Do not shoot me, *Hiawatha*!”

When the story had been told with delightful minuteness and enthusiasm by the teacher, she drew the main facts from the children again by means of questions, and then one child, who had among others volunteered, was selected to tell the whole story, the order of events, as narrated by the teacher, being carefully maintained. The reading-lesson followed: it had previously been placed upon the blackboard in script letters and consisted of the lines—

“ And the rabbit from his pathway
Leaped aside ;
Saying to the little hunter,
‘ Do not shoot me, *Hiawatha* ! ’ ”

The method by which children in the first grade learn to read such a lesson as this may be sufficiently suggestive to the teacher to warrant a brief description. The children read what is set for them largely

through their previous knowledge of the story which it tells, and of the order of events therein; but, having read it after this fashion, they learn to pick out any given line—such as, “Do not shoot me, Hiawatha!”—from the rest; at first from their knowledge of the order of events, and afterward from their familiarity with the general appearance of each verse in whatever position on the blackboard it may be found. Next, by a similar process, they learn to recognize at sight any given word anywhere in any of the verses, and, later, also when isolated on the blackboard. From the identification of words, the child descends to letters, as in the old “word-method,” and learns “a” and “b” only after he has long been able to pick out the word “rabbit” under any disguise of unfamiliar association in script or writing, and to read fluently such a passage from “Hiawatha” as that above cited. After the reading-lesson, the pupils in this class retire to their seats, each to make “three rabbits” from a box of pasteboard letters, and then to model a more or less lumpy, but sometimes quite effective, bunny in soft clay.

Meanwhile another class has a story-lesson about the different pairs of things the rabbit has—eyes, ears, jaws, hind-feet, fore-feet, etc. They crowd with absorbing interest round a large photograph of Titian’s “Madonna of the Rabbit,” and, taking their seats, each proceeds to cut out of paper a small copy of the famous bunny, drawn for that purpose by the teacher. About the room are clay models and drawings made by the children, illustrating the study in all lines up to date; bows and arrows made “like *Hiawatha’s*”; a doll dressed by the children as a regular Indian brave, according to the description given of *Hiawatha’s* dress in the poem. Another doll was dressed to represent a modern American boy, but was not half so fine or wonderful in the children’s eyes. Upon the walls hung animal and Indian pictures; and one side of the blackboard was covered with very skilful drawings made by the teacher to illustrate the life and exploits of *Hiawatha*. “What is it that you try to do for the children in this room?” I asked the teacher. “To encourage their natural curiosity about all the facts or phenomena that come under their notice, to teach them to reproduce their observations truthfully, to feel a kinship with all animal and plant life, to be brave (not foolhardy) and uncomplaining—this, of course, in addition to the ordinary studies,” she replied. “*Hiawatha* is their hero, and they want to be just like him in every particular, so that gives them an incentive in these directions.”

The next room was devoted to *Kablu*, a little early Aryan boy, who, as I learned from the stories told by the children, lived in a one-story

log house, built against the side of a tall rock, and tended his father's sheep on the mountain-sides. He got up before sunrise every morning to stand, with the rest of the family, around a big flat stone upon which his father kindled a fire, by rubbing two dry sticks together, and over which he offered a prayer to the great Sun as he rose. The children light a fire in this way themselves. They build a house like *Kablu's*, and make clay dishes like his. They study about the sheep he tended, and make clothes, such as he wore, for a little Aryan doll. The idea of the home is emphasized in this grade, and pictures of the Holy Family are everywhere upon the walls. The teacher explained to me that these pictures were used with no religious or sectarian implications: they stand simply for beautiful pictures of family life. The children certainly seemed to be very fond of them. I noticed several at different times look up from their work to the picture nearest them on the wall with an expression of content and appreciation, such as the faces of few grown people exhibit when set before a famous picture. The story of "Little Lord Fauntleroy" is used in this grade, for its ideal family life and affection, and the children dress a Fauntleroy doll to play with the Kablu doll, thus emphasizing the difference between the clothing of *Kablu's* time and of ours. They measure carefully every part of every garment made, and find many of their number-lessons in the process of doll-dressing. As in the *Hiawatha* room they enjoyed many of the Indian legends, here they revel in the myths of the early Aryan period—"Red Riding-Hood," "Cinderella," "Jack and the Beanstalk," "Jack the Giant-Killer," "Sleeping Beauty," etc. Out of some of these grows much of the nature-work for the grade; out of "Sleeping Beauty," for instance, is developed the study of seed-life, cocoons, etc.

In this room the children are shepherds and farmers, as in the *Hiawatha* room they were hunters; and the nature-work, as before, is an outgrowth of the life of the period. In this same room, later in the year, the children become soldiers, with Darius, the Persian boy; building the city of Babylon with bricks they themselves have made, growing familiar with Persian art in its characteristic colors and outlines, expert in military exercises, and imbued with the military spirit of "Truth, Courage, and Obedience," which three words constitute the motto for the room. Through the contact of the Hebrews with the Persians opportunity is given for a study of Hebrew civilization in its broad outlines, and the ideals of the period are strengthened by the use of Old Testament stories exemplifying them. The fruits and flowers native to Persia and familiar also to us are used for nature-study.

In the next room the scene had shifted to Greece. About the walls hung representative specimens of Greek art, in photographs, bas-reliefs, and statuettes. The Apollo Belvedere, the Venus of Milo, Diana, Mercury, Hebe, the Sleeping Ariadne, Aurora, Clytie, Niobe, and many others embodied concretely the motto on the board, "The True, the Good, and the Beautiful." As I came in, a little boy, perhaps eight years old, was telling the story of Baucis and Philemon with exquisite clearness and precision of phrase, and then another related the story of Rhœcus, and the children "acted it out," a little girl taking the part of the dryad, a boy that of Rhœcus, another that of the bee, while three or four boys acted the rôle of the playmates of Rhœcus. This "acting out" I found to be a favorite means all through the school for representing the stories told. The children take any parts, inanimate and non-sentient as well as human. In fact, the nature-work is very commonly reproduced in this fashion. The Greek doll and Greek house, as well as a Greek temple, built by the children, represented some of the hand-work in this room. Greek words were written upon the blackboard (in Greek characters) to show how Cleon wrote; illustrations of scenes from the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," the characteristic Greek border, and sketches of the flowers, leaves, and insects especially beloved of the Greeks, also adorned the blackboard. There was room, however, in one corner for the following problem: "Cleon began to go to school when he was five years old, which was the third year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. How old was Cleon at the seventy-seventh Olympiad?" Other problems dealt with the proportion of dimensions in the columns and other parts of the temple the children had built, its floor-space, and the proportion of features in certain Greek statues. I found that "proportion" is the general subject for the number-work in this room.

Across the hall was the Roman room. Photographs from busts of Cæsar, Cicero, and the young Augustus, of Roman temples, arches, and colonnades, strike one's attention upon the instant of entering. Horatius is the name of the Roman boy who is used as the type-character for this grade, and Macaulay's "Horatius," narratives of other old Roman heroes, such as Regulus, Curtius, and Cincinnatus, and the story of the "Æneid," form the literary background for the work of the grade. "Power through law" is the ethical core of the study; and the atmosphere seems full of the stern integrity and self-control for which the word "Roman" stands to us. The military and patriotic spirit is strong here, and the stories of heroism past and present are told by the

children with a fervor which indicates fundamental sympathy with the spirit expressed in them. Roman life is reproduced, so far as may be, in all the various phases of its expression,—the home, the school, industrial and social life, the state, and the church.

It was difficult, in passing to the next room, to shake from my feet all the dust of Rome; but, in five minutes after entering the realm of feudalism and chivalry, I had forgotten everything but the scene before me. A dozen children were gathered about a relief-map in clay, which they had just finished, representing the scene of King Arthur's death,—that "dark strait of barren land," where stood the ruined chapel with its broken cross, the mountains and the sea on one hand, and the lake on the other, to which from the chapel ran the zigzag path which Sir Bedivere three times traversed to cast away King Arthur's sword. Having finished the scene to their satisfaction, one eight-year-old girl took a book and read to the others the story as Tennyson has it in "Morte d'Arthur." There was hardly a breath or a stir among the children as she read, with evidently ardent appreciation; and when the teacher at last stopped her, a boy took up the story at that point and carried it on with apparently equal enjoyment. In telling the story, later, I noticed that the archaisms were almost invariably used in preference to the modern, more prosaic terms; not at all because the children did not know the latter as equivalent to the former,—for in every instance the one was given promptly for the other when the teacher called for such an interchange,—but, evidently, there was an undefined feeling of the greater congruity of the archaic tone-colors with the atmosphere of the story. "Then King Arthur said:" related a small boy enthusiastically, "I am so deeply smitten through the helm"—"What do you mean by 'smitten through the helm'?" interrupted the teacher. "Hit in the head," responded the child with almost resentful promptness; but it was a minute or two before he got completely back again into the witchery of the chivalric story. Prominent upon the blackboard in this room were set the lines:—

" Who revered his conscience as his King ;
Whose glory was, redressing human wrong ;
Who spake no slander, no, nor listen'd to it."

and

" My strength is as the strength of ten,
Because my heart is pure."

From chivalric days I entered upon the high-pressure age of the

Renaissance, with Columbus as its central figure. As this period marks the revival of painting, the walls of the schoolroom were rich with photographs of the masterpieces of Michelangelo, Raphael, da Vinci, Correggio, Guido Reni, and others. The children in this grade read selections from the best literature in regard to Columbus, Copernicus, Raleigh, and Joan of Arc, as representatives of the period. They become familiar with the story of Spenser's "Faerie Queene," of some of Shakespeare's plays, and of Dante's "Divine Comedy." This is the ship-building period and the cathedral period, and the renaissance of music as well as art, of speculation and experiment in every line, of enthusiasm for learning; and I should not be at all surprised to find that this grade is the place in which a majority of the children definitely decide to enter the High School. At all events, whether this grade be the determining point or not, it is a fact that the mid-year "graduating" class from the eighth grade of the Washington School in February, 1896, returned twenty of its twenty-one members to the entering class of the High School—a record not often paralleled in city schools.

The first half-year in the fourth grade is devoted to the Puritans, in England, in Holland, and in America. Cromwell, Hampden, Milton, Bunyan, William of Orange, and Miles Standish are the heroes of the children in this room; "Pilgrim's Progress," "Paradise Lost" (selections), "Rise and Fall of the Dutch Republic" (selections), and Longfellow's "Courtship of Miles Standish" are their classics. The atmosphere of the room, and the spirit of the work I saw there, would indicate as appropriate some such motto as this: "A conscience free and responsible." I did not see this motto written anywhere in the room, but its spirit was so manifest that I asked in all sincerity of Miss Scott—"Have you created this sturdy sobriety in the children by imposing upon them the Puritan conception of life?" Her reply may be noted as suggestive of the genesis of her plans: "There would never have been any Puritan grade, had I not observed a Puritan period in the children themselves. Of course not all children experience it, but I may say that the majority, especially if guided through the restless multiplicity of life in the Renaissance period, are compelled by the very constitution of their minds somehow to unify it all; to find one sure principle of action underlying and focusing their experiences, to which they may give undivided allegiance. And this principle, whatever it may be, must be their own—the freedom of the Renaissance period has left them this inheritance—and it must be dominant in their lives. We find this true of most children who have really lived the

Renaissance period. And we are simply trying to help them to live this period also, in order that it may give place to another, more highly developed. I believe many of the children in this grade are already upon an ethical plane higher than that of the Puritans, for most of them recognize consciously the duty not alone of obeying, but also of enlightening, the conscience."

I had time only for a glance at the rooms beyond this grade; but found the history of our country—political, industrial, and social—traced, first as a whole, next in sections, and finally as related to the development in all these lines of the various grand divisions of the earth. The history of the world's progress as a whole was then summarized for the purpose of disclosing the principle of coöperation, which has been more or less explicitly recognized throughout the grades as the underlying principle, not only of political but also of industrial and social development. Upon this basis a study of sociology is pursued in the eighth grade. In the first half-year, the state is the special subject for study, its ethical core being the idea of justice, as a necessary outgrowth of the intertwining of the individual with the coöperative social structure. The formal side of this study is commonly taught under the head of "Civil Government." The meaning of these forms becomes intelligible in connection with the generalizations previously made; and the thought of justice is elaborated in a somewhat detailed study of the "Divine Comedy." I will own that I felt the ground somewhat "wobbly" under my feet, as I listened to the astounding statement that children in the eighth grade were studying the "Divine Comedy." The conjunction of a kindergarten infant with the "Odyssey" would have been hardly more startling. But the class was already in session; so I choked down my incredulity, and entered. The teacher, a lithe, bright-faced little woman, with a fund of rare idealism savingly tinctured with common sense, was telling the boys—the same lesson having previously been presented to the girls—the story of Dante's visit to the seventh terrace of the Purgatorio, where the animal passions were burned away. I must say that I have never heard a story told better, more delicately and deftly, with juster emphasis, more fidelity to the spirit of the original, or a more inspiring touch. The children listened almost reverently and, being questioned, related the essential points in the story with an exactness which showed the concentration of their attention. Then one of the boys told the story with spirit and precision, and the class was directed to write it out in narrative form for the next day's lesson.

In the second half-year the central idea is love, instead of justice, and the social institution is the family, not, as before, the state. The family is studied as a coöperative unit, and the fact of love and family relationship is frankly recognized as the highest spiritual coöperation. Love-stories of the pure sort are read and told in class,—“Paul and Virginia,” for instance, “Evangeline,” “The Tempest,” and one or two others,—with an attempt to preserve and even increase the sacredness of the family relation in the minds of the children. Thus the real interest in the subject which is natural to their period of development is directed into healthful and normal channels, instead of being, as is quite generally the case, simply ignored by both teachers and parents, so that the children are left an easy prey to shallowing and vulgarizing influences from without.

“What is to be the end of this work of yours?” I asked of Miss Scott.

“I hope there won’t be any end,” she replied. “But this much is sure, it is hardly begun yet. We are feeling our way along, holding tightly to the children, and not moving a step until they have given the initiative. This is our only safe course. We alter the work every year, and shall abandon the fundamental principle altogether, if further investigations into child-development should at any time overthrow the conclusions already reached. I dislike to call my plan a ‘system’ at all, for the word seems to imply something fixed and definitive, whereas this is as yet in the germ. I believe it is all there, but much is yet very inadequately developed. We cover the same ground in technical reading, writing, drawing, science-study, number, geography, and language, as that occupied by the old system, and in fact much more, besides our important work in literature, art, and ethics. But there is still very much to be done in all these departments.”

“I don’t know which to call this,” I appealed,—“the apotheosis of the story, or a gigantic philosophy of coöperation.”

“Either will do,” she responded; “coöperation is the idea, and the story is our method.”

GERTRUDE BUCK.

The Forum

DECEMBER, 1896.

OBSTACLES TO RATIONAL EDUCATIONAL REFORM.¹

THE purpose of the present article is to point out how, in my opinion, the obstacles to rational educational progress may be overcome, and the coöperation secured on the part of all forces toward the development of an ideal system of schools.

While in former years I entertained the belief, in common with others, that the cause of the obstacles to educational progress might be attributed to public indifference and its consequences,—politics in school boards, incompetent supervision, insufficient preparation on the part of teachers, etc.,—further study and reflection have led me to the conclusion that these elements are not the ultimate cause of the evil, but constitute only the symptoms of a much more deeply hidden disease which permits all sorts of havoc to be played with the schools. The evil to

¹ For many years the author of the series of articles of which this is the first has been of the opinion, that the efforts on the part of the child during his schooling are not adequately rewarded by results. This belief led him, some eight years ago, to abandon his medical practice, in order that he might devote his time to work in the pedagogical field, in the hope of discovering a remedy for the defect. After studying psychology and pedagogy in the Universities of Jena and Leipsic, and examining the school systems of one hundred or more cities in this country and abroad, Dr. Rice felt that the time had arrived when he might venture to put his theories to practical use. Finally, some two years ago, he set out, under the auspices of THE FORUM, to collect the data on which his articles will be based. The nature of his researches, and their practical bearing, are made clear in the present paper. It is confidently believed that Dr. Rice's forthcoming papers will prove to be most valuable contributions to pedagogical science.—Ed. THE FORUM.

Copyright, 1895, by the Forum Publishing Company.

Permission to re-publish articles is reserved.

which I refer is this ; namely, that educators themselves cannot come to an agreement in regard to what changes, if any, are desirable or feasible. Many educators—men of learning and experience—do not appear to be in sympathy with the system of education advocated by reformers. Others, while admiring the spirit of the so-called “new education,” question the feasibility of carrying out its demands in the common schools. Last, the great mass of our teachers, who have not entered into the intricacies of the problem, finding that there are many sides to the question, are in a state of doubt, ready to be led by any faction.

The ultimate cause of the lamentably slow progress toward the introduction of educational reforms may be traced, therefore, beyond the province of the general public, into the professional circle itself ; to an inner strife and turmoil, consequent upon the uncertainties in which the entire problem of elementary education is involved. Consequently, in my opinion, the fate of educational reform rests entirely in the hands of educators, and will be decided by what is done, through their efforts, to dispel the uncertainties which have led the public to hesitate. In other words, if the educators can be brought to an understanding, the obstructions from without will take care of themselves. But, is it possible for all educators to meet on a common ground and together lay out definite plans of action ?

If the source of the difficulty could be traced to a material difference in point of view in regard to the purpose of elementary education,—what, under ideal conditions, the elementary schools of our country ought to accomplish,—then, of course, endeavors to bring the various educational factions to an agreement would be as fruitless as endeavors to secure religious unity. A careful consideration of educational discussions, however, shows that a difference of opinion on the general purpose of our schools does not exist ; but that there is substantially an agreement to the effect, that the general aim of the elementary schools of our country is to develop a moral individual, endowed with the power of independent thought, the ability to earn an honest livelihood, culture, refinement, and a broad and intelligent interest in human affairs. As the source of the conflict cannot be traced to the problem of educational purposes, we cannot fail to conclude that it must be sought at the practical end of the problem. And it is here that the difficulty actually lies. For, while we are agreed that the ultimate purpose of elementary education is to develop a good citizen, in the broadest sense of the term, we are by no means clear in regard to what to do, in order that the child may receive the benefit of all that can be done for him.

In matters pertaining to the practical conduct of the schools, our notions to-day are not much more definite than they might have been a century ago. Indeed, so crude are they that, no sooner do we dip beneath the surface in our inquiries, than we find ourselves surrounded by utter confusion. The statements made on practical questions, even among our leading educators, are conflicting to the point of absurdity. And, as there are no proofs to offer as to who is right and who is wrong, we are left completely without a guide; so that we do not know which way to turn. Everything is speculative: nothing is positive. "I think" and "I believe" are the stereotyped expressions of the educational world: "I know" has not yet been admitted. If our ideas on the practical side should be vague only in regard to certain subtle questions now under discussion in our leading pedagogical circles, and involving hair-breadth metaphysical distinctions, the weaknesses would certainly be pardonable. Perfection cannot be found in any department of learning. But the complexion becomes entirely changed when we consider that we have absolutely no definite knowledge in regard to the most elementary questions; that our ideas in regard to a proper treatment of the old subjects—reading, spelling, penmanship, grammar, composition, and arithmetic—are fully as indefinite as they are in regard to what course to pursue in the sciences and the arts, or in the training of the moral character. Our leading educators are not even agreed, for example, as to whether the results secured by a five-year course in technical grammar are better than those secured by a one-year course, or whether the results will not be just as good if technical grammar be entirely omitted from the elementary school course. And, again, they are by no means agreed as to whether or not children who devote forty minutes daily to spelling turn out to be better spellers than those who devote, say, not more than five or ten minutes daily to that subject.

The element which, above all others, leads our people to doubt the feasibility of the new education, concerns the problem as to whether or not there is enough "time" at our disposal to secure satisfactory results in reading, writing, and arithmetic, if new subjects be freely introduced into the schools. In view of what I have just stated; namely, that the opinions of the most experienced vary enormously on the question of the time required to do a piece of work, it may readily be seen that whatever may be said on the subject at present is merely a random guess. Many of our reformers have endeavored to evade this question altogether by arguments to the effect that the Three R's are merely the

tools of knowledge, and that, consequently, they are of much less educative value than the matters on which the new education lays stress. But such arguments will not aid the cause; for, whatever our individual notions on the point at issue may be, we cannot escape from the fact that the citizen who is not properly grounded in the Three R's labors at a disadvantage in the struggle for existence, and that, in consequence, duty compels us to check our individual inclinations and to gracefully bow to the inevitable.

Until the truth is known concerning the possibility of broadening the curriculum without detriment to the Three R's, educational conflict will not abate, and the road to progress will continue to be barred. Consequently, the work which, above all others, ought now to engage the attention of our people, in order that the children may receive the benefit of all that it is possible to do for them is, to undertake measures that will lead to the positive discovery as to how much time is actually required to secure satisfactory results in reading, writing, and arithmetic. That to-day we are utterly unable to give an intelligent answer to this question, is due simply to the fact that we have not yet made an attempt to discover the landmark which must serve as a guide in directing our judgment. And, before we shall be able to make any progress in the solution of this problem, it will be necessary definitely to locate the central point around which the entire problem of educational reform revolves. The landmark to which I refer is simply this; namely, a clear definition of what is meant by the term "satisfactory results." If we do not know what we mean by satisfactory results, how shall we be able, with any degree of intelligence, to judge when our task has been satisfactorily performed? If we have no definite goal, who can tell how long it will take to reach it, or what road will most directly lead to it? Until we come to a definite understanding in regard to this matter, our entire educational work will lack direction, and we shall continue, as heretofore, to grope our way along passages completely enveloped in darkness, in an endeavor to land, we know not where.

If we might have a standard which would enable us to tell when our task has been completed, our attention might be earnestly directed toward the discovery of short cuts in educational processes, which would enable the child, by the expenditure of very little time, to acquire the demanded knowledge and skill in branches whose educative value is small. Thus, by securing a standard of measurement for determining the results in the Three R's alone, our progressive educators might become freed from the fetters of prejudice, to labor, without

restraint, toward the realization of higher ideals. Moreover, in the branches that are distinctively educative, a definite goal is necessary in order to determine the feasibility of certain methods of instruction. How, for example, will it be possible to determine whether or not satisfactory results can be secured in history and geography, if these subjects be unified in instruction, unless we have an understanding in regard to what is meant by satisfactory results in these branches? Or, how shall we be able to tell to what extent arithmetic may be successfully taught in connection with other branches, unless we know what is meant by satisfactory results in arithmetic?

When a standard is recognized in regard to the knowledge and skill which the child ought to possess in spelling, reading, penmanship, language, arithmetic, and so on, then all teachers may benefit from the labors of others directed toward the discovery of both economical and interesting methods of teaching. For want of such a standard, each individual teacher has, thus far, been a law unto himself; permitted to experiment on his pupils in accordance with his own individual educational notions, whether inherited from his grandmother or the result of study and reflection, entirely regardless of what was being done by others. So long as this condition is possible, pedagogy cannot lay claim to recognition as a science. In the recognized fields of science, such as physics, chemistry, medicine, etc., the members of the professions are not only willing to learn from each other, but they are compelled to do so under penalty of the law. Those who fail, in practice, to give due recognition to important discoveries are held responsible for the consequences. Before pedagogy can be recognized as a science, it will be necessary to discover at least some truths in regard to educational processes which, if ignored by the teacher, will make him fully as liable to prosecution for malpractice as the physician who has bungled in setting a bone. Until an accurate standard of measurement is recognized by which such truths may be discovered, ward politicians will continue to wield the baton, and educational anarchy will continue to prevail.

It may here be argued, that it would be impossible to secure a definite standard for measuring results, generally applicable in our country, on the ground that the needs of our people vary in different localities. While this sentiment deserves recognition, it will become apparent, during the course of my articles, that proper attention to local conditions, in the conduct of our elementary schools, would not tend in the least to alter the plan as a whole.

At present, our ideas in regard to what the elementary schools are in duty bound to accomplish, or how much may be reasonably expected of the pupil, do not extend beyond a few very general notions. There is an agreement, first, that the child, on leaving school, should be able to read; second, that he should possess the ability to write a letter or a composition in a neat, legible hand, without mistakes in spelling, grammar, or punctuation; third, that he should be skilled in the use of figures; fourth, that he should have some knowledge of geography; and, fifth, that he should know some history. That we have no definite standard, however, in any one of these branches, becomes apparent, so soon as we seek for definite information. How many and which words should the child be able to spell, on leaving school, without referring to a dictionary? Ought our citizen to be a *littérateur*, or will the ability to write a good English sentence be satisfactory? Shall the child's penmanship, on graduating from the elementary school, be of sufficient elegance to enable him to earn money by writing visiting cards, or will a legible hand suffice? A very important question that arises, in connection with this apparently insignificant subject, concerns a definition of what is meant by a legible hand. How far-reaching this matter actually is, may be seen when we consider that the desire to secure an elegant instead of a neat handwriting may exert a great influence on the *entire school course*. The extra amount of time required in travelling from legibility to elegance might be, in itself, sufficient to crowd nature-study out of the curriculum. Moreover, the desire to secure elegant penmanship might necessitate a movement so slow, in everything that the child is obliged to write, as to seriously interfere with his development in other directions. Again, shall the child, when he graduates from the elementary school, be able, on demand, to solve any arithmetical puzzle that anyone may choose to place before him? Or, last, shall he be able, on call, to rattle off the boundaries of Ethiopia? If not, where shall the limit be drawn?

For lack of a definite standard, the selection of material for instruction has been made, thus far, in an arbitrary way, under no control other than that of tradition and individual opinion. The old-fashioned schoolmaster's method of procedure has been by far the easiest. His plan has been to set aside a certain number of hours each week for instruction in a given subject; and, during that time, to crowd into the child's mind as many things as possible, in the hope that some of them will be remembered, but without any particular regard for the question as to what good they would do even if they should happen to be

retained. The new school of educators, on the other hand, has endeavored to solve the problem by selecting material that will interest the child; whereby much has been done to relieve the work of needless drudgery. But this method, also, has failed to give satisfaction; for, while the reformers have criticized the old-fashioned system as wasteful, in so far as too many useless facts are taught, the criticism passed on the new plan of work has been that it is too indefinite, and that, in consequence, it destroys the backbone of the old system without putting anything definite in its place. That so much conflict should exist in regard to what ought to be accomplished in each branch, is not due to the fact that there is no guide which will enable us to determine what is our duty. It is simply due to the fact that, for want of research in the proper direction, our notions on the subject have never become clear. When the matter is regarded in its proper light, it will be seen that, in solving the problem "What to teach," the individual educator is not entirely free to choose; but that, within certain limits, the matter is governed by definite laws. By reason of the fact that, within the prescribed limits, the same laws apply to all alike, a study of the laws which govern this matter would enable us to find a standard of measurement on which all our educators might agree.

The law by which the selection of material is governed is represented, at least in part, by the demands of society for a definite amount of positive knowledge and skill. That we cannot agree in regard to what must be done, is due simply to the fact that we are not properly acquainted with what is needed. Consequently, the work which above all others, should now absorb the attention of our educators is that work which will lead to definite information in regard to what is required, and how much can be expected of the child, in individual branches of knowledge. When our ideas on this matter are clear, it will be possible to secure a selection of material that will no longer be provided in an arbitrary way, but will be such as to satisfy the demands of all. When we are clear in regard to what is needed, it will be possible to determine what results in individual branches may be deemed satisfactory, and how much time will be required to reach this goal. By securing an agreement in regard to what must be accomplished by all, the educator would not be deprived of his individuality. On the contrary, he would be much more free than he has ever been; for, so long as the demanded results are obtained, he would be at liberty both to present the desired material in any form that he might choose and to do as much else as he might deem fit. How the necessary data

which would lead to definite conclusions on this subject might be secured, will be pointed out later on.

The establishment of a standard, to enable the teacher to tell when his task in a given branch has been satisfactorily performed, constitutes only one of the practical problems with which the educator is confronted. The remaining problem is concerned in the discovery of a standard by which may be determined how much time it is necessary to devote to a subject, in order to complete this task. By the establishment of such a standard we should be given a basis for testing the comparative economy of different educational processes. That the importance of labor in this direction cannot be over-estimated, becomes apparent when we consider that the extent to which the child's education may be broadened depends almost entirely upon the time required to secure satisfactory results in reading, writing, and arithmetic. That, at present, we are absolutely unable to form an intelligent judgment in regard to how much time ought to be consumed in completing a piece of work, is proved by what has already been stated; namely, that educators are not even agreed as to whether better spellers will be produced by devoting forty minutes daily to spelling than by devoting not more than five or ten minutes daily to that subject; or whether the results secured by a five-year course in technical grammar are superior to those obtained by a one-year course.

Our lack of knowledge on this point, however, is not due to the fact that nothing positive can be known in regard to the comparative economy of different educational processes; it is due simply to the fact that the proper steps have not yet been taken which will give us the required information. That educators should thus far have failed to throw the needed light on the subject, may be fully explained by the fact that they have endeavored to solve the problem by means of hypotheses based on psychology; whereas facts alone can tell the tale. In a word, they have made the fatal mistake of exactly reversing the true order of things. Instead of proving the accuracy of their hypotheses by a study of the results of a given process, they have endeavored to prove, in advance, what the results of methods based on these hypotheses must be. The plight into which this mode of procedure has brought us will become obvious by a simple illustration.

For example, psychology will permit one to argue, that ideas will not be clear unless they have absorbed the entire attention for a time. This would indicate that, in arranging a school programme, it is necessary to set aside a certain period—entirely arbitrary, however—to be

devoted to instruction in spelling. On the other hand, we are as fully justified in reasoning that, in school, the child is obliged to devote a considerable amount of time to writing; that, whenever he writes, he spells; and that, in consequence, it is not necessary to provide any special time on the programme for spelling. Which of these two methods of reasoning is correct, can be determined only by a study of results.

That general psychology, in itself, should fail to be of direct assistance in determining the question of economy of effort, is due to the fact that this subject is purely a qualitative science, treating of the qualities of the mind, while economy of effort in teaching is strictly a quantitative problem. Psychology teaches us the laws in accordance with which the mind digests ideas; but it gives us no information whatever in regard to the number of ideas that can be digested, within a given period, or how much time is required to complete the digestion of a given number of ideas.

To illustrate: We learn from psychology that the concrete precedes the abstract. This has led many to believe, for instance, that in the early lessons in arithmetic the child should handle objects, in order that he may secure a clear conception of the meaning of numbers. But how many hours of the child's school time ought to be consumed in acquiring a clear conception of numbers up to ten, cannot be learned from psychology; it is purely a question of experience. Again, as I have already stated, we are all agreed that when the child has completed his elementary school course he ought to be able to write an ordinary letter without gross mistakes in grammar. But what amount of time must be devoted to technical grammar, in order to accomplish this result; whether it will necessitate a five-year course, or a one-year course, or whether it can be accomplished simply through incidental hints, are questions upon which the most learned dissertations on the origin and psychology of language cannot throw any light whatever. There is only one method by which such matters can be determined; and that is, to discover how much time has been consumed by the most successful teachers in reaching a certain end. It is only in this way that we shall be able to learn how much time it is necessary to consume, in order to complete a given piece of work; and, again, to discover which particular educational processes will serve to accomplish a given task by the expenditure of the smallest amount of time.

What must be done then, in order that our system of education

may be placed on a secure foundation, is, to institute researches toward obtaining facts that will lead, first, to the establishment of standards by which the teacher may be able to determine when his task, in a given branch, has been satisfactorily performed; and, second, to the establishment of standards which will enable us to judge how much time is needed to secure a definite result. Once these truths are recognized, the factional lines between conservatives and radicals will cease to exist, and all will become co-laborers in the discovery of the laws that apply to all our educators, regardless of pedagogical creed.

In order to test the feasibility of researches such as I have outlined, I have devoted the past two years to examining children, taught by every conceivable method, in schools representing a very large section of our country. By means of examinations in a number of school branches—spelling, penmanship, English composition, and arithmetic—I hoped to be able, first, to establish certain goals, through the discovery of what our children might reasonably be expected to accomplish; and, second, by a comparison of results, to arrive at some definite conclusions concerning the comparative economy of different methods of teaching. The number of children examined has, thus far, reached nearly one hundred thousand; and care was exercised to secure exact information, not only in regard to the methods employed, but also in regard to the age, nationality, and environment of the children, in order that the influence of conditions might be duly taken into consideration. These examinations have brought some things to light, which, in my opinion, are destined to destroy many of our preconceived notions. The results will be published in detail during the course of this series of articles.

The labor involved in taking the tests, in marking the papers, and in the preparation of the very elaborate statistical tables has been so great as to require the undivided attention of myself and a number of special assistants. Although for individual enterprise the undertaking may be considered as almost unwieldy, I have become fully convinced, as the result of my researches, that, by means of concerted efforts on the part of teachers, or by the establishment of a bureau supported by our National Government, not only would the work become comparatively simple, but it would lead to the very speedy solution of a number of vital educational questions, and would thus serve, in a comparatively brief period, to place our schools on a rational foundation.

In my next paper I shall give a detailed account of my method

of procedure; and I shall then endeavor to show how a study of this nature would lead, inductively, to the development of an educational psychology, of which we have long been speaking, but which, in fact, does not yet exist.

In closing, I desire once more to emphasize the point, that the plan proposed in this article would not lead to the destruction of the individuality of the teacher; but that, on the contrary, it would mean a degree of individual freedom far beyond any that has been hitherto enjoyed. While the necessity for completing a definite task in each school branch is recognized, nothing is contained in the plan that would interfere with the employment of any pedagogical scheme, or with the development of the child in any direction, so long as the teacher would be able, by his methods, to secure the stipulated results. And, in my opinion, it is not until the standards that I have pointed out shall have been established, that we shall have an intelligent basis upon which to construct a course of study, or to apportion the time in the arrangement of a school programme, or to form the slightest conception concerning the possibilities of elementary education.

J. M. RICE.

ANOTHER YEAR OF CHURCH ENTERTAINMENTS.

IN other studies prepared for this magazine,¹ I have been constrained to point out how seriously the division of Christians into the multiply sects which flourish among us interferes with the spiritual work of the Church. I would not always be uttering maledictions; and, with what grace an enemy of sectarianism can do so, I am now making the admission—to which I am forced by a second year's attention to the subject—that at all events the work of amusing the public is, under this system, prosecuted with a zeal born of no other.

My record of entertainments given by religious societies in the United States from June 1, 1895, to June 1, 1896, includes more than five hundred of these occasions. This is, of course, the merest fraction of the whole number given during the year, and yet, fragmentary as is my record, it probably affords a fair index of the remarkable labors of American religious organizations in this direction. It is with a feeling of wonder touched with awe that a student turns the pages of this chronicle of a year's activity by the churches; that he discovers how instant and keen is their appreciation of the wants of the amusement-loving, how tireless their devotion to the interests of the box-office: it is with a sense of amazement tinged with admiration that he discovers with what increasing ardor the institution, founded not to be ministered unto but to minister, is giving itself to the duty of providing fun at a minimum cost; with what unexampled philanthropy it is placing within reach of the humblest and poorest of Christian people, the Female Minstrel, the Dog-Show, the Dance of the Wood-Nymphs, the Brownie Drill, and kindred joys.

Glancing through my record, I glean such religious intelligence as the following:

St. John's Church, Lowell, Massachusetts, in its Easter festivities,

¹ Dr. HALE has published in *THE FORUM*, "A Religious Analysis of a New England Town," March, 1894; "The Impotence of Churches in a Manufacturing Town," November, 1894; "A Religious Study of a Baptist Town," February, 1895; and "A Study of Church Entertainments," January, 1896.

produced "Violet in Fairyland" and "A Comedy of Errors up to date." The Unity Church, Brockton, the Porter Church, Brockton, and various other congregations in surrounding towns, have delighted southeastern Massachusetts with a laughable performance entitled "Aunt Jenima's Album." Another Brockton church has given a Wish-bone Party. The Christian Endeavorers of Menlo, Iowa, have engaged in a New Woman Social. St. Paul's, Rahway, New Jersey, and several other religious societies, have presented that awakening and gladdening exhibition, "The Mystic Midgets." St. Paul's, Newburyport, Massachusetts, offered "Mrs. Jarley's Waxworks," rejuvenescent with *Trilby* characters (without whom no well-ordered modern church performance is complete) and *The Man who Tickled his Wives to Death*. Grace Church, Salem, Massachusetts, scored heavily with its "Masque of Culture." St. Francis de Sales, Charlestown, Boston, entertained a thousand people at a Progressive Whist Party. St. Catherine's parish, Charlestown, has given a Grand Barbecue, with athletic sports, political speeches, fireworks, and dancing, as features. Several thrifty Boston churches, fortunately situated on the line of march taken by the parading Knights Templars at their recent national conclave, erected stands on, or in front of, their consecrated premises, and turned an honest penny by selling seats for an entertainment which they did not have to trouble themselves to give. Members of the New Church, Bath, Maine, came forward with "Woodcock's Little Game," said to be a clever thing in the comedy vein, a brilliant series of Living Pictures, and that screaming farce, "Poor Pillicoddy." St. Paul's, Pawtucket, Rhode Island, held a Shakesperian Carnival; a reverend cleric, as *Hamlet*, did effective work in the ghost scene, and selected members of the choir, with others, rendered the lullaby from "Midsummer Night's Dream." Dancing furnished a fitting conclusion of the evening, the Grand March being led by *Julius Caesar* and the one hundred and twenty-five costumed actors. Unusually successful was the last annual Fair of Highland Congregational Society, Larch Street, Providence, whose place of worship was skilfully transformed into a marketplace, where macaroni and suspenders—specially mentioned among other articles—were sold. The First Parish, Groton, Massachusetts, danced the New Year in, and realized about twelve dollars. The Asbury M. E. Church, Providence, has given a Hay-seed Party. Ballou Universalist Church, Providence, has rendered "Down by the Sea," a two-act drama; tickets twenty-five cents, dancing *not* included.

At Norwood, Massachusetts, on a Wednesday, the appetizing odor

of coffee pervaded the Baptist church. On Thursday, in the Methodist church, the pastor sang a number of songs, grave and gay, unfortunately to a small audience, and a talented monologue artiste was heartily applauded. On the ensuing Wednesday, the Universalists (whose dining-room had recently been enlarged) gave a Birthday Party, in the course of which a Baby Rattle and Spoon Drill was performed in a gratifying manner. Another Birthday Party was given by the Congregationalists the next evening, but on Wednesday following, as nearly as I can make out the time, the Universalists again pressed to the front with a Yule-Tide Market, at which, at a slight advance over secular prices, confectionery, linen, stationery, meat, vegetables, and groceries of all descriptions were offered for sale. The Norwood "Advocate's" accounts of these events are among the most exquisitely vivid of contemporary religious records.

Epworth M. E. Church, Toledo, has enriched its treasury by a Weigh Social. St. John's M. E. Church, Toledo, has given a stimulating entertainment by the Peak Sisters, widely known in American religious circles, introducing that touching ballad, "Do You Know the Mouth of Man?" in which the gentle art of kissing is referred to ninety times; while the First Presbyterian Church, Toledo, has produced a refined diversion called "Just Us Girls," opening with a "What Is It?" march, in which the young ladies wear their hair over their faces, and masks on the back of their heads; thus convulsing the audience by the spectacle of apparent deformities in an extraordinary series of evolutions.

Passing on through the notices I have preserved, my eye is caught by accounts of a Mock Town Meeting, a Poker Party, a Fancy Dress Drill, a Tambourine Drill (irreverently described by the secular press as "a winner"), a Dude Drill, a Great Moral Dime Show (introducing McGinty, a dwarf, and a petrified man), a Spider-web Party, a Mother Goose Market, and a Husking Bee. There are one or two announcements of "Gymnastic Exhibitions" and "Athletic Exhibitions," which I make bold to believe are euphemisms for sparring contests. It was in the Boston "Herald" of only a day or two ago, that I recognized in the name "Ike Weir, the Spider," committed to trial for brutal assault, that of a pugilist long disreputable, who has appeared in my own town of Middleboro, Massachusetts, in a boxing-match which was a feature of a church fair. After having served his time, "the Spider" will be an even more attractive personage for churches desiring to interest the public.

There is in my collection a brief reference to a pastor who entertained his flock with feats of legerdemain. Let the admiring fancy picture the reverend gentleman as he stands at the sacred desk, the glow of spiritual enthusiasm in his eye, the flame of holy ardor on his forehead, making an omelet in a silk hat, or taking rabbits out of the ears of his devoted people!

I have this year no report from Christ Church, Springfield, Missouri, which has formerly shown noteworthy ability in the preparation of such gladsome affairs as a "Dance of the Arab Maidens," a "Black-bird Ballet," and "The Chew Glue Sisters in their Song and Dance Specialties." The term by which the Christ Church shows were by some referred to is that very vulgar one applied by people of the baser sort to burlesques of the Sam Jack and Rentz Santley type. Christ Church does not, I think, maintain its activity in this direction, and St. John's, I believe, has done little since its experience with the peripatetic managers of a Kirmis, but that the line of entertainment so fearlessly initiated in Springfield has not been permitted to die out through any loss of zeal there, my record abundantly proves. The First Reformed Church, Bedford Avenue and Clymer Street, Brooklyn, has this year given a Living-Picture Show in which society women of the Eastern District posed in gilt frames, indifferently as St. Cecilia and Bacchante, The Madonna of Consolation, and La Zingarella. Ladies of St. John's, Youngstown, Ohio, in a black-face performance, made a pleasing appearance when they came before the foot-lights with songs, dances, and local hits.

Now, I would not cloud with one moment's annoyance the brows of the esteemed persons who get up these shows. I do not carp at sacred Female Minstrels: they don't happen to suit my taste; but I may be peculiar. And yet when I read in the Buffalo "Enquirer" that at Fredonia, New York, the young ladies not only corked, but appeared in bloomers, and that at Woodside, Long Island, a similar performance was further enlivened by a pleasing act on the part of a young lady who, with enviable agility, if not discretion, kicked a tambourine held above her head, I cannot but feel that—considered as religious exercises—these doubtless delightful occasions may be, in some details, open to criticism.

Neither can I personally with quite untempered enthusiasm commend the form which consecrated zeal has taken in the case of Grace Church, Erie and Second Streets, Jersey City. According to a press despatch, this congregation made a distinct advance in the art of sacred amusement by its recent production of "The Talisman," a three-act

opera, the novelty being that the male rôles, those of *Sir Roland* and *Don Carlos*, were taken by girls in fleshings. I may be wrong,—the New York "Independent" will correct me if I am,—but I should be disposed to regard this also as perhaps an error of taste. I know how great is the pressure for more and more exciting shows upon churches which have gone into the theatrical business,—and the press reports state that Grace Church owes much of its prosperity to the frequency with which it provides high-class entertainments,—but, frankly, there has been, at least until recently, a prejudice against this particular costume as an attire for young ladies in church.

I have, however, no hesitation in commending—as a successful exhibition of impudent and attractive indecency—the New Woman Social given, according to the New York papers, by the male members of the Methodist Society of Hancock, New York. Some of the more engaging toilets worn by these followers of John Wesley are described in the despatch. "W. F. Stimpson in lilac bloomers with lace trimmings, was irresistible, as was E. H. Taylor in a Mother Hubbard, and with a weeping-willow plume. E. C. Seeley wore shiny black bloomers, set off with a gorgeous sash. J. Curtis Martin wore red bloomers and an angelic smile. Olin Henderson in check bloomerettes, Ward Thompson in a shirt waist, and W. H. Dean with balloon sleeves, were also conspicuous."

This is, possibly, funny. But for monumental godlessness made endurable by no saving grace of humor, for simian imbecility, for supreme and inimitable folly unmarred by the slightest suggestion either of common decency or ordinary self-respect, for grovelling baseness and depraved vulgarity,—the Trilby Party, otherwise the Foot Social, otherwise the Ankle Auction, stands at the head of the church entertainments of the year. While others are trudging along the weary plains of the unimaginative and the ordinary, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Suffern, New York, and St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church of New Brunswick, New Jersey, with unblanched cheek and dauntless eye, have scaled the Alpine heights of deathless shame. I have received from all parts of the country marked copies of newspapers reporting these events; some of the papers bearing the request, "Please give this your attention." I am very willing to do so, but I regret the inadequacy of my vocabulary, and I refrain from any further attempt to characterize the performance. In the Trilby Social, as given by the Suffern M. E. Epworth League and the New Brunswick P. E. Olive Branch Society, the young ladies

of the church display their—feet, let us say, and be polite,—behind a curtain which is lifted to a height described as “tantalizing.” Men in front of the curtain view what is displayed of one female after another, and then bid for the privilege of taking her to supper. The charm of the scheme is the ease with which it lends itself to the worse than dubious; and I have no doubt that the press accounts of the scenes which attended the bidding are, in both cases, highly colored, though the most literal truth would certainly be exciting enough. The Boston “Sunday Journal” illustrated one of these events with a half-page picture; the “New York Herald” gave it a two-column illustration; the accompanying letter-press, and the reports published in other papers, describe a show which, in a respectable community, under other than ecclesiastical management, might have difficulty with the police.

Tom-Thumb Weddings and Mock Marriages multiply. Plymouth Church, Chicago, is this year among those which have thus made Holy Matrimony a pleasing joke. One P. E. Church in Massachusetts, fired by the realistic spirit of the modern tank drama, added a vivid touch to its mock celebration of this Sacrament, by the introduction of real choir-boys; but an African M. E. Church in New Bedford, with native imitative genius, outshone its white competitors with a sumptuously staged burlesque of the Marlborough-Vanderbilt nuptials. These congregations would profit under the tutor to whom St. Paul consigned Hymenæus and Alexander.

For Sunday-evening entertainments, for which, as a rule, no charge is made, the stereopticon is easily the most popular device. The pastor of the First Lutheran Church, Kansas City, testifies with enthusiasm that since he took up the lantern the collections have trebled. From Plymouth Church, Salina, Kansas, comes the true story of a man who had not entered a church for thirty years previous to his attendance upon its picture-show: he was so affected that he immediately joined *another* church. Here are specimen numbers, taken from lantern programmes in my possession:

ILLUSTRATED HYMN: ROCK OF AGES. (9 SUPERB VIEWS.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) <i>Cross in angry sea.</i> | (7) <i>Borne on high—Cross beneath.</i> |
| (2) <i>Lightning illuminates face of Cross.</i> | (8) <i>The silent sea; Cross seen from above.</i> |
| (3) <i>A rainbow spans it.</i> | (9) <i>Mechanical framed slide throws on last slide twinkling stars and rippling water.</i> |
| (4) <i>Female figure clings to it.</i> | |
| (5) <i>Angel lends a helping hand.</i> | |
| (6) <i>A heavenly ray of light shines upon them.</i> | |

DANIEL.

*Daniel before the king.
Belshazzar's feast.
Daniel praying.*

*Nebuchadnezzar before the fiery
furnace.
Angel effect to the same.*

Few cities or towns in the land have this year been without a Bicycle Service. Floral wheels make appropriate decorations, and if the organ has a Swiss Bell stop, it may be appropriately played. A favorite text is Psalm LXXXIII, 13, "O my God, make them like a wheel." (Hebrew גלגל, *galgal*, a whirling thing.) The anthem might be a musical setting of the tender, howbeit uninspired, sentiment:—

"Watch o'er my safety while I sleep."

The pastor of the Methodist Church of St. Louis, Michigan, having entertained firemen, veterans, and blacksmiths, outdid himself in a Barber's Sunday Evening. Scissors, hair-dye, cups, soaps, brushes and combs, mirrors and washes, tastefully arranged on the walls and platform, with festoons of towels and rosettes of brilliantine and bay-rum bottles, gave a homelike appearance to the church; sitting in a barber's chair, the pastor gathered inspiration for his lecture, and then, rising, he pressed home in the choicest terms of the tonsorial profession, the lesson of the razor and the strop.

An Otsego, Michigan, pastor has issued a show-bill headed "SILVER GIVEN AWAY! Eight Dollars To-night and Each Evening This Week at Congregational Church!" The money is given as prizes to the first persons who unravel the texts for the several evenings. These are printed on the bill in this fashion: "Text for Friday Evening: 'Eodht anrfo ehfte htbso euout awsol bclet eosfo dgons hdlæ duhet hsnpd wteha rhaet vloen mawlh.'"

I need not, I fancy, further transcribe from my record. The extremes to which venders of sensational religion, and managers of sensational church performances, are forced, will sufficiently appear from the instances already given. Referring to the Sunday performances, I would be understood. I am launching no anathemas at any well-meant effort to make religion attractive. Dignity is not the chief consideration in a divine service, and it is conceivable that it is sometimes expedient to sacrifice good taste to a more important thing—the benefit of souls. But I deplore, and I feel that serious men must everywhere deplore, the conditions which make the sensational Sun-

day show frequent and familiar. As a means of drawing a big house, I concede its convenience, under our present unhappy divisions ; but I traverse the opinion, if it is anywhere held, that a Sunday show would be necessary under a sane and Christian—that is, a united, a Catholic—administration of religion. Where now rival sects find it necessary to “go to the masses” with Prize Texts, Bicycle Runs for Christ, Cyclone Evangelists, and Lantern Services, a united Church, soberly engaged in its proper work, would find the masses eager to come to it. I greatly misjudge the people if they would not be more strongly attracted by an institution with a distinctive and easily discerned character, than they are by a multitude of nondescript concerns which are indifferently meeting-houses, cycle depots, or barber shops.

But it is not a desire to gather the people, in order to preach the gospel to them, that actuates congregations which engage in the miscellaneous entertainments, some of which I have described. Thereat suck they out no small advantage. The *raison d'être* of these things is in the fact that a hundred and forty sects have fastened themselves upon a people who cannot support them. The show is the only means by which thousands of our innumerable and unnecessary religious societies can pay their bills. The inevitable tendency toward greater and greater sensationalism has been repeatedly pointed out in this series of papers. The present article may perhaps suggest the conclusion that this tendency is now not far from the limit which a decent civilization will impose. The end of the path is being reached. A review of the entertainments of the past year affords evidence that, with dangerous rapidity, church entertainments are taking the nature of improper exhibitions. Ordinary buffoonery no longer draws. The more tempting attractions of the forbidden, the more spicy morsels of the variety theatre are demanded, and are being supplied.

Here again I would not be misunderstood. Healthy amusement, honest fun, is for human enjoyment. God has filled the world with good things, and we ought to use them. Good-natured nonsense is refreshing. Beautiful faces and graceful dances are joys in which we are wise to take pleasure. That there is a frank, though restrained, life of the senses possible as an attendant upon the highest spirituality, I believe to be the teaching of the Sacraments ordained by Christ. Over-squeamishness is not a necessary characteristic of earnest morality. Let us be human ; let us be hearty ; let us be, as we were made, men and women ; but, in Heaven's name ! let us insist that when people appear in, or for the benefit of, churches, they shall keep on their proper

clothes. The theatre and the music-hall, properly conducted, are not establishments upon which the Church has any war to wage. But the Church is not a system of theatres and music-halls. It is a divine institution with a definite, particular, and sacred office, distinct from that of all human agencies whatsoever. It is to teach the sacredness of life, by standing for the essentially sacred side of life. Its songs are not merry glees, but litanies of human hopes and sorrows, and chants of human hearts in winged aspirations seeking God. If there is in life anything pure, and virginal, and sweet,—God knows it is hard enough to keep the faith that there is!—where is there to be kept any place and expression for it, if what are called the houses of God are given over to immodesty? We expect certain things from Mr. Hardy and the Zolaists, but we are hurt and grieved when the *Galahad* of our story-tellers descends to “Summer in Arcady.” It may be too much to look for cleanliness on the professional stage; but surely it is beyond pardon that any body bearing the name of a Church of Jesus, the undefiled Nazarene, should, by a doubtful exhibition, sully the mind of any pure lad or tender maiden committed to its care.

If there is anywhere any witness for innocence, any illustration of the seriousness, nobility, and dignity of life; if there is anywhere any institution to preserve faith in the world, to administer the Sacraments,—that one which has taught former generations as nothing else ever could have taught, or ever can teach, the essential brotherhood of men, and that other which preaches the real presence of God in His world; any power to maintain, against the attacks of the foes of order, the sanctity of marriage; if there is anywhere any organ of God to set right the judgments of society, to absolve whom He has absolved, but to whom men refuse pardon; anywhere any authority also to declare the eternal righteousness, to thunder the demands of justice, and make plain the practical duties of honesty, chastity, and mercy; anywhere, in this time of social travail, any witness to the reality of the Kingdom of Heaven, bold to demand that it be set up in very truth upon this soil of earth; any corporate love to search out the poor, and minister to the sick, to pour upon the wounds of the victims of our social injustice the compassionate healings of its symyathy,—it is not easy to recognize it in an agglomeration of enfeebled sects which eke out miserable existence by pitifully entertaining a world which the Church is intended to minister to, to lead, to teach, and to save.

Christianity is not stronger to do its work because, in the churches of its professors, there is being substituted for the incense of prayer,

the aroma of the bean supper and the oyster stew. It is not more beautiful and winning because the congregations of its competing sects are growing adept in meretricious arts. Far otherwise. The divided Church is in humiliation and disgrace. Its impotence is perceived: it is despised. This is because it is trying to live in violation of its constitution. The Church is constituted in Unity, not in division; in Holiness, not in desecration, immodesty, vulgarity, and sensationalism; in Catholicity, not in the spirit of sectarianism. The Church will again wield its ancient sway over the hearts of men when, returning from its apostasy, absolved and regenerate, it again appears—One, Holy, and Catholic.

WILLIAM BAYARD HALE.

RUDYARD KIPLING AS A POET.¹

IT has for a long time been plain that Mr. Kipling takes his work in verse quite as seriously as his work in prose; but his critics have for the most part obstinately declined to take it so. Not long ago one professor, I believe of English literature, was quoted as saying of another professor of that branch of the humanities that he had "disposed of himself" as a judge by naming the author of "Barrack-Room Ballads" as his second choice for the laureateship, then still ostensibly vacant. Last year Mr. William Henry Bishop contributed to these pages an interesting paper on "Mr. Kipling's Work, So Far," in which he thus summarily dismissed his author's poetical claims:—

"The verse—in the volumes devoted to that sister accomplishment—is often dangerously nigh to pure doggerel; the 'Barrack-Room Ballads' do not always rise above the concert-hall ballads which they distinctly take as a model."

Even if one resent Mr. Bishop's dismissal of a large part of Mr. Kipling's verse as "pure doggerel," he has to own that he sees what the critics mean. As Matthew Arnold says about Burns, the world of the "Barrack-Room Ballads" "is not a beautiful world," nor does the balladist endeavor to beautify it. Neither is the dialect of Thomas Atkins "poetical diction," and the balladist rigorously restricts himself to it. Sometimes the results of this Biblical plainness of speech are impossible to be promulgated at tea-parties, as indeed Thomas Atkins in person would not be an eligible guest at such an assemblage. There is one Biblical word, in particular, that is distinctly overworked in "The Seven Seas" which has not been printable in polite literature for more than a century.

This is an extreme and crucial instance of a wilfulness of which we need not turn many pages either of the "Ballads" or of the "Seven Seas" to find exemplifications. It is a defiance of conventions for the

¹ "Ballads and Barrack-Room Ballads." New edition with additional poems. By RUDYARD KIPLING. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

"The Seven Seas." By RUDYARD KIPLING, author of "Many Inventions," "Barrack-Room Ballads," "The Jungle Books," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1896.

sake of defiance without stopping to consider whether they are well-founded, and whether more is not to be lost than gained by defying them. A sense of responsibility is no more to be detected in Mr. Kipling's latest than in his earliest work. Extravagances which would pass in "Barrack-Room Ballads" or sea "chanteries" reappear to mar serious and noble verse, such as the dedication to Wolcott Balestier. The line in that dedication—

"And they rise to their feet as He passes by—gentlemen unafraid."—

which has given one reviewer much pain will perhaps not equally afflict most readers. But most readers, I think, will agree that the colossal figure of the dead who—

"Sit at wine with the Maidens Nine, and the Gods of the Elder Days"—

becomes Gargantuan, and that the step from the sublime to the ridiculous is clearly taken, in the verse

"'T is theirs to sweep through the ringing deep where Azrael's outposts are,
Or buffet a path through the Pit's red wrath when God goes out to war,
Or hang with the reckless Seraphim on the rein of a red-maned star."

There is no use in multiplying instances:—the reader has to own that good taste is not in Mr. Kipling's line, that he has not the tact and measure and discretion for which Matthew Arnold exhorted his countrymen to resort to French literature, and that he abounds in the "freaks and violences" which the critic deplored. That this defect disables a writer from doing successful *vers de société* may be readily admitted, and this accounts for the failure of the "Departmental Ditties." These are for the most part *vers de société* and they distinctly lack the sureness of tact and the lightness of hand that are indispensable in this kind. He has shown wisdom in abandoning the hope of a successful Anglo-Indian competition with Praed and Locker and Austin Dobson.

But he can do something else, and something better. If he lack the good taste which might make his verses more suitable for tea-parties he has what Mr. Carlyle's hard worked old Hindoo friend Ram Dass boasted himself to possess. He has "fire enough in his belly to burn up all the sins of the world"—which also is scarcely a tea-party locution. Who else is writing English either in prose or verse who has so much of the *vivida vis animi* that appears on almost every page of the "Seven Seas"? Sometimes it appears in single vivid phrases, less often in a vision presented with poetical completeness and poetical illusiveness, but even in the least successful of these poems it rarely fails to make itself felt.

Exception must be taken to the assertion already quoted that the author of the "Barrack-Room Ballads" takes the music-hall ballads "as a model." One does not say of a composer who employs the vernacular dance-tunes or song-tunes that he models his work after them. Mr. Kipling evidently makes profuse use, in his dramatic presentation of the British soldier, of the forms in which the British soldier expresses himself. It appears that he has made freer use than has been suspected by reading people of the material also of the genuine and inedited ballads, not of the music hall, but of the barrack room, the recitations of the "regimental bards" of which he gives an example that may be authentic in "The Conference of the Powers." This appears from the delightful lines inserted by way of preface to the instalment of "Barrack-Room Ballads" in the new volume, the lines beginning

"When 'Omer smote 'is bloomin' lyre—"

The notion of tipping a confidential wink to the whole British army not to betray the plagiarist to the civilian world which reads books and does not know barrack rooms is a characteristic and happy audacity.

The most obvious thing about the "Barrack-Room Ballads," is the definiteness and importunacy of the rhythm. Mr. Kay Robinson, Mr. Kipling's former associate on a newspaper in India, in a most interesting account of his colleague's way of work, tells us, what we might perhaps have divined, that in Mr. Kipling's ballad-writing, after the topic and before the literary motive came the rhythmical motive, the tune. The "lilt" is indeed the life of a ballad, which unless it sings itself may have any other qualities you like and still fail of being a ballad. The rhythms of Mr. Kipling's ballads are so marked and insistent that they commit themselves to memory almost at a reading, and the poet enforces them to the utmost, not only by the words which he sets to them, but even, lest the reader should miss what the hearer cannot miss, by indications of instrumental accompaniment, as the cornet in the ballad of "Loot," and the bugle in "The Widow's Party," where the jingle gives a touch of grotesqueness to the form that heightens the tragedy of the story:—

" 'What was the end of all the show,
 Johnnie, Johnnie?'
 Ask my Colonel, for I don't know,
 Johnnie, my Johnnie, aha!
 We broke a King and we built a road—

A court-house stands where the reg'ment goed.
 And the river's clean where the raw blood flowed
 When the Widow give the party.

(Bugle)—Ta-rara-ra-ra-rara !

The "Big Drum" is equally effective in the curiously onomatopoeic refrain of "Route Marchin.'" To look over the titles is to remember the tunes, and to wonder at the balladist's fecundity in rhythms or, if you please, in jingles. One of the most remarkable achievements of this kind in the new volume is the "Song of the Banjo," which is so remarkable on other accounts.

Much as there is of variety in these metres, it must be owned that there is not much of subtlety in Mr. Kipling's music, which is chiefly choruses and march-tunes. Nobody would think of calling the balladist an idyllist. The strident and aggressive threnody I have already quoted has certainly nothing of elegiac. But this note is not altogether wanting. That tenderness and grace may be attained even in the dialect of Thomas Atkins is shown in the last of the new "Barrack-Room Ballads," the song of the discharged private who had

"Sat in Clink without his boots
 Admirin' how the world was made"—

The same note of gentle melancholy the poet had struck at least once before, and in the same dialect, in "Mandalay." But to know what he can do in the idyllic vein and in the English language, listen to the first verse of "L'Envoi" of the earlier book of ballads.

"There's a whisper down the field where the year has shot her yield,
 And the ricks stand grey to the sun,
 Singing :—' Over there, come over, for the bee has quit the clover,
 And your English summer's done.'

You have heard the beat of the off-shore wind,
 And the thresh of the deep-sea rain ;
 You have heard the song—how long ! how long ?
 Pull out on the trail again !

We are here very far away from the brass band of the "Barrack-Room Ballads." Undoubtedly the note of these three things is not Mr. Kipling's prevailing note, though the impulse or necessity of wandering which they all three illustrate is a frequent theme of his and is again taken up very prettily in the "Sestina of the Tramp Royal" and very powerfully in the "Song of the Dead," which is one of the canticles in the "Song of the English."

It is not "as a model" that the poet takes the songs of the common people, but as a point of departure. He might apply to his own work in the form of the songs of the people what he assigns to the banjo, the "war drum of the White Man round the world";—

"And the tunes that mean so much to you alone—
Common tunes that make you choke and blow your nose,
Vulgar tunes that bring the laugh that brings the groan—
I can rip your very heartstrings out with those."

The "Barrack-Room Ballads" and the chanteys are the real songs of the army and the sea, plus only poetry,—a considerable addition! I say the chanteys, but there is really only one, for the so-called chanteys, "First" and "Last," in "The Seven Seas" are poems about chanteys. But the "L'Envoi" to "Many Inventions," reprinted here, is really the vernacular chantey distilled and poetized. Like the best of the soldier songs, it is what the inept singer of the real chantey would like to sing. The ineptitude of the real sailor to sea-songs is set forth in "The Last Chantey" in one of the poet's huge and happy temerities:

"Loud sang the souls of the jolly, jolly mariners,
Plucking at their harps, and *they plucked unhandily.*"

There are many beautiful things in these volumes, especially in this later volume, but beautiful is not the epithet any one would think of bestowing first of all upon the body of Mr. Kipling's verse. We praise it rather for being strong and true. We may praise it for fulfilling perfectly Milton's characterization of poetry, for is there any verse more "simple, sensuous, and passionate"? The terrible truthfulness of "Gentlemen-Rankers" in the older volume or of "Mary, Pity Women" and "The Mary Gloster" in the newer is raised to the poetic level by intensity of feeling, "'rapt into true passion of melody." Compare "The Mary Gloster" with what in form and indeed in motive it much resembles, Tennyson's "Northern Farmer," and see whether the picture of the dying "self-made man" is less vivid or less poetic than that of the dying yeoman.

Nobody needs to be told that Mr. Kipling's "True Romance," to which he here dedicates a poem, is not of the opera-kind, and that it cannot subsist without reality, and is indeed the essence of reality. To him the nineteenth century is "the age of chivalry" and the "age of poetry," if there ever were any. Only *caret sacro vate*. I do not mean that Mr. Kipling has any intention of posing as its sacred poet, but he perceives and proclaims the want of him. "The King" is an

express proclamation to that effect, and another is made in these lines from "McAndrews' Hymn," of which indeed the whole burden is that announcement—

"That minds me of our Viscount loon—Sir Kenneth's kin—the chap
 Wi' russia leather tennis-shoon an' spar-decked yachtin'-cap.
 I showed him round last week, o'er all—an' at the last says he :
 'Mister McAndrews, don't you think steam spoils romance at sea?'
 Damned ijjit! I'd been doon that morn to see what ailed the throws,
 Manholin', on my back—the cranks three inches from my nose.
 Romance! Those first-class passengers they like it very well,
 Printed an' bound in little books; but why don't poets tell?
 I'm sick of all their quirks an' turns—the loves an' doves they dream—
 Lord, send a man like Robbie Burns to sing the Song o' Steam!"

The truth and the power of this are manifest, even if we are not yet prepared to admit "coupler-flanges" and "spindle guides" and "plummer-blocks," suitable as they are in the dialect of a Scotch engineer, to an equal place in the poetical dictionary with the established top-gallants and halyards and backstays. It is indeed in a nautical metaphor, "The Three Decker," that Mr. Kipling makes the most explicit setting forth of his views on the old-fashioned romance. This parable may well depress the thoughtful and earnest writers who have been for the last decade or more setting forth their views on "Romance and Realism in Fiction." After these twelve stanzas, what more is there left to say?

"To think in images" is called the distinction of a poet. To reduce a cloudy abstraction to a concrete expression, to sum up a vast miscellany of facts into a striking and memorable symbol, is the sign of poetical power that Mr. Kipling shows us in a high and rare degree. Even more by this than by the daring felicities and vivid picturesqueness of his expression in detail is he a poet. "The Three Decker" is one exemplification of the power of poetic generalization, or of poetic specification. "The American" is even more remarkable. The Chicago strike is scarcely a sufficient text for such a generalization. Moreover, the parody of Emerson's "Brahma," with which the poem begins, is a rather clumsy parody. But the poem is a portrait, as the candid among us must own. It is not less a portrait because the painter, on his own showing, is not a bad American himself. His own temerities are often of the kind he imputes to us ("Mulholland's Contract" would not be out of place in Col. Hay's "Pike County Ballads," nor would that astounding presentation of the sailor-men with the golden harps). The likeness is highly charged but it is not a cari-

cature, and it should be useful for reproof and edification. Certainly this should induce reflection :

“ The cynic devil in his blood
That bids him mock his hurrying soul ;
“ That checks him foolish hot and fond,
That chuckles through his deepest ire,
That gilds the slough of his despond
But dims the goal of his desire.”

But this detachment of a national type, remarkable as it is, is casual and isolated, and from the main purpose of the poems. That purpose is to celebrate the British Empire, and, for the purpose of celebrating it, to present it in a concrete and conceivable form. There is a society in London, ramifying throughout the British world, and devoted to “Imperial Federation,” which comprises a number of august personages ; but it may be doubted whether it has achieved anything like so much for its purpose as the poems of Rudyard Kipling. He began to labor at it long ago in “The Widow at Windsor” in the Atkins dialect, and he made a more express contribution to it in “The English Flag,” which begins with a rebuke of English insularity.

“ And what should they know of England who only England know?— ”

In this volume he returns to it again and again, so that nearly half the contents of “The Seven Seas,” as well as the title, are devoted to it—nearly half the contents in space, and perhaps more than half the contents in poetical value. “The Merchantmen” and “The Liner She’s a Lady,” and “The Flowers,” and the “Song of the Banjo” are as much poems of the British Empire as “A Song of the English” and “The Native Born.” Indeed, the ending of “The Flowers” is as distinct an appeal for “Imperial Federation” as the volume contains :

“ Far and far our homes are set round the Seven Seas.
Woe for us if we forget, we that hold by these !
Unto each his mother-beach, bloom and bird and land—
Masters of the Seven Seas, oh, love and understand !”

The “Song of the English” begins with an invocation of the same kind ; “a prologue to the swelling act of the Imperial theme” :

“ Hear now a song—a song of broken interludes—
A song of little cunning ; of a singer nothing worth.
Through the naked words and mean
May ye see the truth between
As the singer knew and touched it in the ends of all the earth !”

The "broken interludes" are in truth celebrations of the objects that denote Britannia's rule of the waves,—which by a happy perversion the poet describes as "admiralty,"—"The Coastwise Lights," "The Deep Sea Cables," "The Song of the Dead," "The Song of the Sons," "The Song of the Cities," that ring the world from Bombay to Halifax. "The Native Born" belongs to the same series and is its fitting epilogue. The patriotism of other people is not in itself alluring, but the insular patriotism of Englishmen is disparaged by Mr. Kipling as a cockney sentiment, and in "The Native Born" he presents the island as but the ganglionic centre of the system. As he says it, in a series of apt and striking images:

"To the hearth of our people's people—
To her well-ploughed windy sea,
To the hush of our dread high-altars
Where the Abbey makes us We;
To the grist of the slow-ground ages,
To the gain that is yours and mine—
To the Bank of the Open Credit,
To the Power-house of the Line!"

We can scarcely describe as chauvinism a chauvinism which extends over the globe. There is something very big in the sentiment to which Mr. Kipling has first given expression. Certainly there is something very big in the expression, but it is more than big; it is an expression of high poetical power. It seems that our professor who "disposed of himself" by naming Mr. Kipling as his second choice for the laureateship of England may take heart again upon the appearance of "The Seven Seas." The author of that volume is the unchallenged laureate of Greater Britain, and has won his place among the English poets.

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER.

SOME PRACTICAL LESSONS OF THE RECENT CAMPAIGN.

EVERY man who thinks to any purpose on public affairs must see that our country has escaped a great peril, the greatest perhaps that it has encountered thus far; the second of a series,—the “Greenback craze” being the first.

Decisive as the victory is, it is after all a somewhat more narrow escape than many wished and than some expected; yet it may well be that this less triumphant vindication of right reason brings blessings of its own. It is easily conceivable that a more sweeping victory over the Chicago candidate and platform might have led to over-confidence, easy-going optimism, and neglect to provide adequately for the future; and that instead of an evolution of right reason there might have finally resulted reaction and revolution. As it is there is increased reason for high hope and strenuous endeavor. Once more the American people have redeemed their character and vindicated their theory of government. Once more they stand before the world as fit for free institutions; as they did when they grappled first with slavery, next with disunion, and next with the national debt.

But this new victory brings new duties. Upon leaders it enforces faith in justice and right reason, with more courage in upholding this faith. Never has it been more clearly shown that an intelligent democracy does not in any great crisis look for the final and decisive word to mere tonguey demagogues, but that it seeks real leaders.

Among the many lessons taught by the recent contest I shall, then, emphasize mainly this one,—the need of leadership and some ways of securing it.

And first, of leadership among the great body of citizens. To say nothing at present of Republicans we find the most striking object-lesson as regards this need in the Democratic party. If we look at the writings of Jefferson and the men best known in the party down to the development of secession doctrines we find everywhere evidences that their leadership was something very real and effective. Their correspondence shows them constantly discussing political doctrines and

policies with each other, and having thus satisfied themselves as to what was right and advisable they promulgated it among the people.

In the recent campaign these earlier leaders have as their worthy successors in journalism and in public life a long list of publicists and statesmen who have shown themselves, by fearlessness in defence of Democratic principles, worthy of the best period of their party. These did not wait to find out what grotesque conclusions in political economy or in social science had been reached by this demagogue or that clique, but they showed themselves statesmen: and they gave the main proof of statesmanship—they *led*. Casting to the winds all low prudence they broke from the Chicago platform makers and marshalled a movement—all the more honorable because sure of defeat. Thereby they have added a noble chapter to the history of their country, and, if any salvation be possible to the old Democratic party, they have saved it. Contrast with this the flabby utterance and sickly attitude of men entrusted with high office who allowed anti-Democratic and anti-social doctrines to develop rankly in their respective States, who made no effective effort to withstand ideas which they must have loathed, and who finally abdicated the leadership which the party had assigned to them, turned it over to the Tillmans, Altgelds, Waites, Peffers, Stewarts, and to Mrs. Lease, and submitted to their bidding. No more pitiful sight has been seen in political history, and the future historian will award a most unenviable place to the men who, having thus allowed the foe to steal upon them, surrendered their positions at the first onslaught and finally went over to the enemy.

One grand exception has redeemed Southern statesmanship—the course of Mr. Carlisle. From the beginning of the recent contest he has been a leader. At an earlier period, before responsibility and a close examination of the great questions at issue had settled his convictions, he had perhaps wavered, but now there was no uncertain sound. His speech to the workingmen of Chicago set the true keynote of the campaign in its economical aspect. Calm, clear, convincing, weighty, that was great; but something far greater followed. His campaign in Kentucky, in which he braved the hostility of old friends, wild abuse, and even personal insult, is one of the nobler things in American history. The greatest man of his great commonwealth since Henry Clay, he has restored Kentucky to her proud position of old;—as a State toward which the Union may look for counsel and leadership. Compare his position before the country, before the world at large, before history, with that of the vast majority of

Southern men in high office, and especially of the Senator from his State whom the recent result leaves so utterly discredited.

Several years ago, visiting the House of Representatives and sitting at the side of one of the strongest Republicans in that body—a man who has since represented the State of New York in the national Senate—I asked him what he thought of Mr. Carlisle, at that time Speaker of the House. His answer greatly impressed me. It was simply this: “As you know, he is a life-long Democrat from the South, I a life-long Republican from the North. Politically he is opposed to me at every point, and yet by the utmost stretch of my imagination I cannot imagine him as doing anything unjust or in any way violating his real convictions.” This judgment recent events have verified.

A great lesson, then, in this campaign is afforded by the contrast between Mr. Carlisle and other men who ought to have been the leaders of Southern Democracy but were not. Had Mr. Mills in Texas shown anything like Mr. Carlisle's faith in truth, he would have gained not only a national but a world-wide reputation; had Mr. Morgan in Alabama possessed Mr. Carlisle's courage, he would have risen to the reputation which he was once expected to attain; could Mr. Daniel of Virginia have shown but a tithe of that courage, taking the lead in that grand old commonwealth which only needed such direction to have brought her into a leading place among the States standing for real democracy, his place in history would have been far different.

While such is the main lesson as regards leadership in the country at large, there is a lesson of no less importance as to leadership in the national councils.

Never since the civil war has there been an Administration or a Congress called to more severe thought and earnest work. The problems are vast and complicated. What is demanded is not declamation but statesmanship—the statesmanship which shall devise measures to remedy real evils, to explode imaginary evils and to restore prosperity. We need a larger number of quiet, strong, thoughtful men to open paths for the energy of our people and a smaller number of declaimers to delight the galleries; more men like Governor Dingley, fewer men like Mr. Bryan. We want men in support of the new Administration, who, when Mr. McKinley, Mr. Reed, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Allison, and Mr. Dingley lead, shall be wise enough and strong enough to act effectively with them.

The metropolitan press, which has almost universally rendered noble

service in the recent contest, may continue that service and gain a new hold upon the people by henceforth giving less prominence to Congressional oratory and more to real leadership and effective public service. Let these journals give us, not "The Profound Logical Reasoning" of the Hon. Mr. A. on some vanishing point in political metaphysics; not "The Greatest Effort of His Life" by the Hon. Mr. D. in his diatribe against the Administration regarding a post-office; but let us have the best arguments and the best work of men who show themselves real leaders in solving the problems now confronting us.

There is ample opportunity here for leadership in many directions. The great leaders above named will need strong men to coöperate with them. Leadership in the devising of an effective financial and industrial policy is naturally the first demand, but there is another great work to be done. Much of the outcry regarding the encroachments of corporations, trusts, and monopolies is doubtless unjust and "for buncombe"; but no one can doubt the necessity of wise and vigorous regulation of these combinations. Leaders are wanted in Congress, not to set the key-note for new howls at all men engaged in great industrial enterprises, but to pave the way for such enterprises and to devise wise and just measures for controlling them. Four years hence the leaders on the stump must be able to show not only that the new Administration has promoted prosperity but that it has done so within the limits of justice.

Much has been said, and justly said, during the recent campaign, to expose the cant that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer; that poor men's sons are robbed of their chances; that our leading statesmen in Congress have for years past been devoting their main energies to committing a series of monstrous crimes against the men of small means; that capitalists are enemies of the human race; and it has been amply demonstrated that the position of the farmer and workman is better in this than in any other country. But it may be a costly mistake to suppose that this is enough. Men "hunger and thirst after righteousness,"—which is *rightness*. Leaders are needed to introduce more and more justice into legislation, to make law more and more the evident incarnation of right, and to teach the people what right and justice are. Mere prosperity fails to satisfy; it must be prosperity with justice. Men can bear poverty, but not poverty which they believe the result of injustice.

It used to be supposed, especially by those who had read Arthur Young's "Travels in France," or even Alison's "History," that the fearful

excesses, atrocities, ruin, and despotism of the French Revolution had their origin in the fact that the French peasantry were poverty-stricken above all others. To any man who has arrived at this old stock conclusion of ill-read historians there comes a great awakening when he reads Goethe's account of the French peasantry as he found them. Goethe was in the invading German army and he tells us that on arriving on French soil he was surprised to find evidences of much more comfort and prosperity among the French peasantry than he had known among the German tillers of the soil. De Tocqueville has shown that the French agriculturists as a whole were, at the beginning of the Revolution, more prosperous than they had been for a long time previously, and that this better condition was one important cause of their terrific uprising. In other countries those who tilled the soil were so thoroughly crushed and besotted that they could only lie quiet beneath the encroachments of justice. In France the mere fact that the rural population were better off than other peasants were, or than they themselves had formerly been, was one of the main reasons for their insurrection. The deepest cause of the French Revolution among the tillers of the soil was not their poverty but their wide-spread sense of injustice. The vague sense of injustice, wrong-headed as most of it is, has been the most troublesome thing that the advocates of right reason have had to meet during the recent campaign. It was the chief string on which our mob orators played their variations. In future the first thing necessary is to make every effort that legislation be just, and the next thing is that leaders and the press show the people how and why it is just. This will interest the people far more than accounts of what Senator A. eats, what Representative B. drinks, and what the wives of cabinet ministers wear.

But leadership is needed not only in general political effort but in administrative work and in continuing the "campaign of education." This "campaign," of which we have heard so much, is to go on, and out of many means of continuing it I will here mention one.

No thinking man can have failed to notice that the recent victory was given us by the States in which education is best developed and most widely diffused. Every proper measure should be taken to spread and strengthen this popular education which has thus so signally justified its existence. Four years may thus add to the grand phalanx favoring sound money and good government at least such States as Virginia, Georgia, Missouri, Tennessee, Nebraska, and Washington. For this progress in public education, as given in the public

schools, we must mainly rely upon the people at large acting through their legislatures; but for another part of this progress, which is especially important because nearer the centres and sources of educational thought, we must largely rely on men who unite patriotism with wealth.

Never in the history of mankind have there been such admirable examples of the patriotic use of great fortunes as in our own country. A long line of our most prosperous fellow-citizens have clearly seen that while in Great Britain and various other countries rich men may found families to carry the family name down through many generations, this in our country is impossible, and that a legitimate ambition to be borne in honorable remembrance after death can be satisfied only by doing something for the public good. The opportunities for thus rendering public service are so vast that there is no space for giving anything like a complete list of them in a single article; but one thing should be borne in mind by all rich men, and this is that revolution can be prevented only by evolution,—the evolution of right reason in obedience to the best knowledge and thought thus far attained by men. Out of the multitude of agencies which should be immediately strengthened in the interest of this evolution of forces which shall keep this republic in the right path, I therefore confine myself to one—that of our leading institutions for advanced instruction.

Never was there a time when our great universities and colleges were exercising so strong and healthful an influence upon the country, and especially upon public life, as now. In the middle years of this century a comparatively small proportion of the men entering public service came from these institutions; now the proportion is much greater and it is steadily increasing. In those years two or three hundred students constituted a very large institution of learning; now several of our universities have ten times these numbers, and each year sees an ever increasing body of active-minded young men seeking their advantages. In the contest just ended they have done nobly. Their faculties almost unanimously and their students by vast majorities have been on the side of right reason and well regulated liberty. Among hardly any other bodies of men has there been such earnest unanimity. These, then, are fortresses to be strengthened.

Twenty years ago I urged the necessity of creating departments of history and political and social science in all such institutions in order to fit young men for public life in general and especially to enable them to grapple with the more and more complicated social and political

problems rising before us.¹ By several of our universities this has been done, and every close observer must have noticed, during the recent struggle, that with hardly an exception every such institution has been a centre of the best influences; that from each has radiated light upon the great questions at issue, and that from their training have gone forth men who as a rule have done admirable work through the press and upon the platform.

Here is a hint to men who are both rich and patriotic. Our leading colleges and universities should be strengthened more and more as fortresses against future outbursts of demagoguism and Jack-Cadeism. Such institutions as the University of Virginia, that of North Carolina, and Tulane University, in the South, and a multitude of universities in our Northern States might well be thus strengthened. New departments of history, of economical, political, and social science, of comparative legislation, and of international law should be created, and old ones strengthened. There are endowments possible to all fortunes. Professorships, lectureships, fellowships, scholarships, travelling bachelorships, and funds for buying books should be established or increased: thus shall future leaders be supplied and equipped—leaders in public life and in the press to marshal and guide the forces of right reason in the future developments of the present struggle and in other struggles. And not only this: from such central institutions sound doctrine will filter down through various channels into the popular mind. The clergy, teachers, and broad-minded men of business will thus be equipped as missionaries of sound ideas, social and political. Not one of our universities, North, South, East, or West, is equipped in this respect as it should be: not one is there that cannot be made, with such aid, far more effective in the present struggle and in other conflicts before us.

Down to a recent period their graduates have been somewhat handicapped. The college-bred man, trained in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, and Metaphysics, has had generally a good training of his mental powers, and thus has often given us valuable public service; but too often such ingenuous youth have been abashed and reduced to silence in the public councils by plain men of business whose training in public affairs has been gained in State legislatures or even in county boards.

¹ This was especially done in my report as Commissioner at the Paris Exposition of 1878 on "Education in History and Political Science, at the European Universities" and in addresses at the Johns Hopkins, Michigan, and Cornell Universities on the general subject of such education.

The training of our best and brightest young men in political history, comparative legislation, and in the group of studies comprehended under the term "social and political science," promises to be of vast use to our country. Such training is a crying need, not only for the national legislature but for the State, county, city, and village legislatures. Studies in finance, in general administration, in comparative legislation, in international law, in the best methods of public instruction and the most approved dealings with pauperism, insanity, inebriety, crime, and the like,—all these come within the scope of such departments as should be fully established and equipped in our universities and colleges. Let wealthy and patriotic men consider this. How can they better hand down an honorable name to posterity? How can they better serve the country which they love?

The time is coming when, in the increasing complications of public affairs, public men will take more and more the character of experts. In order to deal successfully with most public questions there will be needed the preparation which comes only from thorough acquaintance with the best thinking upon such questions, and from careful study of the best methods and results in our own and other times and in our own and other countries. Such training and knowledge will not supersede practical facility gained in public life itself, but it will fit men for entering public life; just as training in the best methods in law, medicine, or engineering is a preliminary to practical experience in those professions. The critic may say, "This will produce doctrinaires." Even if so, doctrinaires are vastly better than destructives. But there is no real danger of doctrinairism in a country where all theories are so constantly subjected to practical tests as in ours. One of the needs of the country which cannot be too strongly urged is the need of enlisting our best, strongest, and brightest young men in public life. Here is the opportunity for far-sighted men of wealth to promote this enlistment.

Every great republic the world has yet seen has failed. Nearly every one has gone down in blood or in despotism brought on by the clamor of demagogues working upon an unenlightened populace;—exciting their distrust, stimulating their hate, luring their greed, inflating their vanity. An unenlightened democracy is a mere mob, even though it be spread over a whole continent. The first necessity of a great republic is education; an education which shall make much of religion in its higher sense, of morals, of honor, and which shall give the best teachings of history and the wisest conclusions of human

thought. How does our Republic differ from others that have sunk beneath the waves of demagoguism and despotism? Simply in being the first in which liberty has been largely united with education.

The recent campaign, among its most practical lessons, teaches most clearly that the enlightenment of the citizens is the most important of public duties and the main condition of continued freedom. All should, so far as possible, contribute to that education which extends the area, not of the license urged on by anarchists and the utopias pictured by socialists, but of liberty as developed healthfully and steadily in obedience to the lessons of history and constructive thought.

It must be confessed that during recent years there have been some conduct of rich men and several careers of rich men's sons fit to breed nihilism and anarchy. Many wild doctrines among the poor may be traced back to senseless ostentation among the rich. Glorifications in our press of this woman's "tiara" and that woman's wardrobe; of this young millionaire's genius in driving a four-in-hand and that young millionaire's talent in cooking terrapin; of some Croesus buying or begging his way into the society of London or Paris; of social or financial infamy condoned by foreign matrimonial alliances;—what wonder that men out of work in tenement houses or struggling with past-due mortgages on the prairies should be led by such examples to look at all property as robbery? Let patriotic men of wealth efface such impressions by continuing the better American traditions; by recognizing the duties as well as claiming the privileges of wealth. To say nothing of great benefactors still living, let such exemplars as Peter Cooper, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Stanford, Peabody, Vassar, Tulane, Stevens, Case, Pratt, Rose, Drexel, and their like be held in honored remembrance. Let a new and greater growth of munificence come in with the approaching growth of prosperity. Thus shall wealth justify its existence: thus shall the outcries against the selfishness of the rich be proved slanderous: thus shall the liberty of our more enlightened States be increased and the foundations of rational liberty be imbedded deeply in the popular gratitude and in the universal sense of justice. No answer to nihilist or anarchist, in the press or upon the platform, is so effective as the mention of Americans who, having gained wealth in developing the great enterprises of their country, have used it largely in promoting the public good. Let this patriotic list be now extended in every field, and especially for the enlightenment of our people and the strengthening of our free institutions.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

WILL GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE ENDURE?

MANY reasons have been assigned by political writers why government by universal suffrage must fail; but they can all be reduced to one. The institution of property is, so far as experience shows, essential to civilization. Without it progress is scarcely conceivable; and the prosperity of nations varies according to the security which they offer to those who acquire wealth. As Aristotle long ago pointed out, this institution may be imperilled under a democracy. "The many," when they find they have the power, may proceed to divide amongst themselves the possessions of the well-to-do. Demagogues may not formally propose an equal distribution of wealth, nor may the many have that end distinctly in view; but envy and covetousness are powerful passions, and men are not averse to the belief that institutions under which others enjoy much greater wealth than they do are unjust. These are the motives that may lead the people to reject wise leaders and to choose those who offer them, under various disguises, the plunder of the rich. This is the danger of democratic government. If it can be guarded against, government by the people will not perish. Elected rulers may be unwise; but, if they are not commissioned to legislate against property, their follies need be no more permanently mischievous than those of kings and nobles.

Macaulay, in a letter that has become celebrated, warned us of this danger. As he put it, to intrust the supreme authority in a state to the majority of citizens told by the head, was to entrust it to the poorest and most ignorant part of society. He declared his conviction that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both. Our fate was certain, although it was deferred by a physical cause. So long as we had a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, our laboring population would be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World; and while that was the case the "Jefferson politics" might continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. The test would come when our lands were all occupied, and when New England was as fully peopled as Old England. In our Manchesters and Birminghams there would assuredly be

hundreds of thousands of artisans sometimes out of work. "Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators, who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal." Our Government would never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority; for with us the majority is the Government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. We should see on one side "a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith; on the other, a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne, and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessities. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread?"

It would be a mistake to suppose that this warning, and similar warnings from other sources, received no consideration. On the contrary, all our great statesmen have had constantly in view the possible shipwreck of our Republic upon this shoal. It was in view from the beginning; and it was because of no blind optimism that patriotic citizens were confident of the future of our country. Webster took delight in marshalling the conditions that were favorable to the stability of the Government. He dwelt upon the strong religious feeling and stern morality of the early settlers of New England; qualities that their descendants might well inherit. He showed that our conditions and laws were favorable to the equal distribution of property, and he exulted in the provisions made by our Government for the "instruction of all youth" at the public expense. These provisions, he declared, were adapted "to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment." They should "purify the whole moral atmosphere," and create "a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of an enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment."

Such considerations as these certainly justified a feeling of confidence in the stability of popular government. No combination of circumstances, as Webster said, more favorable to the experiment could ever be expected to occur; and if the last hopes of mankind rested with us, they were no faint hopes. With equality in the distribution of wealth, and equality in the diffusion of intelligence, with reverence for religion and regard for morality, the talk of the "excesses

of an unbridled populace," and "the dominion of the rabble," seemed like idle phrases. Moreover our Constitution had been most carefully framed to guard against hasty and violent acts of legislation, and to preserve established rights. No State could pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts, or make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts, or emit bills of credit, or impose duties on commerce. The General Government was an elaborate combination of checks and balances. The House of Representatives was a check upon the Senate, the Senate was a check upon the House of Representatives, the President was a check upon both of them, and the Supreme Court was a check upon all three. The Representatives were to be elected directly by the people; but the Senators and the President were to be chosen by bodies expected to be composed of picked men, and to enjoy long terms of office, while the judges were to be appointed without the action of the people; to be irremovable, and to suffer no reduction of their salaries. To cap the climax, the General Government was declared to possess no powers except those specifically delegated by the Constitution.

No wonder that this Constitution aroused the pride and devotion of our statesmen, and excited the envious admiration of foreign observers. No unwritten constitution, however venerable, could be maintained against the will of the legislature, or authoritatively construed by any other body. No written constitution possessed anything like the buttresses and safeguards that surrounded ours. It recognized the people as the ultimate source of power; but it restrained their action in so many ways as to compel deliberation, compromise, and moderation. Whole fields of legislation were entirely withdrawn from their control: where they were allowed to act, the limits were carefully defined. Instead of being endangered by democracy, the institution of property seemed nowhere in the world so secure as in our country. Free from the apprehension of attack by other governments, free from the dread of oppression by their own, our people devoted themselves to the arts of peace, the cultivation of learning, and the improvement of social life. Our prosperity was great. Even the terrible convulsion of the civil war was believed to have increased the durability of our Government by removing the only grave cause of sectional dissension. As compared with other countries our poor were well-to-do, and our well-to-do were rich. We had much goods laid up for many years and we could eat, drink, and be merry. So wise an observer as Mr. Bryce said, that life in America floated "in a sense of happiness like that of a

radiant summer morning." Instead of the starving populace imagined by Macaulay he found that our working classes were as well fed, clothed, and lodged as the lower middle class in Europe, our farmers much better, education within the reach of the poorest, "the opportunities for getting on in one way or another so abundant that none need fear any physical ill but disease or the results of his own intemperance." Surely the smooth things of this prophet were more justified than the dismal forebodings of Macaulay.

How came it then that the Convention of the Democratic party at Chicago last summer struck the whole country with deadly terror? Why should a political platform, commonly regarded as meaningless verbiage, have demoralized the exchanges, paralyzed manufactures, and put a stop to business? What reason could be given why the visit of a youthful demagogue, without experience, without distinction, manifestly both ignorant and incapable, should have been awaited in the metropolis as the approach of Alaric was awaited in Rome? The institutions of religion had been greatly multiplied, and the membership in churches showed no decline. "The instruction of all youth" had been extended throughout the whole country; and in many communities not only instruction, but text-books also, and even carriages to convey scholars from their homes to the schools, were furnished at the public expense. Intelligence was diffused everywhere with incredible cheapness by means of the periodical press, and no one could plead as an excuse for political ignorance that the means for informing himself were not placed within his reach. The hundreds of thousands of distressed workmen dreamt of by Macaulay had no existence; for wages were hardly ever so high, food and clothing never so cheap. Our State constitutions had been maintained, and in many cases distinctly improved, by imposing additional restraints upon the action of the legislatures. Our system of "checks and balances" in the National Government was certainly in full working order. The House of Representatives refused to pass laws for coining silver, and in return the Senate refused to assent to tariff legislation. Had the legislative bodies agreed on any silver or tariff measure, the President would have vetoed it. And finally the Supreme Court had shown its supreme power by declaring the income tax unconstitutional. Taking a comprehensive view of the whole situation, it might well seem that property and civilization were never more secure; and the great mass of the people was probably quite unaware that there was any occasion for uneasiness.

Changes had taken place, however, the effect of which had been foretold by political observers, and forces were in operation which had aroused serious apprehensions. The number of these ominous conditions, when we come to reckon them up, is by no means inconsiderable. No doubt the external institutions of religion have prospered; but it is idle to deny that religious faith has altered, whether the change be called development or decay. The doctrine of eternal damnation for sins committed in this life has been either repudiated or allowed to fade into a harmless platitude. The "angry God," before whom the wicked fled away, is no longer considered the mainstay of morality. Among large classes the belief in a future life has dwindled to a hope, or yielded to an indifferent skepticism. It is impossible to deny that our fathers devoted more time than we do to thinking concerning the Deity: their reflections may have been tinged with superstition and affected by anthropomorphism, but the contemplation of sublime themes certainly tends to elevate morality. No doubt their descendants are more amiable; not concerning themselves much with questions of "foreknowledge, will, and fate, fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute," they have more time to give to making themselves comfortable, and, it is fair to add, to making others comfortable. But the "God-fearing" man, the man who swore to his own hurt and changed not, is no longer the common figure that he once was; and a stern spirituality has given place to an easy-going materialism.

This tendency has been enhanced by the enormous immigration which the advantages of this country have drawn to its shores. The descendants of the early settlers have certainly been an active leaven, but the lump has been so large as to exhaust their powers. Adopted children may acquire the customs of their new home, but they cannot inherit the traits of those who were not their ancestors. Much can be said in support of the proposition that the more recent immigrants are as good citizens as the descendants of the earlier settlers. Nevertheless it is true that their traditions are in most cases less elevating, and that they offer little resistance to the materialistic tendencies of the age. The political consequences of these tendencies are obvious. So long as men firmly believed in a future state of rewards and punishments, they could contemplate the present inequalities of fortune with serenity. The poor could feel that their privations in this life would be made up for hereafter, and that wicked millionaires would expiate their present happiness by an eternity of misery. Such consolations as these are no longer efficacious with the multitude. No one dares to

suggest to them that it is their duty to be content with the lot to which God has called them. They feel that the important thing is to secure happiness in this world, leaving the future to take care of itself. So feeling, they cannot reconcile the prodigious inequalities of wealth which now exist with any theory of justice. These inequalities are no longer attributed to the inscrutable wisdom of Providence, but to defects in human institutions. They could be borne while heaven was a reality, and this world a fleeting show. Now that the reverse is true, it is natural for men to reason that as the distribution of wealth is purely a matter of human institution, it may be made more equitable by appropriate legal measures.

For it cannot be denied that the existence of enormous private fortunes creates grave discontent. It is perhaps not very obvious how the existence of these fortunes decreases the comforts of the poor. No rational scheme has ever been presented for distributing them in such a way that the average wealth of mankind would be appreciably increased; and most of the schemes of division have the palpable defect of annihilating small fortunes in assailing large ones. The incomes of our rich men are, to an amazing extent, devoted to public and private beneficence; and when selfishly expended they are necessarily applied to the support of laborers, or to the purchase of the products of labor. Men are so constituted, however, as to suffer as much from imaginary ills as from real ones. As Aristotle says, it is a mistake to regard starvation as the chief cause of popular discontent: men are discontented when they desire certain things and cannot get them. It is easy to say that a poor man is a fool for worrying over the luxury of the rich, when that luxury is an unavoidable consequence of the constitution of society which gives the poor man such comforts as he possesses. Foolishly or not, men nevertheless do fret themselves because of many ills that are inevitable; nor is this weakness peculiar to any class of mankind. When the particular ill consists in the superiority of others, it is only philosophers that explain this superiority by their own inferiority, or reason that as it is beyond their control it is unworthy of their concern. The ordinary human being forgets his own stupidity, or indolence, or improvidence, or drunkenness, and feels a burning sense of injustice when he sees others enjoying the advantages resulting from the opposite qualities and virtues. Too often he is willing to take measures to diminish the welfare of others, even if he will not thereby increase his own. The gratification of envy affords as real a pleasure as the gratification of hunger;

and even starving men have been known to burn wheat-stacks and granaries.

No envious man, however, confesses to envy. His animosity is always justified by some alleged delinquency or malfeasance on the part of its object, and those who declaim against the rich invariably maintain that it is because they have gotten wealth by iniquitous methods. In declamation of this kind the newspapers of the baser sort have of recent years been extremely active. The readers of these journals can scarcely fail to be impressed with the idea that millionaires are an infamous set of men, and that the country is controlled by trusts and monopolies. The particular sufferers from these malign influences are not identified; but this is not material. The people are said to suffer; and the people to a great extent undoubtedly believe the assertion. Unfortunately the proceedings of our legislatures, both State and national, have given ground for this belief. Rich men have procured the passage of laws intended to increase their own wealth at the expense of their fellow-citizens. In the case of protective tariffs we must admit that many of those in whose interest they are enacted honestly believe that their own direct profits will indirectly benefit the common people; but it is natural for the common people to reason that if they are to be taxed to enrich a few persons whose wealth will indirectly benefit the public, the process may be reversed. We have had laws intended to increase the returns of capital: let these laws be replaced by taxes on large incomes and inheritances. If the policy of taxing laborers to increase the profits of their employers promotes the welfare of laborers, the policy of taxing employers to increase the wages of laborers will evidently be advantageous to employers.

Curiously enough, in view of the notion that education was a specific remedy for misgovernment, a large number of our professors and preachers have of recent years bestirred themselves vigorously to fan the envious passions of the poor into flame. We need not suppose that the motives of these persons were not benevolent; but their action necessarily encouraged the common people to believe that their condition might be improved by legislation directed against those whose condition was better. This was the mischievous result of the socialistic doctrines of our so-called ethical economists. Regardless of the fundamental principle that the danger of democracy lies in its tendency to over-government, they advocated increased legislative activity and enlarged governmental functions. Instead of showing that, as legislation in favor of one class excites the jealousy of other classes,

therefore class legislation should be avoided, they suggested the substitution of one favored class for another. Such teaching found ready audience. It plausibly appealed to the sense of the injustice of the present constitution of society latent in every unprosperous human being, and it was only a question of time when the appeal should produce some practical result.

Two of the circumstances operating to preserve our Government, that were relied on by earlier statesmen,—the equal distribution of wealth and the general diffusion of intelligence,—were thus recognized as disappointing by modern observers. The rapid increase in the population of our cities, in connection with other influences, has resulted in the creation of extremes of poverty and wealth as marked as those which prevail in European capitals. The diffusion of intelligence is now understood to be of little conservative value, if not accompanied with a corresponding improvement in morals. Education to be conservative must mean the education of the conscience as well as of the memory and the reason. That the teaching given in our public schools means education in this sense is at least doubtful. But might we not rely on the constitutional safeguards so painfully elaborated by our forefathers? Unfortunately, thoughtful men felt that no clearly affirmative answer could be given to this question. The failure of the Electoral College to accomplish its purpose has been complete. We must smile, ruefully, at Jay's idea that these bodies would be composed of "the most enlightened and respectable citizens," and that they would select "those men only who have become most distinguished by their abilities and virtue." Even more serious, as affecting the composition of the Senate, was the decadence of our State legislatures. Their members have indisputably fallen in character, and no longer represent the intelligence of the community. That they select the wisest and best citizens as Senators is contended by no one.

How was it with the Supreme Court of the United States, the sheet-anchor of the ship of state? Of all the checks upon misgovernment this had been regarded as the strongest and surest; and it is still spoken of as the palladium of our liberties. But, from the evil day of the first legal-tender decisions, thoughtful men had seen that its foundations had been undermined. The constitution and membership of the court were altered by Congress and the President, if not with the deliberate purpose, at least with the foreseen result, of procuring a reversal of judgment on perhaps the greatest Constitutional question that had ever come up for decision. The independence of

the court was thus seriously impaired. So long as it retained its independence it was believed that none of the fundamental rights of mankind could be materially interfered with, either by the States or by the National Government. Legislators might rage and demagogues imagine vain things, but under the mighty ægis of this court freedom could rest secure. It is hardly speaking too strongly to say that this proceeding changed the nature of our Government. Not only was the issue of the "fiat money" of the civil war declared constitutional, but as a sequel our Government was declared to be not of limited powers, but to possess the absolute authority of the despotisms of other continents. Not only in time of war, but also in peace, Congress has now plenary power to substitute, whenever it chooses, irredeemable paper for silver and gold, and to compel every citizen to accept this substitute in payment of all debts. And as a further sequel the Supreme Court declared that "for protection against abuses by legislatures the people must resort to the polls, not to the courts."

Perhaps not a great many men outside the legal profession fully appreciated the gravity of these events. Even our demagogues did not at first understand what opportunities had been opened for them. But they came to understand it; and, infuriated by the restraint of rioters by judicial action, and by the income-tax decision, they showed that they understood it by the platform adopted at Chicago. What can be done once can be done again, they plainly intimated; and if the judges in office are not subservient, subservient judges can be created. When this declaration of principles was promulgated the scales fell from the eyes of every citizen possessing sufficient intelligence to be conservative. It was revealed to him that his property and his liberties were at the mercy of Congress and the President. The Supreme Court as at present constituted might protect him, but not the Supreme Court as hereafter constituted. A majority of Congress, acting with the President, could create a Supreme Court obedient to their will; and a majority of the people could create a Congress and a President obedient to themselves. "Checks and balances" might hinder the revolution, but their effect would be to enrage the majority and make their action still more violent. Before such reflections as these our feeling of security through constitutional safeguards vanished. The candidate of the Chicago convention, if elected, could and would establish the silver standard on the Fourth of March next, and, if he had a Congress to support him, he would establish a Supreme Court that would ratify any measures of legislation whatsoever.

For many reasons the combination of malign influences arrayed in support of the Chicago platform was of unprecedented strength. The number of people who believed that the restoration of silver to its former position as standard money was an economic necessity was very large, and their belief was confirmed by the testimony of many writers of greater or less distinction. The number who believed that silver was demonetized by a conspiracy of bankers, and that the measures that had been passed in order to restore it were not enacted in good faith, was unquestionably very great. The effect of these measures had been to alarm investors and to make it difficult to borrow money; thus leading to a contraction of business and a decline in prices. These results, however, were attributed by the believers in the free coinage of silver to the fact that none of the measures adopted ostensibly in favor of silver was really efficacious. They asserted that further experiments must be made; and they used violent language in speaking of those who opposed such experiments. Their violence increased the apprehension of those who had money to lend or capital to invest; and the aggravated stringency and the further decline in prices that resulted made many men desperate, willing to try any experiment, and ready to give credence to the wildest stories of the treachery and rapacity of the "money power." Those who had purchased farms with borrowed money, expecting to be made rich by the increasing value of their lands, found that this value was decreasing, while their debts were undiminished. Those who produced the great staples of export found that the prices for which they were obliged to sell did not repay them for their labor. They were told by one side that these conditions were due to the "lack of confidence," but they were assured on the other hand that they were due to a lack of money; and as the confusion of money with capital is the commonest of errors, the conviction that we were really suffering from a deficiency of currency became widely prevalent. At the same time the embarrassment of the General Government caused by extravagant expenditures and by the purchases of vast quantities of silver by means of promissory notes that had to be redeemed in gold, compelled it to borrow under humiliating circumstances and on hard terms. All these untoward conditions were explicable rationally; but the simplest explanation was to refer them all to the disuse of silver as standard money, and this explanation met with increasing favor.

The course of President Cleveland in maintaining the gold standard thus became extremely odious to most of the leaders of his party, and

although they were coerced into a grudging support of his policy, they hated him. While they were in power they did not go so far as to rebel against their official leader, but when the elections of 1894 showed the intensity of the popular disgust with the party record, they openly revolted. They might be willing to go against their convictions so long as they had the offices, but if they were to lose the spoils they were unwilling to fight longer for a leader and a cause that they detested. The conservative element in the Democratic party was overwhelmed by a wave of angry discontent; and the fanatical devotees of free silver found themselves in control of the party organization.

The Republican leaders, on the other hand, had been goaded by the demands of the business community into proclaiming that the gold standard must be maintained. Hitherto the believers in silver had been divided between the two parties, both of which had assured them that the cause of silver should be properly recognized. At last the lines were clearly drawn; and it was plain that the sincere devotees of silver must look to the party of Tillman and Altgeld and Bryan for effective legislation in favor of their idol. These devotees were unquestionably very numerous in the Republican party, and it at once became doubtful whether party allegiance would be strong enough to hold them. It was true that many life-long Democrats were repelled by the political theories that prevailed at the Chicago convention, but their number was probably much less than that of the free-silver Republicans. Moreover the spirit of independence of party ties had within the last few years attained a remarkable development. There had been a "tidal-wave" in 1892, bearing the Democratic party into power; there was another in 1894 that swept it out. The ballot laws had been very generally changed, so as to make it difficult to ascertain how the individual voter cast his vote; and the most astute and experienced political managers found themselves baffled in their attempts at discipline and corruption. Doubtless independent voting is a good thing; but it is not so good a thing as intelligent voting. Clearly the violent changes in the popular vote represented no intelligent convictions. Those who voted against high tariffs in 1892 certainly could not consistently vote for the Republican candidates in 1894. They may have been right at one election or the other: they could not have been right at both. It was most reasonable to suppose that their fickleness was due to general discontent; and in that case it seemed very probable that the Chicago programme would be more attractive than the worn-out fallacies of the Protectionists.

While these uncertainties prevailed, there was no uncertainty whatever as to which side would be supported by the discontented element in society. A poll was taken of the students of Yale College, showing that one in ten would vote for Bryan; but a poll of the inmates of the county jail, at New Haven, according to newspaper report, showed nearly three hundred votes for Bryan to six for his opponent. The report may not be authentic, but the feeling it indicated was known to exist. There was no doubt concerning the sympathies of the tramps and loafers and agitators; the crew whose votes were formerly bought, but who could not be trusted to "stay bought" under the secret ballot. Cicero's description of Catiline's following would apply to a large element among our voters: everyone who was hopelessly in debt, everyone who was penniless, everyone who was ruined, thought that his opportunity had come with Bryan's nomination. Never before had this class been able to act together; this time they could. A kind fate had at last provided them a political organization in complete working order, and made their allies all who adhered to the name of the Democratic party without regard to principle or precedent. By itself this element had been powerless; divided between the parties its components neutralized each other; but with the Democratic organization at its disposal the case was different. Burglary, highway-robbery, larceny, pocket-picking, swindling, cheating, fraud, and dishonesty in general seemed petty ways of acquiring other people's money in the light of the possibility of national repudiation, the suppression of the courts, the imposition of taxes on the rich as a class, and the issue of money by the Government directly to the people. The vagaries of the Populists had been laughed at by substantial citizens; when they were adopted by the candidate of the Democratic party terror seized the whole country. The silver craze by itself might have been resisted; its temporary success even endured. But the creed of free-silver coinage coupled with the doctrines of the Jacobin Club was too novel and startling a combination not to "thick men's blood with cold."

It is needless to recount the measures that were taken by patriotic citizens to overcome this revolutionary combination. Every effort was made to arouse the honest supporters of free-silver coinage to the appalling dangers of the alliance which had been formed, and to bring monetary science and financial history down to the level of popular comprehension. These efforts were successful: in one sense they were magnificently and most encouragingly successful. But were they permanently successful? We may reasonably expect some years of pros-

perity, during which discontent will decline. Permanent prosperity, however, we cannot reasonably expect. Panics will recur, prices decline, distress prevail among the poor, fury among the debtor class. When the next wave of socialism comes, will it not be stronger than the one that has just been rolled back? We exult in the great majorities against Bryan which were recorded in Chicago and New York and Brooklyn. But when we look at the enormous number of voters that deliberately cast their votes for him, when we reflect that without money, without flags or parades or processions, deserted by their leaders, deprived of effective orators, despised by the intelligence of the community, the humble followers of Bryan mustered 77,000 strong in such a city as Brooklyn, 5,000 more than supported the last Democratic candidate for mayor, we cannot look forward to the future with serene confidence.

Unless some check can be put upon our abuse of government, the peril through which we have just passed will recur. If the conservative party insists on the issue of money by the Government, the radical party will demand the same right. If laws are passed for the profit of the intelligent and wealthy classes, the poor and ignorant will demand laws in their favor. If Congress can impair the obligation of contracts by making government paper a legal tender, it can certainly make silver a legal tender. We may be able to bring a majority of the people at recurring Presidential elections to declare in favor of maintaining the national credit, the inviolability of contracts, and the preservation of property. But we can scarcely endure to have such matters as these subjected to repeated question. Civilization will not survive it. They are not matters that should be debated by the Legislature. They ought never to be disturbed; but so long as we encourage the idea that poverty can be removed by legislation, and that Government is an omnipotent power, capable of removing inequalities of fortune and of enriching its subjects, the multitude will assuredly look to the Government as a savior, and struggle to secure its control. Pensions, protective taxes, silver bounties, and greenbacks may seem desirable things to "respectable" citizens, so long as their party is in power; are they prepared to have the principle of these things carried out by the party of Tillman and Altgeld and Bryan? If not, let them seize the present opportunity to effect reforms that, by limiting the powers of our present rulers, shall restrain the excesses of their possible successors.

DAVID MACGREGOR MEANS.

THE BREWING OF THE STORM.

WHILE the struggle was going on, a comment on it by an outsider in the American press might have seemed obtrusive. Now that the struggle for the time is over, the impressions of outsiders may interest. Outsiders to this struggle, indeed, in the deepest sense we can none of us be. A mortal crisis in the history of the grand experiment is a mortal crisis in the history of humanity. Nor did this crisis appear much less than mortal. An eminent American wrote me that he regarded it in some respects as more dangerous than that of 1861. In some respects it was so; for a collapse in the character of a nation will always be more dangerous than any shock of violence, even such a shock as secession. No internal convulsion in American history, not even the triumph of Jackson, entirely equals in gravity the capture of one of the two great organizations, into which the nation is divided, by the forces of political and social revolution. After all, there has been a large vote for Bryan.

A new element has entered into American politics. It is the element of which Governor Altgeld is the impersonation. The figures of Mr. Teller and Mr. Tillman and even of Mr. Bryan himself are American, and a European looks to Americans for their interpretation. That of Governor Altgeld is new to the American; familiar to the European eye. It denotes the introduction into American politics of that European spirit of political and social revolution—the desire of social change predominating—of which socialism is the extreme and anarchism is the delirious manifestation. Unlike former agitations, that of Jackson included, this was, in part at least, an attack on the fundamental principles of the American Commonwealth.

Macaulay, whom some on this occasion have credited with prophecy, supposed that the safe working of American institutions depended upon the abundance of land, and that when all the land was taken up the hour of peril to the Republic would arrive. But the land has not yet been all taken up, much less has the limit of its productive capability been reached. Senator Tillman's followers in South Carolina are not in need of land; nor is it lack of land that has called forth the

large Bryanite vote in California. Farm products have declined in value and price: this was one of the causes of the convulsion; but it is a widely different thing from lack of land. Macaulay, had he looked round him in Europe, might have seen an actual republic in Switzerland, and virtual republics under monarchical forms elsewhere, going on safely enough, though there had long ceased to be any land unoccupied or even not fully improved.

It would have been a nearer approach to prophecy to say that the crisis would come when, a fundamental change having taken place in the character of the community, the institutions should in part have lost their fitness. It was for a community of freehold farmers and small merchants that the institutions were framed. They are now applied to a community embracing, on the one part, a body of great capitalists, employers, and speculators, as well as investors on a large scale; and, on the other part, masses of mechanics, miners, and wage-earners of all kinds. They were framed for Englishmen, or men of kindred character and habits. They are now being applied to an immigration alien to English ideas, and largely imbued with the social acrimony and the revolutionary sentiments of its class in Europe. They were framed for the sober Puritans of New England or for the Planter counterpart of the English squire. They are now applied to the far from politically sober and far from squire-archical West. Mere extension of territory, which railroads practically countervail, would not have been of so much moment. Problems economical and social, of which the Fathers hardly dreamed, have presented themselves, and are committed for their solution at the polls in a dangerous measure to growing masses of ignorance, poverty, and discontent.

Another change has taken place, important in its way, though less perceived. Republican institutions can hardly be said to have been fully tried till the Planter aristocracy had been overthrown. The Planters, though upholders of an evil system, were, in general respects, statesmen and disposed to rule in a statesmanlike way. They are gone; and it is partly as the effect of their withdrawal that the Senate has become, for a time at least, the less conservative House of the two.

Under the written constitution there is a lack of power of adaptation to changed conditions, which, when conditions are greatly changed, becomes a danger. Such a convulsion as the civil war enforced Amendments to the Constitution. But these were the first for sixty years. The difficulty of amendment is such as to amount to immobility, and almost to preclude the possibility of adaptation, even if from

the angry conflict of parties an initiative of reform sufficiently forecasting and statesmanlike could emerge.

One great political institution happily does not share the immobility. The organs of public opinion march with circumstance. The political press is self-adapting, and, whatever its vices, whatever may be its subserviency to subscribers and advertisers, whatever sinister influences may often be couched behind it, however pestilent may be the breath of its sensational organs, has on the whole rendered and is now rendering indispensable service to the nation. There was no hesitation in its conduct when the flag of repudiation and revolution had been unfurled. With hardly a notable or respectable exception, the American press at once declared itself on the side of the Commonwealth.

Considering the amount and character of the foreign elements, it is wonderful to what an extent they have been assimilated and absorbed. Still there are foreign elements as yet unassimilated to an amount sufficient to constitute a real danger and one unforeseen by the Fathers. There is no need for dwelling on a topic so well-worn. It is said that Kansas, the centre of Populism, is peculiarly native American. But Populism, which has its source in agricultural distress, is not the most formidable ingredient in this caldron. A farmer, after all, owns property, mortgaged though it may be; and though he may wish, if he be dishonest, to scale his debt, he is not a general repudiator, a socialistic confiscator, or an anarchist. He is an American, and would not march far with the socialist or anarchist of Chicago.

That everyone should have a fair start and a free career, do what he could, and get as much as he could for himself, was the principle of the American communities. It worked well so long as every man with two hands and a will to use them could be sure of getting bread enough, with good hope of getting more. That time has passed. There is now a proletariat. There are multitudes who have little hope of rising; too many who cannot be sure of bread. Secretary Gresham, not long before his death, in a conversation with the writer, dwelt in a tone of the deepest anxiety on the increasing number of the unemployed; meaning by the unemployed, not the idle, but those for whom there was no work. The improvement of machinery must always be throwing hands out of employment. Women are displacing men in what once were male occupations; and the trade-unions, whether for good or evil in the long run, create a temporary monopoly of labor. An adjustment will no doubt come. But it is far off; meantime there are suffering and revolt.

Factory life could hardly fail to be, even in the United States, as it has been in Europe, a seed-plot of industrial and social discontent. The labor is in the last degree mechanical, monotonous, and repulsive. A hand-loom weaver might at least have joy in his completed work. The factory hand, hour after hour, day after day, repeats the same petty operation amidst the din of machinery, perhaps amidst furnace heat and grime. He has no interest except his wages, increase of which fills his thoughts. The congregated masses are inflammable and present materials ready for the agitator, who does not fail to appear and ply the trade by which he lives. It is the fatal tendency of the factory system, and generally of production on the large scale, to draw a sharp line between the master and the workman; and to make that line still sharper is the policy of the labor agitator who discourages in the workman any idea of rising into the master class. The wages of the workman have risen, his condition has improved; but the general result is not contentment: naturally enough, it is rather craving for more. It may be noted, however, that on this occasion employer and employed have marched together in the political processions, and that the vote of the mechanic in the East, so far as we can see, though protected by the secrecy of the ballot, has been cast with that of his employer. The apprehension of latent revolutionary tendencies among the mechanics, which would find expression in the ballot-box, has, in the East at all events, proved in the main unfounded.

The system of education, which is the object of our almost idolatrous attachment, begets a general desire to rise in life: this in fact is its animating idea. An old-fashioned school taught the child that, to use the old-fashioned phrase, happiness lay in doing your duty in the station to which it had pleased God to call you. Our present school practically, if not formally, teaches, in unison with general sentiment, that happiness lies in rising above that station. There can be no doubt that the Commonwealth has profited immensely in material respects by the industrial and commercial ambition, the activity, and the inventiveness thus called into play. But there must be a vent for these forces, a hope for these aspirations. Otherwise education will breed discontent. The vent is no longer so open as it was; the hope is not so general as it was, while the desire is as much stimulated as ever. This again is a source of disturbance wholly distinct from scarcity of land.

It seems doubtful how far socialism has permeated the American masses. Hitherto it has been exotic. Owen brought it from Europe, and, as might have been expected, among people who had plenty of

bread and were all hopeful of rising, it totally failed. The little communistic societies, such as the Shakers and the Oneida Community, religious rather than social phenomena, have had no influence. A definite plan for the transformation of society on the socialistic principle and the creation of a socialist government can hardly be said to have been propounded in America or elsewhere. Socialism, so far, practically means the legislative appropriation of wealth for the benefit of those who are not wealthy, above all of the wage-earning class. Socialistic sentiment of this kind has no doubt spread in centres of foreign labor and poverty like Chicago. The inequality of conditions is a thrilling theme, while it is very difficult to prove to those whose condition is the worse that inequality is indispensable to progress, and that a dead level of toilers for daily bread would be stagnation. The theories of Mr. Henry George and Mr. Bellamy have probably not taken much hold or even been much understood. But Mr. George is eagerly heard when he proposes the confiscation of property in land, which his readers have sense enough to see is not less guaranteed by the state, or less sacred than property of other kinds. Mr. Bellamy is eagerly heard when he tells the people that they are a team of horses toiling, not for their own bread, but for the luxurious enjoyments of a set of idle passengers lolling on the top of the coach and looking down upon the agonized struggles of the wretched beasts by which it is drawn.

Of anarchism proper it may be hoped there is not much; though at Chicago, as we know, there is some. Anarchism, however, is but socialism in its extreme form. Socialism is the discontent which desires to confiscate and level. Anarchism is the discontent which, in its frenzy of envious rage against wealth and superiorities, pants to destroy.

Monstrous fortunes, the growth of rapid extension and development, have stimulated envy and bred desire of destruction. Less actual harm perhaps has been done by them than might have been expected. Fear has prevented the holders from meddling with politics, and the beneficence of some of them has partly atoned for want of beneficence, even for social offensiveness, in others. But to be social irritants they could not fail.

Municipal corruption would appear now to have been proved by dire experience to be the normal result of elective government in cities; at least in this New World, where the action of the masses is not controlled, as in England it still to some extent is, by the social influence of a governing class. Nor could the contagion fail to extend to the political sphere.

Rate the political influence of religious belief as low as you will, no one can doubt that it has been a powerful auxiliary of government and law. It has reconciled men to the order of society, notwithstanding its inequalities, as a divine decree, and to endurance here which was to be compensated by happiness hereafter in a realm where Dives and Lazarus would change places. Vague as these impressions may have been they were not ineffective, and are now apparently departing. From the lips of insurgent labor comes in increasing volume the cry that the laborer will no longer be put off with compensation in another world. Nor can it be doubted that social morality generally has been in some degree bound up with religion and is imperilled by the growth of unbelief. A criminal in a prison on the Rhine left on the walls of his cell the following message for his successors:—"I will say a word to you: there is no heaven or hell; when once you are dead there is an end of everything. Therefore, ye scoundrels, grab whatever you can, only do not let yourselves be grabbed. Amen."¹ This gospel is now preached, though less frankly, elsewhere than in prisons on the Rhine. Social morality may be only in a state of transition from a partly theological to a purely scientific basis. But a period of moral transition must be a period of peril, even for the American Republic.

The United States, intellectually united with Europe though physically separated from it by the sea, have not failed to share the general influences of an age of revolution and unrest. The revolutionary spirit has spread to the relations between the sexes and to the family, on which the state has hitherto been founded, and in which, while under parental authority, the child's habits of obedience to law and government are formed. Of the clouds on the horizon perhaps none is darker than the increase of divorce.

Thus in different quarters materials have been gathering for the political and social revolt of the motley hosts of which Messrs. Bryan, Debs, Tillman, Altgeld, and Coxey are the not less motley leaders, and for which the silver craze or rather raid, of which Mr. Bland and Mr. Teller are the leaders, furnished the occasion. In the Pittsburg riots, the Cincinnati riots, the Debs riots, and the anarchist outbreak at Chicago, as well as in socialistic meetings and in the vogue of communistic, levelling, and confiscationist literature, there have been signs of approaching storm. At the critical moment, unfortunately, came the judgment of the Supreme Court against the income tax. The Supreme Court could only declare the law; and not only is it probable that the

¹ "Our Country." By Dr. JOSIAH STRONG. P. 93.

law was what the Court declared it to be, but it is nearly certain that, could the framers of the Constitution have foreseen the possibility of a class tax lending itself to the spoliation of a minority by a majority, they would have shut that door. Yet, it was most unlucky that, at a moment when revolutionary feeling was excited, there should have been an occasion for that judgment. Nothing in the Chicago platform gave greater or more reasonable offence than the threat levelled against the authority of the Supreme Court. Yet, if we were to deny that the Supreme Court had ever been influenced by partisan or political motives, its decision in favor of the Legal Tender Act would rise up in judgment against us.

In the wrestle of the American Commonwealth with the destructive forces, the sympathies of no enlightened friend of humanity could be doubtful. But, as all political philosophers have said, great insurrections are seldom unprovoked; and it would be idle to deny that in this case there had been provocation, both in the conduct of the party which had almost continuously held power since the civil war, and in the conduct of the plutocracy, both commercial and social.

It is useless at this date to raise the question as to the constitutionality of Protection. Long practice has decided that Protection is constitutional. Yet, surely, no one looking at the Constitution in itself, or considering the spirit in which it was conceived, can think that its framers intended to give the Federal Government the power of encouraging or discouraging special manufactures and trades. With regard to Protection, as with regard to slavery, is seen the remarkable contrast between the mighty power of Webster's intellect and the weakness of his political character. No man ever stated the case more strongly or better against Protectionism; though, when it had gained the victory, which constancy and right principle might have reversed, he lowered his flag on the pretence, in effect, that the scramble having begun, he must get what he could for his own constituency. Yet experience had not then shown, as it has shown since, that the pretence of fostering infant industries would prove a snare; since the infants, when adult, would never forego their advantage, but would form a group of privileged interests, upholding each other's privilege. The scenes which have been degrading the Senate, and giving birth to the popular demand for a new mode of election, were the inevitable outcome of a fiscal policy which taught the trader to look to his influence with the Legislature rather than to the marketable value of his goods. Protectionism and political corruption have

gone, and can hardly fail to go, hand in hand. That, under the system of Protection, the non-manufacturing West and South must have suffered, may be assumed without statistical proof. The consequences of the policy have been greatly tempered to the United States by the vast extent of the home market; and they have owed their prosperity, not to external Protection, but to internal free trade. On the other hand, the evils of the system have been aggravated by the form of government and the mode in which the tariff is framed. Under the Cabinet system of England there is a responsible Minister of Finance, who frames the budget and is bound to show that it is equitable to all interests and consistent with the requirements of the revenue. In the case of the United States there is no such initiative or controlling authority: the tariff is the resultant of a scramble among conflicting interests, success in which, if Congress is not much belied, sometimes depends, if not on bribery, on influences virtually corrupt. So far as this question is concerned, no disciple of Adam Smith and the great economists can refuse sympathy to the Chicago convention, especially as the name of the Republican candidate was a synonym for extreme Protection.

The South, in former days, felt itself injured by the Protectionism of the North, and in that injury found a supplementary warrant for secession. After the extinction of slavery, it seemed that no line of cleavage remained, and that the danger of secession was at an end forever. But Protectionism has at least assisted in creating another line of cleavage; not so deep, happily, as the first, nor so likely ever to produce secession,—the commercial interests of the East and West being interlaced, and the West having been largely peopled from the East,—yet ugly and not entirely free from danger. It is true that jealousy of Eastern wealth, and of the East as the seat of the capitalist and the creditor while the West is the borrower, may have contributed to the sectional antagonism.

It seems to be truly said also that the paternalism involved in Protection has had its effect in breeding among Populists and socialists a tendency to invoke state aid contrary to the fundamental idea of the American Commonwealth. A manufacturing company which is receiving a dividend of 10 per cent demands, and uses its influence in Congress to obtain, state protection against free competition. How can its members consistently preach individual independence to the Populist who wants the state to provide him with a market for his grain, or to a socialistic mechanic who wants the state to assure him a full wage for

a reduced day's work? That the state can create prosperity by legislation, is the fallacy against which, when it appears in the guise of Socialism or Populism, Protectionist capital fights, but upon which its own theory is in fact built.

The great financial crisis of three years ago, too, evidently was the liquidation not only of mismanagement but of something worse, especially in the department of railroads, which was the scene of the grand crash. So we were told in the strongest possible language by the American press. How is it possible to upbraid the wretched inmates of a tenement house with their schemes of socialistic plunder, when gigantic fortunes are being made by watering stock, wrecking, cornering, bribing municipal awarders of contracts, and all the other predatory devices the employment of which by high commerce has been revealed. It is true that these are the incidents of a preternaturally rapid development which has stimulated almost to frenzy the passion for growing suddenly rich. It is true also that gambling and fraud are the exceptions, and that American commerce in general is sound. But the effect produced by these scandals upon the mind of the people is that of being ruled commercially by rapacious dishonesty, and the revolt which ensues is natural, however misguided in its aim. Not a few of the people must have been driven from their callings and deprived of their daily bread by the collapse of the vast edifice of fraud. Confiscation of railroads and telegraphs, which is apparently a part of the socialistic programme, would be barefaced robbery, so far as the innocent stockholders are concerned, and would be the signal for a general reign of legislative rapine. But the managers of the roads, or many of them, it must be owned, have surely done their best to provoke confiscation and to justify it in the eyes of the people.

Without going into an economical question so tangled as that of trusts, it may be fairly assumed that some of them, at all events, have afforded color for the outcry against monopoly, and that the process by which they have displaced the small dealer must have been cruel. The loan companies are also said by very impartial observers to have got the farmer unduly into their toils. So long as the borrower goes to the lender, there is safety: when the lender presses his money on the borrower, danger begins. It must be with bated breath, however, that the Popocrats denounce trusts, considering that their allies and chief pecuniary supporters were owners of silver mines, who combined to force their commodity on the nation at double its value. So, when they denounced municipal abuses by city councils, they were bound to remember that they had Tammany in their camp.

That this was largely an uprising of the poor against the rich, appeared when the Populist Committee refused to accept the Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency on the single ground that he was a rich man. At the same convention the belief propagated by Mr. Henry George, that poverty has increased with progress and that all the wealth produced has gone to the capitalist, was intoned in incendiary poetry as well as proclaimed in incendiary prose. Yet the name of Peter Cooper was received with honor. Wealth can no longer rest on a supposed ordinance of the Almighty distributing the lots of men. It can no longer rest on unquestioning belief in natural right. It is called upon to justify its existence on rational grounds. It must make itself felt in beneficence. It must avoid that ostentation of luxury which is galling to the hearts of the poor. It must remain at its post of social duty. If rich Americans in the hour of peril, instead of remaining at their posts of social duty and doing according to their measure what Peter Cooper did, continue to crowd in ever-increasing numbers to the pleasure cities and haunts of Europe, or spend their money at home in selfish luxury and invidious display, a crash will come and ought to come. The French aristocracy before the Revolution left their posts of social duty in the country to live in luxury and frivolity at Versailles. The end was the burning of their *châteaux*. American plutocrats who leave their posts of social duty for the pleasure cities of Europe will have no reason to complain if their *châteaux* some day are burnt. Unfortunately warnings are seldom taken by individuals and almost never by a class, each member of which looks to the other members to begin.

May not sympathy also, to some extent, be claimed by the movement, so far as it is a revolt against European influence and in favor of the complete emancipation of the New World? Any idea of severing the United States commercially from the rest of the nations by means of a separate standard of value would of course be absurd, while the outburst of anti-British feeling by which this aspiration is attended has its ignoble source in false prejudice and outworn tradition. Yet there is something not unwholesome, nor untimely, in the manifestation. To the intellectual influence of Europe the New World must always be indebted. But a certain jealousy of her social influence, as alien to the principles of American civilization, and in that sense corrupting, may be not without its use. Few things in social history are more unlovely or more likely to provoke righteous indignation among the people than the matrimonial alliances of the upstart and sometimes ill-gotten

wealth of New York with the needy aristocracy of Europe. What must an American workman feel when he sees the products of American labor to the extent of scores of millions sent across the Atlantic to buy nobility for the daughter of a millionaire? The thing is enhanced by the extravagant splendor of the nuptials. Nor are these marriages merely offences against feeling and taste. They are an avowal that American wealth is disloyal to the social principles of the Republic.

In truth there has been so much of late to stir up just feeling among the people against the Legislature, the leaders of commerce, the commercial system generally, and the heads of society, that had Mr. Bryan's movement confined itself to the attack of abuses, instead of assailing national credit and the fundamental principles of the American Commonwealth, one who relied on the essential soundness and the recuperative forces of the Commonwealth might almost have looked with complacency on this insurrection as a tornado which would purify the air. Nothing less than a tornado is likely to reach the consciences of railway wreckers and sugar trusts.

The fears, not unreasonably entertained, of violence and bloodshed, have happily proved unfounded. The campaign of education, or at least of political effort, has done without a breach of the peace what in a European monarchy threatened with revolution might have had to be done by horse, foot, and artillery. This is an improvement and full of hope, especially when we consider the large foreign element in the population. It countervails in some degree such ominous signs of growing lawlessness as the increased number of homicides, the White Cap outrages, and the lynchings. Yet the very existence of the apprehension together with such warnings as the Pittsburg riots and the Debs riots, would seem to suggest that law, liberty, and civilization can hardly be safe without a regular force sufficiently large to be sure of putting down violence and havoc at any given point within twenty-four hours after their outbreak. Regulars are respected by the populace, and would be especially respected by a foreign populace accustomed in its European home to military repression. It is on regulars alone that in restoring order perfect reliance can be placed. The militiaman shares the passions of the local parties. If he is politically hostile to the movement which begets the riot he is apt to fire too soon: if he is at heart in sympathy with the movement he is apt not to fire at all. The regular fires when the word is given.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

PRINCETON IN THE NATION'S SERVICE.

PRINCETON pauses to look back upon her past, not as an old man grown reminiscent, but as a prudent man still in his youth and lusty prime and at the threshold of new tasks, who would remind himself of his origin and lineage, recall the pledges of his youth, and assess as at a turning in his life the duties of his station.

We look back only a little way to our birth ; but the brief space is quick with movement and incident enough to crowd a great tract of time. Turn back only one hundred and fifty years, and you are deep within quiet colony times, before the French and Indian War, or thought of separation from England. But a great war is at hand. Influences restrained and local presently spread themselves at large upon the continent, and the whole scene is altered. The brief plot runs with a strange force and haste :—First, a quiet group of peaceful colonies, very placid and commonplace and dull, to all seeming, in their patient working out of a slow development ; then, of a sudden, a hot fire of revolution, a quick release of power, as if of forces long pent up, but set free at last in the generous heat of the new day ; the mighty processes of a great migration, the vast spaces of a waiting continent filled almost suddenly with hosts bred in the spirit of conquest ; a constant making and renewing of governments, a tremendous growth, a perilous expansion. Such days of youth and nation-making must surely count double the slower days of maturity and calculated change, as the spring counts double the sober fruitage of the summer.

Princeton College was founded upon the very eve of the stirring changes which put this drama on the stage,—not to breed politicians, but to give young men such training as, it might be hoped, would fit them handsomely for the pulpit and for the grave duties of citizens and neighbors. A small group of Presbyterian ministers took the initiative in its foundation. They acted without ecclesiastical authority, as if under obligation to society rather than to the church. They had no more vision of what was to come upon the country than their fellow-colonists had ; they knew only that the pulpits of the middle and southern colonies lacked properly equipped men and all the

youth in those parts ready means of access to the higher sort of schooling. They thought the discipline at Yale a little less than liberal, and the training offered as a substitute in some quarters elsewhere a good deal less than thorough. They wanted "a seminary of true religion and good literature" which should be after their own model and among their own people. It was not a sectarian school they wished. They were acting as citizens, not as clergymen, and the charter they obtained said never a word about creed or doctrine; but they gave religion the first place in their programme, which belonged to it of right, and the formation of their college they confided to the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, one of their own number, and a man of such mastery as they could trust.

Their school was first of all merely a little group of students gathered about Mr. Dickinson in Elizabethtown. Its master died the very year his labors began; and it was necessary to induce the Rev. Aaron Burr, one of the trustees, to take the college under his own charge at Newark. It was the charm and power of that memorable young pastor and teacher which carried it forward to a final establishment. Within ten years many friends had been made, substantial sums of money secured, a new and more liberal charter obtained, and a permanent home found at Princeton. And then its second president died, while still in his prime, and the succession was handed on to other leaders of like quality.

It was the men, rather than their measures, as usual, that had made the college vital from the first and put it in a sure way to succeed. The charter was liberal and very broad ideas determined the policy of the young school. There were laymen upon its board of trustees, as well as clergymen—not all Presbyterians, but all lovers of progress and men known in the colony: no one was more thoroughly the friend of the new venture than Governor Belcher, the representative of the crown. But the life of the college was in the men who administered it and spoke in its class-rooms,—a notable line of thinkers and orators. There were not many men more regarded in debate or in counsel in that day than Jonathan Dickinson; and Aaron Burr was such a man as others turn to and follow with an admiration and trust they might be at a loss to explain, so instinctive is it and inevitable—a man with a touch of sweet majesty in his presence, and a grace and spirit in his manner which more than made amends for his small and slender figure; the unmistakable fire of eloquence in him when he spoke and the fine quality of sincerity. Piety seemed with him only a crowning grace.

For a few brief weeks after Burr was dead Jonathan Edwards, whom all the world knows, was president in his stead ; but death came quickly and left the college only his name. Another orator succeeded him, Samuel Davies, brought out of Virginia, famous out of all proportion to his years, you might think, until you heard him speak, and knew the charm, the utterance, and the character that made him great. He, too, was presently taken by the quick way of death, though the college had had him but a little while ; and Samuel Finley had presided in his stead, with a wise sagacity and quiet gift of leadership, for all too short a time, and was gone, when John Witherspoon came to reign in the little academic kingdom for twenty-six years. It was by that time the year 1768 ; Mr. Dickinson had drawn that little group of students about him under the first charter only twenty-one years ago ; the college had been firmly seated in Princeton only those twelve years in which it had seen Burr and Edwards and Davies and Finley die, and had found it not a little hard to live so long in the face of its losses and the uneasy movements of the time. It had been brought to Princeton in the very midst of the French and Indian War, when the country was in doubt who should possess the continent. The deep excitement of the Stamp act agitation had come, with all its sinister threats of embroilment and disaffection, while yet it was in its infancy and first effort to live. It was impossible it should obtain proper endowment or any right and equable development in such a season. It ought by every ordinary rule of life to have been quite snuffed out in the thick and troubled air of the time. New Jersey did not, like Virginia and Massachusetts, easily form her purpose in that day of anxious doubt. She was mixed of many warring elements, as New York also was, and suffered a turbulence of spirit that did not very kindly breed "true religion and good literature."

But your thorough Presbyterian is not subject to the ordinary laws of life,—is of too stubborn a fibre, too unrelaxing a purpose, to suffer mere inconvenience to bring defeat. Difficulty bred effort, rather ; and Dr. Witherspoon found an institution ready to his hand that had come already in that quickening time to a sort of crude maturity. It was no small proof of its self-possession and self-knowledge that those who watched over it had chosen that very time of crisis to put a man like John Witherspoon at the head of its administration, a man so compounded of statesman and scholar, Calvinist, Scotsman, and orator, that it must ever be a sore puzzle where to place or rank him,—whether among great divines, great teachers, or great statesmen. He

seems to be all these, and to defy classification, so big is he, so various, so prodigal of gifts. His vitality entered like a tonic into the college, kept it alive in that time of peril,—made it as individual and inextinguishable a force as he himself was, alike in scholarship and in public affairs.

It has never been natural, it has seldom been possible, in this country for learning to seek a place apart and hold aloof from affairs. It is only when society is old, long settled to its ways, confident in habit, and without self-questionings upon any vital point of conduct, that study can effect seclusion and despise the passing interests of the day. America has never yet had a season of leisured quiet in which students could seek a life apart without sharp rigors of conscience, or college instructors easily forget that they were training citizens as well as drilling pupils; and Princeton is not likely to forget that sharp schooling of her youth, when she first learned the lesson of public service. She shall not easily get John Witherspoon out of her constitution.

It was a piece of providential good fortune that brought such a man to Princeton at such a time. He was a man of the sort other men follow and take counsel of gladly, as if they found in him the full expression of what is best in themselves. Not because he was always wise; but because he showed always so fine an ardor for whatever was worth while and of the better part of man's spirit; because he uttered his thought with an inevitable glow of eloquence; because of his irresistible charm and individual power. The lively wit of the man, besides, struck always upon the matter of his thought like a ray of light, compelling men to receive what he said or else seem themselves opaque and laughable. A certain straightforward vigor in his way of saying things gave his style an almost irresistible power of entering into men's convictions. A hearty honesty showed itself in all that he did and won men's allegiance upon the instant. They loved him even when they had the hardihood to disagree with him.

He came to the college in 1768, and ruled it till he died, in 1794. In the very middle of his term as head of the college the Revolution came, to draw men's minds imperatively off from everything but war and politics, and he turned with all the force and frankness of his nature to the public tasks of the great struggle; assisted in the making of a new Constitution for the State; became her spokesman in the Continental Congress; would have pressed her on, if he could, to utter a declaration of independence of her own before the Congress had acted; voted for and signed the great Declaration with hearty good will

when it came; acted for the country in matters alike of war and of finance; stood forth in the sight of all the people a great advocate and orator, deeming himself forward in the service of God when most engaged in the service of men and of liberty. There were but broken sessions of the college meanwhile. Each army in its turn drove out the little group of students who clung to the place. The college building became now a military hospital and again a barracks for the troops,—for a little while, upon a memorable day in 1777, a sort of stronghold. New Jersey's open counties became for a time the Revolutionary battleground and field of manœuvre. Swept through from end to end by the rush of armies, the State seemed the chief seat of the war, and Princeton a central point of strategy. The dramatic winter of 1776–77 no Princeton man could ever forget, lived he never so long,—that winter which saw a year of despair turned suddenly into a year of hope. In July there had been bonfires and boisterous rejoicings in the college yard and in the village street at the news of the Declaration of Independence,—for, though the rest of the country might doubt and stand timid for a little to see the bold thing done, Dr. Witherspoon's pupils were in spirits to know the fight was to be fought to a finish. Then suddenly the end had seemed to come. Before the year was out Washington was in the place beaten and in full retreat, only three thousand men at his back, abandoned by his generals, deserted by his troops, hardly daring to stop till he had put the unbridged Delaware between himself and his enemy. The British came close at his heels and the town was theirs until Washington came back again, the third day of the new year, early in the morning, and gave his view halloo yonder on the hill, as if he were in the hunting field again. Then there was fighting in the very streets, and cannon planted against the walls of Old North herself. 'T was not likely any Princeton man would forget those days, when the whole face of the war was changed and New Jersey was shaken of the burden of the fighting.

There was almost always something doing at the place when the soldiers were out, for the strenuous Scotsman who had the college at his heart never left it for long at a time, for all he was so intent upon the public business. It was haphazard and piece-meal work, no doubt, but there were the spirit and the resolution of the Revolution itself in what was done—the spirit of Witherspoon. It was not as if some one else had been master. Dr. Witherspoon could have pupils at will. He was so much else besides schoolmaster and preceptor, was so great a figure in the people's eye, went about so like an accepted leader,

generously lending a great character to a great cause, that he could bid men act and know that they would heed him.

The time, as well as his own genius, enabled him to put a distinctive stamp upon his pupils. There was close contact between master and pupils in that day of beginnings. There were not often more than a hundred students in attendance at the college, and the president, for at any rate half their course, was himself their chief instructor. There were two or three tutors to whom the instruction of the lower classes was intrusted; Mr. Houston was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy and Dr. Smith professor of moral philosophy and divinity, but the president set the pace. It was he who gave range and spirit to the course of study. He lectured upon taste and style, as well as upon abstract questions of philosophy, and upon politics as a science of government and of public duty, as little to be forgotten as religion itself in any well considered plan of life. He had found the college ready to serve such purpose when he came, because of the stamp Burr and Davies and Finley had put upon it. They had, one and all, consciously set themselves to make the college a place where young men's minds should be rendered fit for affairs, for the public ministry of the bench and senate, as well as of the pulpit. It was in Finley's day, but just now gone by, that the college had sent out such men as William Paterson, Luther Martin, and Oliver Ellsworth. Witherspoon but gave quickened life to the old spirit and method of the place where there had been drill from the first in public speech and public spirit.

And the Revolution, when it came, seemed but an object lesson in his scheme of life. It was not simply fighting that was done at Princeton. The little town became for a season the centre of politics, too; once and again the Legislature of the State sat in the college hall, and its revolutionary Council of Safety. Soldiers and public men whose names the war was making known to every man frequented the quiet little place, and racy talk ran high in the jolly tavern where hung the sign of Hudibras. Finally the Federal Congress itself sought the place and filled the college hall with a new scene, sitting a whole season there to do its business,—its president a trustee of the college. A commencement day came which saw both Washington and Witherspoon on the platform together,—the two men, it was said, who could not be matched for striking presence in all the country,—and the young salutorian turned to the country's leader to say what it was in the hearts of all to utter. The sum of the town's excitement was made up when, upon that notable last day of October, in the year

1783, news of peace came to that secluded hall, to add a crowning touch of gladness to the gay and brilliant company met to receive with formal welcome the Minister Plenipotentiary but just come from the Netherlands, Washington moving amongst them the hero whom the news enthroned.

It was no single stamp that the college gave its pupils. James Madison, Philip Freneau, Aaron Burr, and Harry Lee had come from it almost at a single birth, between 1771 and 1773—James Madison, the philosophical statesman, subtly compounded of learning and practical sagacity; Philip Freneau, the careless poet and reckless pamphleteer of a party; Aaron Burr, with genius enough to have made him immortal and unschooled passion enough to have made him infamous; “Lighthorse Harry” Lee, a Rupert in battle, a boy in counsel, high-strung, audacious, wilful, lovable, a figure for romance. These men were types of the spirit of which the college was full; the spirit of free individual development which found its perfect expression in the president himself.

It has been said that Mr. Madison's style in writing is like Dr. Witherspoon's, albeit not so apt a weapon for the quick thrust and instant parry; and it is recalled that Madison returned to Princeton after his graduation and lingered yet another year in study with his master. But in fact his style is no more like Witherspoon's than Harry Lee's way of fighting was. No doubt there was the same firmness of touch, the same philosophical breadth, the same range of topic and finished force of argument in Dr. Witherspoon's essays upon public questions that are to be found in Madison's papers in the “Federalist”; but Dr. Witherspoon fought, too, with the same overcoming dash that made men know Harry Lee in the field, albeit with different weapons and upon another arena.

Whatever we may say of these matters, however, one thing is certain: Princeton sent upon the public stage an extraordinary number of men of notable quality in those days; became herself for a time in some visible sort the academic centre of the Revolution, fitted, among the rest, the man in whom the country was one day to recognize the chief author of the Federal Constitution. Princetonians are never tired of telling how many public men graduated from Princeton in Witherspoon's time,—twenty Senators, twenty-three Representatives, thirteen Governors, three Judges of the Supreme Court of the Union; one Vice-President, and a President; all within a space of twenty years, and from a college which seldom had more than a hun-

dred students. Nine Princeton men sat in the Constitutional Convention of 1787; and, though but six of them were Witherspoon's pupils, there was no other college that had there so many as six, and the redoubtable Doctor might have claimed all nine as his in spirit and capacity. Madison guided the convention through the critical stages of its anxious work, with a tact, a gentle quietness, an art of leading without insisting, ruling without commanding,—an authority, not of tone or emphasis, but of apt suggestion,—such as Dr. Witherspoon could never have exercised. Princeton men fathered both the Virginia plan, which was adopted, and the New Jersey plan, which was rejected; and Princeton men advocated the compromises without which no plan could have won acceptance. The strenuous Scotsman's earnest desire and prayer to God to see a government set over the nation that should last was realized as even he might not have been bold enough to hope. No man had ever better right to rejoice in his pupils.

It would be absurd to pretend that we can distinguish Princeton's touch and method in the Revolution or her distinctive handiwork in the Constitution of the Union. We can show nothing more of historical fact than that her own president took a great place of leadership in that time of change, and became one of the first figures of the age; that the college which he led and to which he gave his spirit contributed more than her share of public men to the making of the nation, outranked her elder rivals in the roll-call of the Constitutional Convention, and seemed for a little a seminary of statesmen rather than a quiet seat of academic learning. What takes our admiration and engages our fancy in looking back to that time is the generous union then established in the college between the life of philosophy and the life of the state.

It moves her sons very deeply to find Princeton to have been from the first what they know her to have been in their own day,—a school of duty. The revolutionary days are gone, and you shall not find upon her rolls another group of names given to public life that can equal her muster in the days of the Revolution and the formation of the Government. But her rolls read since the old days, if you know but a little of the quiet life of scattered neighborhoods, like a roster of trustees, a list of the silent men who carry the honorable burdens of business and of social obligation,—of such names as keep credit and confidence in heart. They suggest a soil full of the old seed, and ready, should the air of the time move shrewdly upon it as in the old days,

to spring once more into the old harvest. The various, boisterous strength of the young men of affairs who went out with Witherspoon's touch upon them, is obviously not of the average breed of any place, but the special fruitage of an exceptional time. Later generations inevitably reverted to the elder type of Paterson and Ellsworth, the type of sound learning and stout character, without bold impulse added or any uneasy hope to change the world. It has been Princeton's work, in all ordinary seasons, not to change but to strengthen society, to give, not yeast, but bread for the raising.

It is in this wise Princeton has come into our own hands; and to-day we stand as those who would count their force for the future. The men who made Princeton are dead; those who shall keep it and better it still live: they are even ourselves. Shall we not ask ere we go forward, what gave the place its spirit and its air of duty? "We are now men, and must accept in the highest spirit the same transcendent destiny, and not pinched in a corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay plastic under the Almighty effort, let us advance and advance on chaos and the dark!"

No one who looks into the life of the Institution shall find it easy to say what gave it its spirit and kept it in its character the generations through; but some things lie obvious to the view in Princeton's case. She had always been a school of religion, and no one of her sons, who has really lived her life, has escaped that steadying touch which has made her a school of duty. Religion, conceive it but liberally enough, is the true salt wherewith to keep both duty and learning sweet against the taint of time and change; and it is a noble thing to have conceived it thus liberally, as Princeton's founders did.

Churches among us, as all the world knows, are free and voluntary societies separated to be nurseries of belief, not suffered to become instruments of rule; and those who serve them can be free citizens, as well as faithful churchmen. The men who founded Princeton were pastors, not ecclesiastics. Their ideal was the service of congregations and communities, not the service of a church. Duty with them was a practical thing, concerned with righteousness in this world, as well as with salvation in the next. There is nothing that gives such pith to public service as religion. A God of truth is no mean prompter to the enlightened service of mankind; and character formed as if in His eye has always a fibre and sanction such as you shall not obtain for the ordinary man from the mild promptings of philosophy.

This, I cannot doubt, is the reason why Princeton has formed practical men, whom the world could trust to do its daily work like men of honor. There were men in Dr. Witherspoon's day who doubted him the right preceptor for those who sought the ministry of the church, seeing him "as high a son of liberty as any man in America," and turned agitator rather than preacher; and he drew about him, as troubles thickened, young politicians rather than candidates for the pulpit. But it is noteworthy that observing men in far Virginia sent their sons to be with Dr. Witherspoon because they saw intrigue and the taint of infidelity coming upon their own college of William and Mary, Mr. Madison among the rest; and that young Madison went home to read theology with earnest system ere he went out to the tasks of his life. He had no thought of becoming a minister, but his master at Princeton had taken possession of his mind and had enabled him to see what knowledge was profitable.

The world has long thought that it detected in the academic life some lack of sympathy with itself, some disdain of the homely tasks which make the gross globe inhabitable,—not a little proud aloofness and lofty superiority, as if education always softened the hands and alienated the heart. It must be admitted that books are a great relief from the haggling of the market, libraries a very welcome refuge from the strife of commerce. We feel no anxiety about ages that are past; old books draw us pleasantly off from responsibility, remind us nowhere of what there is to do. We can easily hold the service of mankind at arm's length while we read and make scholars of ourselves. But we shall be very uneasy, the while, if the right mandates of religion are let in upon us and made part of our thought. The quiet scholar has his proper breeding, and truth must be searched out and held aloft for men to see for its own sake, by such as will not leave off their sacred task until death takes them away. But not many pupils of a college are to be investigators; they are to be citizens and the world's servants in every field of practical endeavor, and in their instruction the college must use learning as a vehicle of spirit, interpreting literature as the voice of humanity,—must enlighten, guide, and hearten its sons, that it may make men of them. If it give them no vision of the true God, it has given them no certain motive to practise the wise lessons they have learned.

It is noteworthy how often God-fearing men have been forward in those revolutions which have vindicated rights, and how seldom in those which have wrought a work of destruction. There was a spirit

of practical piety in the revolutionary doctrines which Dr. Witherspoon taught. No man, particularly no young man, who heard him could doubt his cause a righteous cause, or deem religion aught but a prompter in it. Revolution was not to be distinguished from duty in Princeton. Duty becomes the more noble when thus conceived the "stern daughter of the voice of God"; and that voice must ever seem near and in the midst of life if it be made to sound dominant from the first in all thought of men and the world. It has not been by accident, therefore, that Princeton men have been inclined to public life. A strong sense of duty is a fretful thing in confinement, and will not easily consent to be kept at home cooped up within a narrow round. The university in our day is no longer inclined to stand aloof from the practical world, and, surely, it ought never to have had the disposition to do so. It is the business of a university to impart to the rank and file of the men whom it trains the right thought of the world, the thought which it has tested and established, the principles which have stood through the seasons and become at length a part of the immemorial wisdom of the race. The object of education is not merely to draw out the powers of the individual mind; it is rather its object to draw all minds to a proper adjustment to the physical and social world in which they are to have their life and their development: to enlighten, strengthen, and make fit. The business of the world is not individual success, but its own betterment, strengthening, and growth in spiritual insight. "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom" is its right prayer and aspiration.

It was not a work of destruction which Princeton helped forward even in that day of storm which came at the Revolution, but a work of preservation. The American Revolution wrought, indeed, a radical work of change in the world; it created a new nation and a new polity; but it was a work of conservation after all, as fundamentally conservative as the revolution of 1688 or the extortion of Magna Charta. A change of allegiance and the erection of a new nation in the West were its inevitable results, but not its objects. Its object was the preservation of a body of liberties, to keep the natural course of English development in America clear of impediment. It was meant, not in rebellion, but in self-defence. If it brought change, it was the change of maturity, the fulfilment of destiny, the appropriate fruitage of wholesome and steady growth. It was part of English liberty that America should be free. The thought of our Revolution was as quick and vital in the minds of Chatham and of Burke as in the minds of

Otis and Henry and Washington. There is nothing so conservative of life as growth; when that stops, decay sets in and the end comes on apace. Progress is life, for the body politic as for the body natural. To stand still is to court death.

Here, then, if you will but look, you have the law of conservatism disclosed: it is a law of progress. But not all change is progress, not all growth is the manifestation of life. Let one part of the body be in haste to outgrow the rest and you have malignant disease, the threat of death. The growth that is a manifestation of life is equable, draws its springs gently out of the old fountains of strength, builds upon old tissue, covets the old airs that have blown upon it time out of mind in the past. Colleges ought surely to be the best nurseries of such life, the best schools of the progress which conserves. Un-schooled men have only their habits to remind them of the past, only their desires and their instinctive judgments of what is right to guide them into the future: the college should serve the State as its organ of recollection, its seat of vital memory. It should give the country men who know the probabilities of failure and success, who can separate the tendencies which are permanent from the tendencies which are of the moment merely, who can distinguish promises from threats, knowing the life men have lived, the hopes they have tested, and the principles they have proved.

This college gave the country at least a handful of such men, in its infancy, and its president for leader. The blood of John Knox ran in Witherspoon's veins. The great drift and movement of English liberty, from Magna Charta down, was in all his teachings; his pupils knew as well as Burke did that to argue the Americans out of their liberties would be to falsify their pedigree. "In order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties," Burke cried, "we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own"; the very antiquarians of the law stood ready with their proof that the colonies could not be taxed by Parliament. This Revolution, at any rate, was a keeping of faith with the past. To stand for it was to be like Hampden, a champion of law though he withstood the king. It was to emulate the example of the very men who had founded the government then for a little while grown so tyrannous and forgetful of its great traditions. This was the compulsion of life, not of passion, and college halls were a better school of revolution than colonial assemblies.

Provided, of course, they were guided by such a spirit as Wither-

spoon's. Nothing is easier than to falsify the past; lifeless instruction will do it. If you rob it of vitality, stiffen it with pedantry, sophisticate it with argument, chill it with unsympathetic comment, you render it as dead as any academic exercise. The safest way in all ordinary seasons is to let it speak for itself; resort to its records, listen to its poets and to its masters in the humbler art of prose. Your real and proper object, after all, is not to expound, but to realize it, consort with it, and make your spirit kin with it, so that you may never shake the sense of obligation off. In short, I believe that the catholic study of the world's literature as a record of spirit is the right preparation for leadership in the world's affairs, if you undertake it like a man and not like a pedant.

Age is marked in the case of every people, just as it is marked in the case of every work of art, into which enters the example of the masters, the taste of long generations of men, the thought that has matured, the achievement that has come with assurance. The child's crude drawing shares the primitive youth of the first hieroglyphics; but a little reading, a few lessons from some modern master, a little time in the Old World's galleries set the lad forward a thousand years and more, make his drawings as old as art itself. The art of thinking is as old, and it is the university's function to impart it in all its length: the stiff and difficult stuffs of fact and experience, of prejudice and affection, in which the hard art is to work its will, and the long and tedious combinations of cause and effect out of which it is to build up its results. How else would you avoid a ceaseless round of error? The world's memory must be kept alive, or we shall never see an end of its old mistakes. We are in danger of losing our identity and becoming infantile in every generation. That is the real menace under which we cower everywhere in this age of change. The Old World trembles to see its proletariat in the saddle; we stand dismayed to find ourselves growing no older, always as young as the information of our most numerous voters. The danger does not lie in the fact that the masses whom we have enfranchised seek to work any iniquity upon us, for their aim, take it in the large, is to make a righteous polity. The peril lies in this, that the past is discredited among them, because they played no choosing part in it. It was their enemy, they say, and they will not learn of it. They wish to break with it forever; its lessons are tainted to their taste.

In America, especially, we run perpetually this risk of newness. Righteously enough, it is in part a consequence of boasting. To en-

hance our credit for originality, we boasted for long that our institutions were one and all our own inventions, and the pleasing error was so got into the common air by persistent discharges of oratory, that every man's atmosphere became surcharged with it, and it seems now quite too late to dislodge it. Three thousand miles of sea, moreover, roll between us and the elder past of the world. We are isolated here. We cannot see other nations in detail, and looked at in the large they do not seem like ourselves. Our problems, we say, are our own, and we will take our own way of solving them. Nothing seems audacious among us, for our case seems to us to stand singular and without parallel. We run in a free field, without recollection of failure, without heed of example.

This danger is nearer to us now than it was in the days of armed revolution. The men whom Madison led in the making of the Constitution were men who regarded the past. They had flung off from the mother country, not to get a new liberty but to preserve an old, not to break a Constitution but to keep it. It was the glory of the Convention of 1787 that it made choice in the framing of the government of principles which Englishmen everywhere had tested, and of an organization of which in every part Americans themselves had somewhere made trial. In every essential part they built out of old stuffs whose grain and fibre they knew.

“T is not in battles that from youth we train
 The Governor who must be wise and good,
 And temper with the sternness of the brain
 Thoughts motherly, and meek as womanhood.
 Wisdom doth live with children round her knees :
 Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
 Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk
 Of the mind's business : these are the degrees
 By which true sway doth mount ; this is the stalk
 True power doth grow on ; and her rights are these.”

The men who framed the government were not radicals. They trimmed old growths, and were not forgetful of the old principles of husbandry.

It is plain that it is the duty of an institution of learning set in the midst of a free population and amidst signs of social change, not merely to implant a sense of duty, but to illuminate duty by every lesson that can be drawn out of the past. It is not a dogmatic process. I know of no book in which the lessons of the past are set down. I do not know of any man whom the world could trust to write such a book. But it somehow comes about that the man who has travelled in

the realms of thought brings lessons home with him which make him grave and wise beyond his fellows, and thoughtful with the thoughtfulness of a true man of the world.

He is not a true man of the world who knows only the present fashions of it. In good breeding there is always the fine savor of generations of gentlemen, a tradition of courtesy, the perfect knowledge of long practice. The world of affairs is so old no man can know it who knows only that little last segment of it which we call the present. We have a special name for the man who observes only the present fashions of the world, and it is a less honorable name than that which we use to designate the grave and thoughtful gentlemen who keep so steadily to the practices that have made the world wise and at ease these hundreds of years. We cannot pretend to have formed the world, and we are not destined to reform it. We cannot even mend it and set it forward by the reasonable measure of a single generation's work if we forget the old processes or lose our mastery over them. We should have scant capital to trade on were we to throw away the wisdom we have inherited and seek our fortunes with the slender stock we have ourselves accumulated. This, it seems to me, is the real, the prevalent argument for holding every man we can to the intimate study of the ancient classics. Latin and Greek, no doubt, have a grammatical and syntactical habit which challenges the mind that would master it to a severer exercise of analytical power than the easy-going synthesis of any modern tongue demands; but substitutes in kind may be found for that drill. What you cannot find a substitute for is the classics as literature; and there can be no first-hand contact with that literature if you will not master the grammar and the syntax which convey its subtle power. Your enlightenment depends on the company you keep. You do not know the world until you know the men who have possessed it and tried its ways before ever you were given your brief run upon it. And there is no sanity comparable with that which is schooled in the thoughts that will keep. It is such a schooling that we get from the world's literature. The books have disappeared which were not genuine,—which spoke things which, if they were worth saying at all, were not worth hearing more than once, as well as the books which spoke permanent things clumsily and without the gift of interpretation. The kind air which blows from age to age has disposed of them like vagrant leaves. There was sap in them for a little, but now they are gone, we do not know where. All literature that has lasted has this claim upon us: that it is not dead;

but we cannot be quite so sure of any as we are of the ancient literature that still lives, because none has lived so long. It holds a sort of primacy in the aristocracy of natural selection.

Read it, moreover, and you shall find another proof of vitality in it, more significant still. You shall recognize its thoughts, and even its fancies, as your long-time familiars—shall recognize them as the thoughts that have begotten a vast deal of your own literature. We read the classics and exclaim, in our vanity: "How modern! it might have been written yesterday." Would it not be more true, as well as more instructive, to exclaim concerning our own ideas: "How ancient! they have been true these thousand years"? It is the general air of the world a man gets when he reads the classics, the thinking which depends upon no time but only upon human nature, which seems full of the voices of the human spirit, quick with the power which moves ever upon the face of affairs. "What Plato has thought he may think; what a saint has felt he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man he can understand." There is the spirit of a race in the Greek literature, the spirit of quite another people in the books of Virgil and Horace and Tacitus; but in all a mirror of the world, the old passion of the soul, the old hope that keeps so new, the informing memory, the persistent forecast.

It has always seemed to me an odd thing, and a thing against nature that the literary man, the man whose citizenship and freedom are of the world of thought, should ever have been deemed an unsafe man in affairs; and yet I suppose there is not always injustice in the judgment. It is a perilously pleasant and beguiling comradeship, the company of authors. Not many men when once they are deep in it will leave its engaging thought of things gone by to find their practical duties in the present. But you are not making an undergraduate a man of letters when you keep him four short years at odd, or even at stated, hours in the company of authors. You shall have done much if you make him feel free among them.

This argument for enlightenment holds scarcely less good, of course, in behalf of the study of modern literature, and especially the literature of your own race and country. You should not belittle culture by esteeming it a thing of ornament, an accomplishment rather than a power. A cultured mind is a mind quit of its awkwardness, eased of all impediment and illusion, made quick and athletic in the acceptable exercise of power. It is a mind at once informed and just,—a mind habituated to choose its course with knowledge, and filled with full assurance, like one

who knows the world and can live in it without either unreasonable hope or unwarranted fear. It cannot complain, it cannot trifle, it cannot despair. Leave pessimism to the uncultured, who do not know reasonable hope; leave fantastic hopes to the uncultured, who do not know the reasonableness of failure. Show that your mind has lived in the world ere now; has taken counsel with the elder dead who still live, as well as with the ephemeral living who cannot pass their graves. Help men, but do not delude them.

I believe, of course, that there is another way of preparing young men to be wise. I need hardly say that I believe in full, explicit instruction in history and in politics, in the experiences of peoples and the fortunes of governments, in the whole story of what men have attempted and what they have accomplished through all the changes both of form and purpose in their organization of their common life. Many minds will receive and heed this systematic instruction which have no ears for the voice that is in the printed page of literature. But, just as it is one thing to sit here in republican America and hear a credible professor tell of the soil of allegiance in which the British monarchy grows, and quite another to live where Victoria is queen and hear common men bless her with full confession of loyalty, so it is one thing to hear of systems of government in histories and treatises and quite another to feel them in the pulses of the poets and prose writers who have lived under them.

It used to be taken for granted—did it not?—that colleges would be found always on the conservative side in politics (except on the question of free trade); but in this latter day a great deal has taken place which goes far toward discrediting the presumption. The college in our day lies very near indeed to the affairs of the world. It is a place of the latest experiments; its laboratories are brisk with the spirit of discovery; its lecture rooms resound with the discussion of new theories of life and novel programmes of reform. There is no radical like your learned radical, bred in the schools; and thoughts of revolution have in our time been harbored in universities as naturally as they were once nourished among the Encyclopedists. It is the scientific spirit of the age which has wrought the change. I stand with my hat off at very mention of the great men who have made our age an age of knowledge. No man more heartily admires, more gladly welcomes, more approvingly reckons the gain and the enlightenment that have come to the world through the extraordinary advances in physical science which this great age has witnessed. He would be a

barbarian and a lover of darkness who should grudge that great study any part of its triumph. But I am a student of society and should deem myself unworthy of the comradeship of great men of science should I not speak the plain truth with regard to what I see happening under my own eyes. I have no laboratory but the world of books and men in which I live; but I am much mistaken if the scientific spirit of the age is not doing us a great disservice, working in us a certain great degeneracy. Science has bred in us a spirit of experiment and a contempt for the past. It has made us credulous of quick improvement, hopeful of discovering panaceas, confident of success in every new thing.

I wish to be as explicit as carefully chosen words will enable me to be upon a matter so critical, so radical as this. I have no indictment against what science has done: I have only a warning to utter against the atmosphere which has stolen from laboratories into lecture rooms and into the general air of the world at large. Science—our science—is new. It is a child of the nineteenth century. It has transformed the world and owes little debt of obligation to any past age. It has driven mystery out of the Universe; it has made malleable stuff of the hard world, and laid it out in its elements upon the table of every class-room. Its own masters have known its limitations: they have stopped short at the confines of the physical universe; they have declined to reckon with spirit or with the stuffs of the mind, have eschewed sense and confined themselves to sensation. But their work has been so stupendous that all other men of all other studies have been set staring at their methods, imitating their ways of thought, ogling their results. We look in our study of the classics nowadays more at the phenomena of language than at the movement of spirit; we suppose the world which is invisible to be unreal; we doubt the efficacy of feeling and exaggerate the efficacy of knowledge; we speak of society as an organism and believe that we can contrive for it a new environment which will change the very nature of its constituent parts; worst of all, we believe in the present and in the future more than in the past, and deem the newest theory of society the likeliest. This is the disservice scientific study has done us: it has given us agnosticism in the realm of philosophy, scientific anarchism in the field of politics. It has made the legislator confident that he can create, and the philosopher sure that God cannot. Past experience is discredited and the laws of matter are supposed to apply to spirit and the make-up of society.

Let me say once more, this is not the fault of the scientist; he has done his work with an intelligence and success which cannot be too much admired. It is the work of the noxious, intoxicating gas which has somehow got into the lungs of the rest of us from out the crevices of his workshop—a gas, it would seem, which forms only in the outer air, and where men do not know the right use of their lungs. I should tremble to see social reform led by men who had breathed it; I should fear nothing better than utter destruction from a revolution conceived and led in the scientific spirit. Science has not changed the laws of social growth or betterment. Science has not changed the nature of society, has not made history a whit easier to understand, human nature a whit easier to reform. It has won for us a great liberty in the physical world, a liberty from superstitious fear and from disease, a freedom to use nature as a familiar servant; but it has not freed us from ourselves. It has not purged us of passion or disposed us to virtue. It has not made us less covetous or less ambitious or less self-indulgent. On the contrary, it may be suspected of having enhanced our passions, by making wealth so quick to come, so fickle to stay. It has wrought such instant, incredible improvement in all the physical setting of our life, that we have grown the more impatient of the unreformed condition of the part it has not touched or bettered, and we want to get at our spirits and reconstruct them in like radical fashion by like processes of experiment. We have broken with the past and have come into a new world.

Can any one wonder, then, that I ask for the old drill, the old memory of times gone by, the old schooling in precedent and tradition, the old keeping of faith with the past, as a preparation for leadership in days of social change? We have not given science too big a place in our education; but we have made a perilous mistake in giving it too great a preponderance in method in every other branch of study. We must make the humanities human again; must recall what manner of men we are; must turn back once more to the region of practicable ideals.

Of course, when all is said, it is not learning but the spirit of service that will give a college place in the public annals of the nation. It is indispensable, it seems to me, if it is to do its right service, that the air of affairs should be admitted to all its class-rooms. I do not mean the air of party politics, but the air of the world's transactions, the consciousness of the solidarity of the race, the sense of the duty of man toward man, of the presence of men in every problem, of the signifi-

cance of truth for guidance as well as for knowledge, of the potency of ideas, of the promise and the hope that shine in the face of all knowledge. There is laid upon us the compulsion of the national life. We dare not keep aloof and closet ourselves while a nation comes to its maturity. The days of glad expansion are gone, our life grows tense and difficult; our resource for the future lies in careful thought, providence, and a wise economy; and the school must be of the nation.

I have had sight of the perfect place of learning in my thought: a free place, and a various, where no man could be and not know with how great a destiny knowledge had come into the world—itself a little world; but not perplexed, living with a singleness of aim not known without; the home of sagacious men, hard-headed and with a will to know, debaters of the world's questions every day and used to the rough ways of democracy; and yet a place removed—calm Science seated there, recluse, ascetic, like a nun, not knowing that the world passes, not caring, if the truth but come in answer to her prayer; and Literature, walking within her open doors, in quiet chambers, with men of olden time, storied walls about her, and calm voices infinitely sweet; here "magic casements, opening on the foam of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn," to which you may withdraw and use your youth for pleasure; there windows open straight upon the street, where many stand and talk, intent upon the world of men and business. A place where ideals are kept in heart in an air they can breathe; but no fool's paradise. A place where to hear the truth about the past and hold debate about the affairs of the present, with knowledge and without passion; like the world in having all men's life at heart, a place for men and all that concerns them; but unlike the world in its self-possession, its thorough way of talk, its care to know more than the moment brings to light; slow to take excitement, its air pure and wholesome with a breath of faith; every eye within it bright in the clear day and quick to look toward heaven for the confirmation of its hope. Who shall show us the way to this place?

WOODROW WILSON.

THE POETRY OF THE EARL OF LYTTON.

“As, in the laurel’s murmurous leaves,
’T was fabled, once, a Virgin dwelt;
Within the poet’s page yet heaves
The poet’s Heart, and loves or grieves
Or triumphs, as it felt.”

—“*The Wanderer*”: *Dedication*.

It is not the intention of the present paper to argue for or against the definition of poetry expressed or implied (with a neatness and completeness not invariably achieved by their writer) in these melodious lines. It is sufficient that there is perhaps no theory of the art which is more generally or more excusably popular, and that the manifesto, as it may be called, thus set in the forefront of his first serious book by Owen Meredith (as for many years the first Earl of Lytton signed his poems) was faithfully carried out. Yet, though the poet thus ran up a flag far more engaging than the austerer and extremer theories, which, on the one hand, make perfection of form the distinguishing mark, and, on the other, demand the presence of a “message,” of “criticism of life,” of “high seriousness,” and so forth—though for nearly forty years he fought under this flag with a faithfulness not always exhibited by poets—it cannot be said that at any time his verse has been really and genuinely accepted either by the critics or by the public. Some volumes of it have indeed achieved the success of one or more reprints; and two selections—one, mainly of his earlier lyrical work, the other executed with singular judgment and taste by his daughter, chiefly from the larger mass of his non-lyrical work—have appeared. But he has never been much of a favorite at large; and it has been (and, though to a less extent than formerly, still is) a critical trick to pooh-pooh his claims as a poet. It may not be uninteresting to examine the justice and injustice of this from the critical side; it cannot but be a kindness to the general to point out how eminently *readable* a poet—the adjective will be expounded and justified later—is thus neglected by poetical readers. For there is some reason for believing that the reading of poetry, as distinguished from the critical

study of it,—reading which was common in the earlier part of this century but which almost died out in the middle thereof,—has of late been revived. And it is a pity that hungry sheep should not be led to every good pasture.

The outward life of Edward Robert, second Lord and first Earl of Lytton, who was born in 1831, was chiefly remarkable because of its most unusual repetition of the double bent toward literature and toward public affairs which had distinguished his famous father. In literature his range was less wide, though I at least think that his performance was, at its best, better than that of the author of "The Caxtons." In politics, his sphere being not parliament but diplomacy and administration, he attained a considerably higher place, becoming viceroy of India and ambassador to France. These employments, the highest of their kind open to a British subject, had been preceded by a very long course of minor diplomatic functions, beginning at the age of eighteen, soon after Mr. Lytton left Harrow. He thus missed the university training usual with men of his country and station, and this circumstance, together with the effect of his almost continual residence abroad, has been noted by the most partial and the best informed judges as having had prejudicial as well as advantageous consequences on the character of his work. Cosmopolis is a city of many attractions: its inhabitants are wont to boast themselves a little at the expense of the parochial and the insular, of the provincial and the patriotic. But paradoxers have maintained that Cosmopolis is apt to communicate only the lower, not the higher, cosmopolitanism, and that the intense and wide humanity of Shakespeare and Dante has not a little to do with the fact that Shakespeare is the most English of Englishmen, and Dante a Florentine from tip of nails to core of heart.

In the case of all poets perhaps there is no such satisfactory fashion of criticism as the apparently plodding and uninspired one of going in chronological order through their work, and noting characteristics and "signatures," defects and merits, as they evolve themselves. The butterfly process of haphazard appreciation may look prettier; but, in the words of Béranger's naughty comparison, it has "*bien moins de vaillance*." And in no case can such a process be more important than in the case of such a poet as Lord Lytton, who has been very seldom criticized as a whole, and of whom there is very unlikely to be, in any considerable number of readers, any distinct total idea, whether right or wrong. That knowledge had better precede opinion is doubtless an old-fashioned idea; but it really has something to say for itself.

"Clytemnestra" was not, I think (though I speak on this point without absolute certainty), ever completely reprinted; and very little of it appears in the "Selected Poems"¹ in which all those who do not know Lord Lytton's poetry should now make their first acquaintance with it. As is natural, the author's curious and rather heroic indifference to the charge of imitation appears very strongly in a volume most of the contents of which were, I believe, composed at about the age of eighteen, and some of them earlier. In its pages Browning and Heine meet together: Tennyson and Musset not infrequently kiss each other as the volume shuts. Yet in a not long closed experience of perusing, for some twenty years, the new poetry of England, I do not remember meeting anything which struck me as better deserving the greeting, "This will do!" than "The Neglected Heart," which did not, I think, receive any such plaudit from the reviewers of 1855, though Leigh Hunt, always a generous and generally a good judge of poetry, spoke enthusiastically of the book to Forster. The fact is that Lord Lytton, as unlucky in matters of literary fortune as he was lucky in some other ways, experienced the unkindness of the goddess also in this respect. English criticism was by no means at a palmy day in 1855; the critics of the older time being mostly dead or, like Hunt, moribund, the new "slashing" *persiflage* of the "Saturday Review" hardly started and better calculated to snub manifest incompetence than to encourage doubtful genius, and the newest school of æsthetic appreciation yet far off. Besides which, it is the very rarest thing in the world that a poet's first book really reveals him. Spenser, Keats, Shelley, are hardly exceptions: most others directly confirm the rule.

"The Wanderer" of four years later was a great advance. It is true that the "echoes" continued, and that the poet's remissness in attention to form was rather slackened than screwed up as the memories of his Harrow education—the only scholarship of the strict kind with which he ever had a chance of being imbued—died down. But the note was stronger, the personal quality—which was always so prominent and interesting in Lord Lytton—was very much more distinct and perceptible, and, though the book was in appearance composed of a large number of occasional pieces, the division by countries, and the interconnection of many of the pieces themselves, gave the thread of continuity which the poet always found useful if not absolutely necessary. There are some poets—Shelley is the chief of them—to whom

¹ "Selected Poems." By the Earl of LYTTON (Owen Meredith). New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

"a story to tell" is perfectly unnecessary, who indeed cannot tell it when they have one. There are others—and Lord Lytton was one of these—to whom narrative of one kind or another, historic or fantastic, parabolic or direct, is apparently an inevitable form and mould of verse-expression, so that everything they write must take more or less pressure from this.

But the most important thing about "The Wanderer," as a book of poetry, is, after all, that it contains some decidedly good poems. My own favorite (a favorite dethroned by nothing of the author's, though some things in "After Paradise" and "Marah" came to sit beside her) is "Astarte"—a poem which, with not a few of the usual blemishes of reminiscence and want of polish, and suffering as it does from two redundant stanzas (it ought to have ended at the thirteenth), still, after thirty years' acquaintance, seems to me to possess an admirably liquid lapse of metre, a curious clangorous charm of plaintive sound. Not the reckless uncertainty of the rhymes, not the Mrs. Browningisms of "these Earthlies" and so forth, can spoil the delight of such stanzas as—

" They fell lightly, as the dew falls, mid ungather'd
Meadow-flowers ; and lightly linger'd with the dew.
But the dew is gone, the grass is dried and wither'd
And the traces of those steps have faded too."

as—

" The motion and the fragrance of her garments
Seem about me, all the day long, in the room :
And her face, with its bewildering old endearments,
Comes at night, between the curtains, in the gloom."

and especially that with which I wish the piece had closed :

" If I fail to find her out by her gold tresses,
Brows, and breast, and lips, and language of sweet strains,
I shall know her by the traces of dead kisses,
And that portion of myself which she retains."

Nor can anything be more characteristic than the poet's persistent leaving of such easily removed blemishes as the rhymes in question to mar the music of such a "voluptuous, necessary, and right" composition as this would otherwise have been and to a great extent still is. The Dedication to John Forster (the first stanza of which I have chosen for the epigraph of this paper) may please others better than "Astarte," which I myself like so much that, as the critic always does

in such cases, I suspect my liking to be partly uncritical. "Leafless Hours," very short, is also very sweet; and its combination of two famous Spanish and French proverbs—

" And out of the nest of last year's Redbreast
Is stolen the very snow "—

is singularly happy. In truth until the last two of his books Lord Lytton gave none combining various poetical attractions so well as this; and I believe the public—which is not always wrong—has to some extent recognized the fact. But the same public—which is by no means always right—extended an at least equal welcome to his next venture, which was perhaps the least good book he ever did. That the omission to acknowledge indebtedness to George Sand's "Lavinia" (an omission due to advice from the poet's father, surprising from so old a literary hand and one who had smarted so under critical attack) exposed Owen Meredith to the cuckoo cry of plagiarism, is a trifle. The actual debt is not great, and it would not matter if it were greater. The real faults of the book are quite different; and they have been stated by Lord Lytton himself in words which require little extension and hardly admit of any improvement. "The whole subject of it," he says, "is fitter for prose than verse," "the whole composition is inconsistent with the permanent conditions of poetic beauty," and the characters "are described rather than revealed." Such frankness, which is not in the least exaggerated or affected, deserves respect and saves trouble. "Lucile" is in fact merely a novel of the Sand-Feuillet kind, told in slipshod (the word is the author's) anapæstic tetrameters, partly in narrative and partly in dialogue, to the extent of some eight or ten thousand lines. It contains some vivid description and not a few good passages of the lighter kind, the best thing being, perhaps, that rather well-known eulogy of Dinner, which includes the couplet:

" We may live without friends ; we may live without books ;
But civilized man cannot live without cooks."

Still, on the whole it is a decided failure.

Yet this, like "The Wanderer," was, I believe, much better received than any one of Lord Lytton's subsequent works, all which, with perhaps one exception, were very far its superiors. I suspect, though I do not know, that this was a cause to the author of not unreasonable disappointment. He knew that these were not his best work, nor, as wholes, anything like his best. He did not reflect—he would have been "either God or beast" if he had reflected—that they came at a

peculiar time when the public was just recovering its appetite for poetry, and had as yet neither acquired distinct tastes nor had any opportunity of glutting them. During the 'forties and 'fifties the reaction from the palmy days of the 'teens and 'twenties, when poets sold quartos by tens of thousands, was at its very height. For years the public would hardly look at Tennyson, and would not look at all at Browning. But at last Tennyson had attracted, and Browning was in a few years to attract, attention which was very shortly to be shared by the new and dazzling poetry of the Pre-Raphaelite school. "The Wanderer" and "Lucile" profited by the revival of the taste; their successors suffered because they did not hit that taste completely off.

Little need be said of the Servian poems, which were the occasion of another unnecessary and chiefly foolish squabble about plagiarism, and which, though some of them have much merit, exhibit neither any new faculty nor the best expression of any old one. A "free translation" of a translation could hardly be satisfactory; and it undoubtedly contributed to that mistaken yet plausible notion of the second-hand character of Lord Lytton's work which has done it so much harm.

Six years were next spent on the book which, under the title of "Chronicles and Characters," appeared in 1868,—the most extensive, and, unless this epithet be assigned to "Glenaveril," the most ambitious, of all the author's works. A friendly but frank critic, remembering what has been referred to at the close of the last paragraph, would probably have shaken his head over the general form. For it was impossible that this should not suggest "*La Légende des Siècles*," which (with "*Idylls of the King*") was the dominant book of European poetry at the time; while the volumes also contained the strongest reminders of Browning. But it must have been already apparent to the poet's well-wishers that no considerations of this kind would ever weigh with him; and the book unquestionably has great merits. The phantasmagoria which its nearly twenty thousand verses marshal before the reader represents all times and countries, from heroic Greece to the present day, and represents them with no little power. The wide range of metre and subordinate form prevent monotony, and the abundance and variety of subject-interest undoubtedly divert attention from those slips of technique which were noticeable earlier. Moreover, though Lady Betty Balfour thinks that her father had not even in this book fully found his way (as to which, in point of scheme, there can be no doubt), I cannot help thinking that he shows himself very close

to it. The half ironic, half moralizing study of the facts of life and nature, with escapes from time to time into that passionate subjectivity which was his special forte, could be little facilitated by the boyish experiments of "Clytemnestra," the almost purely personal lyric of "The Wanderer," or the *pastiche* of "Lucile" and "Serbski Pesme." But the subject-matter of "Chronicles and Characters" lent itself very well thereto. One piece in the strangely mingled contents—the famous "Last Words of a Sensitive Second-Rate Poet"—has secured praise from those who, as a rule, set very little store by Lord Lytton's verses. One poem on the "Melancholia," though it has not the concentrated force of the companion passage in "The City of Dreadful Night" (which came much later), is adequate and fine as an example of a kind of poetry which is rather hackneyed now but was not so thirty years ago. "Genseric" is one of the, alas! too rare instances in which the poet did not write a line or a word too much, and which therefore shows what, with less fluency, his muse might have frequently given. The whole design to exhibit the ideals of the successive ages was too ambitious; and, except in the hands of an almost unimaginably supreme poet, would have required more knowledge than is easily compatible with poetical felicity, and more power of suppressing knowledge than the knower usually has. But as a series of frescoes,—as a sort of world-panorama dashed off freely and with mastery,—it has high value, and as a book to read—a quality of Lord Lytton's verse on which I always insist—it is extremely recommendable.

It was followed by the most curious example, without exception, of that odd capacity for taking pains, which in this instance rather marred than made a genius. "Orval, or the Fool of Time" has never been reprinted; no extracts from it are given in the "Selected Poems"; and it was considered by Lord Lytton himself to be a failure. But its comparative inaccessibility communicates a certain interest. I do not myself think that it is by any means the worst thing that its author did; and above all it is almost supremely curious. That a man of considerable position, literary and otherwise, not writing by any means for bread, with the idea of the "Fables in Song" and "King Poppy" at least germinating in his own brain, and with all the world of literature before him, should take trouble to the extent of about eight thousand verses in paraphrasing the "Infernal Comedy" of a certain Polish Count Krasinski is odd—is of the very oddest. I cannot read Polish; and though I believe there is a French translation of Krasinski's comedy, I have never seen it. But though "Orval" is proba-

bly an extremely free paraphrase of the "Infernal Comedy," it is easy to see that the original was one of those innumerable semi-dramatic compositions, belonging more or less to the school of "Faust" and adjusted to political ends, which this century has seen. Lord Lytton has put his own readjustment of the Krasinski politics in a long prose preface, only less curious than the poem, and tempting to comment on. The piece itself—describing the fall of a generous and visionary *seigneur* in circumstances half mediæval, half modern, before a revolution which is half Jacquerie and half '89—is quite worth reading, but its execution is even hastier than usual, and there are few quotable passages. The fact of its existence is the really and, in the case of anybody but Lord Lytton, the almost inexplicably curious thing. It would seem to have been so easy to any man *not* to write "Orval"; to almost any man so troublesome to write it!

But the book with which he followed this, "Fables in Song," would not have been easy for anyone to write, and it would have been a very great pity if it had not been written. I gather from Lady Betty Balfour's allusions, though I do not remember for myself, that some idiotic cavils were made at the title. This is the sort of thing which has brought discredit on criticism. Any ill-conditioned babe and suckling in reviewing who cares for machine-made epigram can observe on such an occasion that the subjects of his discourse are not fables and are not songs, and can support the dictum by pointing out that Lord Lytton's examples are extremely different in form from Æsop or Phædrus or Marie de France or the Anonymus Neveleti (only this kind of critic probably never heard of the Anonymus Neveleti) or La Fontaine or Gay. The fact that they are different is one of their chief titles to consideration. To me, at any rate, it seems that in these pieces Lord Lytton struck a distinctly new vein which nevertheless connects itself in the legitimate manner with the main fable-seams of old. I do not know whether he took the hint from the Prologue to "The New-comes"; it is quite possible that he did, and it would rather add to than detract from the interest of the product if it were so. However this may have been, the "Fables in Song" coördinate and apply, in a fresh and piquant manner, the scattered and desultory faculties which had been noteworthy in the earlier books. Mr. Arnold had not then formulated his famous "criticism-of-life" definition of poetry; so nobody can say that Owen Meredith borrowed *that*. But as a fact no book of verse published for many years answers to the description better than "Fables in Song." As was usual with the author, the

metrical form of the poems sits rather loosely and is often changed. Perhaps the commonest measure is the heroic quatrain—sometimes printed straight on, sometimes combined in stanzas. But there are also to be found six- and eight-line decasyllabic stanzas, “Christabel” tetrameters passing into Ingoldsbian “tumbling verse,” short Heinesque blank lines, Pindarics, triplets, and other things. All these are pressed into the service of a kind of double-shotted narrative, the shot being sent home more or less by a moral of the old fable kind. “The Blue Mountains: or the Far,” “The Wheatstalk: or the Near,” “The Ass and the Wagtail,” “The Philosopher and the Bird,” tell, to a certain extent, their own story: elsewhere and rather more frequently some reading is required before the author’s drift is clearly seen. But always what is attempted—and in a large majority of the sixty examples what is achieved—is the presentation, with the “cane and sword” of verse, of a kind of moral lesson, enforced with much knowledge of the world, touches of pessimism, a great deal of by no means boisterous irony, and above all not a little Wisdom. Let me on this occasion be permitted, though I do not greatly love it, the capital letter which used to bring such not undeserved ridicule on Lord Lytton’s father, and which he, a loyal son, often adopted. We do not like Wisdom nowadays; when she cries in the streets (which it must be admitted she does not very much) we call her obvious, uninspired, *rococo*, provincial, *vieux jeu*. We have, it seems, outgrown Wisdom. But whether our state is therefore the more gracious might be the thesis of a considerable argument.

It was all the more disappointing when, after the long gap noticed above, Lord Lytton returned to the publication of poetry, to find that the result was “Glenaveril.” He himself, it seems, believed in the book; the more sacred band of his admirers believes in it; there are undoubtedly good things in it; and I recently found it easier to read it a second time than I did, when it came out, to read it a first. But I am quite unable to regard it as anything on the whole but a huge and creditable mistake. As we have seen, Lord Lytton had very justly condemned its kind from more points of view than one, in reference to “Lucile.” Yet, except that it shows a much riper science of life and to some extent a less “go-as-you-please” scheme of verse, “Glenaveril” is exposed to every objection which condemns “Lucile,” and to more also. It is double the length: the metre is not superior as the vehicle of a complicated plot. I do not know that the characters, though they are less conventional, are really nearer to full dramatic presentation

than those of the earlier book ; and there is a mixture of obscurity and lack of "go" about the story merely as a story. Its best parts,—and they are very good,—“The Falcon and the Dove” and “Marietta’s Needle,” are Fables which have unhappily deserted the state of single blessedness, and have rashly undertaken unlimited liability in connection with a mass of heterogeneous companions.

But this was the last of Lord Lytton’s books, published by himself or posthumous, against which any such charge could be brought. The small volume entitled “After Paradise, or Legends of Exile” contains matter, partly in the key of the “Fables,” partly lyrical, of far higher value than “Glenaveril,” and showing that mounting tide of blended passion and humor which, contrary to the wont of poets, flowed in this poet higher and higher as he grew in years. “Uriel” and “Strangers,” though a little over-dashed with pessimism (Lady Betty Balfour tells us that at this time he was reading much Schopenhauer), are very admirable poems ; and indeed there is little that is not admirable in the book. The two posthumous volumes, “Marah” and “King Poppy,” were even better ; indeed, if they had been the first books of an unknown writer instead of the last books of one as to whom opinion had made itself up with that curious obstinacy which appertains to opinion that is wrong, they must have made no common sensation.

The first of this pair may be described as a sequel to the strongest and best parts of “The Wanderer,” very much improved in workmanship, concentrated, and heightened in tone, and, while retaining all the freshness of feeling, fortified by thirty years’ growth in knowledge, experience, and thought. Those who, like the Princess, object to a “moan about the retrospect” may quarrel with the bitterness indicated by the title and fully present in the book. But that was one of Her Highness Ida’s unregenerate utterances. “Marah” is full of goodness ; and it is rare to find two of its numerous short pieces together that lack a distinction and an intensity the want of which was, as a rule, the fault of Lord Lytton’s earlier work. Here he has attained that seventeenth-century soar and throb of wing which is not common in any poet of our day.

But I should have to notice half the contents of this remarkable book to do it justice. I shall only say that if any critic can read “That is the Question,” “If . . . ?,” “Summer Night,” “Experientia Docet,” “Dreams,” “Seaward,” “Moonland,” “Selenite,” without finding “nothing common there nor mean,” I am sorry for him.

Had, however, “Marah” remained unpaired by “King Poppy” we

should not have known the completeness of the advance which Lord Lytton had made all along the poetic line. "Marah," though not without touches of humor, is nearly all passion: "King Poppy," not without touches of passion, is nearly all humor. The moralizing spyglass of the "Fables" is here taken up and applied to politics—vignetted, so to speak, in a frame of mystical fancy, and adjusted to a sort of half sincere, half ironical hymning of "King Poppy," the monarch of oblivion and dream. The satire on popular and constitutional government is pretty sharp; though so adroitly wreathed in flowers of phantasy that the duller reader may not feel himself galled, while the astuter may affect to disregard the point of it. An argument of "King Poppy" would be a rather serious undertaking; and besides it is supplied already, to those who can understand it, by the author in a running marginal commentary elegantly rubricated. And the blank verse which Lord Lytton has here definitely adopted is far superior, as a medium for his peculiar style of fantastic narrative and dissertation, to the rhymed forms which he had tried earlier. Not that the book is by any means pedestrian: there are not a few distinctly ambitious passages, such as the history of the birth of gems, and a good many others. But whereas in many of the earlier books the equipment of verse has something of the same worrying effect that rhyme has in drama, here it simply helps and heightens. In fact, it would, I think, be difficult to produce any instance of two books by the same author, appearing practically at the same time, which displayed more different and at the same time more happily complementary gifts of poetical handling than these two. And if they stood alone there could be very little doubt what the verdict of the great majority of competent critics on their author's claims would be. But they do not stand alone; and hitherto the fate of their author has justified the practice which "Saint Archiclin" (as the inexhaustible felicity of the Middle Ages dubbed the Master of the Feast at Cana) pronounces to have been usual in his time—the practice of putting forth the best wine first. Faultless these two books certainly are not. Monotony may be objected to "Marah," a want of further compression and direct adjustment to "King Poppy"; and, though the technique is far better in both than in the earlier books, there are still lapses. But in a just appraisal their faults are as nothing in comparison with their merits; while, certainly, no dog, however currishly inclined, can with the least justice bark the old bark of "echo" against them.

It is, I know, often thought that critical apology for admitted de-

fects is even more superfluous than the rest of the critical business. It teases admirers who do not want to criticize: it is neglected by ill-wishers who do not want to be converted. Nevertheless something of the kind must be attempted here, though it be done shortly. If epigram were any longer permissible (and perhaps it still is under Gautier's kindly insult *afin de prouver aux sots qu'on pourrait être leur égal*) the difference between Lord Lytton and a plagiarist could be put very briefly. The plagiarist endeavors, usually without the least success, to give other people's work the color of being his own: Lord Lytton, for many years, endeavored, only too successfully, to give his own work the color of being other people's. The chorus in "Clytemnestra," which drew tears from Leigh Hunt, does perfectly superfluous suit and service to Tennyson. "The Wanderer" is full of apparent echoes of Browning, Heine, Musset, even Poe. It has been shown with what guileless and gratuitous heedlessness the poet exposed himself to the charge of *plagium* in "Serbski Pesme" and "Lucile"; what a waste of labor and fancy he made in dressing up another man's doll (this time with the fullest proclamation of the fact) in "Orval"; how even "Chronicles and Characters" were capable of being misrepresented by no extraordinarily unscrupulous persons as half "Men and Women," half "Légende des Siècles."

Yet a narrow examination will reveal to any fair and competent reviewer some very curious notes in this echo, some quite unaccountable turns in this imitation. There are some of the Tennysonian and Browningsque echoes in "The Wanderer" which are like things not published by either master till long afterward; and a "Chain to Wear" has a strong Swinburnian ring though written before Mr. Swinburne had published anything (even the "Queen Mother" and "Rosalmond") and some twenty years before the piece which it chiefly resembles was printed. The fact would seem to be that Lord Lytton's poetical instrument had an Æolian-harp quality, that it was specially liable to be swept by whatsoever wind of poetry was blowing strongly at the time, and to give forth sounds in key with those which more individual inspirations had set going. The phenomenon is not a very uncommon one, though there is perhaps no other case in which it is found to so considerable an extent and in conjunction with so much original power. Certainly there is no other instance in which a poet has been so entirely free from the essential and damning sin of the plagiarist—the attempt to clip and doctor, to dye and disguise what he borrows.

Less confident excuse must be made for his other ascribed fault—

the want of patient and disciplined attention to form. It would indeed be idle to attempt to defend a culprit who pleads guilty in more than one not unnatural, though rather unwise, fling at critical respect for form itself. And it ought to be remembered to his great honor that in one of the neatest and most genial of the "Fables," "Diogenes, or Alexander?"—turning on the contrast between a neatly cut water carafe and a champagne bottle,—Lord Lytton, though he begins with something like a satire on form, ends by confessing that form lasts and that its opposite does not. That his own form was defective, in his early days especially, that it was often most unfortunately so, no one, I think, can deny. His distressing laxity in the matter of rhyme—which sometimes reminds one of, though it never equals, the enormities of Mrs. Browning—may have been partly caused and must certainly have been encouraged by his almost constant exile from his native country; for an ear so receptive as his could hardly fail to be affected by the daily hearing of Italian and French, German and Portuguese. But it must have been partly congenital, and partly due, like his companion laxities of metre, to a more general impatience—also congenital and increased by education and circumstance—of the labor of the file. And I do not know that either peccadillo has done him so much harm as his extreme facility and fluency. "Jewels five words long" will of necessity be seldom found in the work of a man who can write easily: has not Lord Lytton himself admitted that it took the dragon in "King Poppy" a year's exertion of the most violent kind to produce each gem? Yet of this, as of the other fault, he has produced at once explanation and apology in a couplet of merit—

"Clothing myself in all hues that be
And taking all forms that seem fair to me"—

that is perhaps as good a motto for his own earlier poetical performance and position as could be selected.

To unravel the apparent contradictions of such a career I believe there is only one clue; though indeed it is scarcely necessary to make the limitation, for there is only one clue that unravels anything,—to wit, history. The longer literary history is studied with an open mind the more clear does it become to the student that there are times and circumstances when a poet of the fresh and complete kind is practically impossible, or, if found, is a miracle. These times and circumstances will sometimes be long and complicated, sometimes short and simple. They may be estimated by centuries or estimated by decades.

They never can be fully explained at all. But they exist. If a man is born in the early 'thirties of the seventeenth century in England he is fairly entered for the chance of being one of the chief agents in the transformation of English prose; later or earlier he will miss that chance by a few years. If he is born in the early 'seventies of the eighteenth century he will have a throw for being one of the chief agents in the transformation of English poetry; a few years earlier or later and he will miss that privilege. These are the *gros lots* in the raffle; but the minor prizes follow the rule. The writers of one decade will be born to honor; those of another, if not to dishonor (for on the artist's brow, however unlucky he may be, shame is ashamed to sit) yet to an honor maimed and stunted, grudged and denied.

Lord Lytton was by time and circumstance placed among the less fortunate of his brethren. He was born too late for the last splendid flowering of the great Romantic period—that which produced Tennyson and Browning. He was born too early and educated in the wrong way for the aftermath of Pre-Raphaelite poetry; for, though he was actually a younger man than Rossetti, his early exile from England took him out of the current and left him exposed only to the same vague and indeterminate influences which produced the Spasmodics and others. Hence, beyond all doubt, his early imitativeness, and hence also, I think, (though it is difficult to pronounce on the latter point with equal certainty) the lateness with which he reached, and the comparative slackness with which he grasped when he had reached it, the true vocation which is unmistakably displayed in "Fables in Song" and "King Poppy." For the early lyrics of "The Wanderer" and the later ones of "Marah," though to some of us they may have had a stronger personal appeal than the half mystical, half satiric fable, yet give him a less distinct poetical position than this latter inasmuch as they are more common to the human race at large. It is a proof, an inestimable and irrefragable proof, of his poetic faculty that he should not merely have written the best things of "The Wanderer" at twenty-five, but the best things of "Marah" at fifty-five. But to those who demand a special poetical vocation, not occasional poetic moments, the "Fables" (with "King Poppy" always to be included) must be more valuable. Yet, even after "Fables in Song" itself, it is clear that he was not sure of his path, as the great digression to "Glenaveril" shows.

Of the poets who have suffered from this metaphysical hindrance, not aid, of fate and chance, the chief in English is Gray. And it so

happens that Gray shows us, with the most obliging contrast, how inauspicious stars of the kind may be baffled to a certain extent, though not wholly. Nobody who has the least critical acquaintance with the life and works of the author of the "Elegy" can be for a moment under the delusion that he was a satisfied or a fully developed poet. It is clear, not less from the works than from the life, that he "never spoke out" what was in him. He too was under the sway of the demon of imitation. He could never make up his mind whether to be a classical or a romantic poet, whether to write narrative or elegy, lyric or satire. He never hit upon anything at all original in form. Even his great learning, though it found a subject exactly suited to his tastes and capacities,—the projected History of English Poetry,—was blocked and balked by his want of distinct "line," of definite *pli*. But Gray, if his hindrances were even increased, was in the end saved by the results of an English academic education coinciding with the drift of an intensely critical temperament. Fate would not allow him to write much that was good, or anything that was in the highest sense original. But he would write nothing that was bad in point of form; nothing that was undistinguished, unfinished, destitute of the evidence of an anxious craftsmanship in style. And the consequence is that he lived, lives, and will live; that people have even gravely inquired whether he is not a "great" poet; that the quintessenced commonplace of the "Elegy," the artificial mannerism of the "Bard," pass (and pass rightly too) for something a very long way out of the common, for artifices that fully deserve the name of art. He was so conscious how much there is for a poet not to say that he may have said too little: he was so conscious that a poet cannot be too careful how he says it that whatever he said survives.

The full, and I believe faithful, survey of Lord Lytton's work which has been given above dispenses me from saying or re-saying much as to the other side of the contrast which we find in Owen Meredith. He was subject to much the same disabilities, had perhaps an even more ardent desire to write poetry, and had, as I verily believe, not much less if any less share of the indispensable requirements of a poet. And it seems to have been impossible for him not to write. The collection of his work which I have before me (including nothing twice over and excluding the original "Clytemnestra") consists of twelve volumes, of which only one I think holds less than six thousand lines and some contain nearer twelve. Nor was he ever tired of rewriting, though his revision seems to have taken rather the form of expansion

than of compression. Given these facts, the defects of the total result—defects excessively and sometimes both ignorantly and unfairly commented upon—are not surprising: it would have been their absence that would have given reason for surprise.

But its merits and not its defects are the things by which the true critic judges poetry, and the merits of this poetry are abundant in quantity and not low in degree. There is, for those who can taste it, a certain paradoxical compensation in writers of the class just described, if only they have talent enough. In their lack of single overmastering vocation they display a singular compensating variety; in their refusal to be bound by narrow critical exigencies, a compensating exuberance and ease. The *volume* of enjoyment which a poet provides ought not to be overlooked; and we have, perhaps, of late years been a little prone to underestimate in poetry the quality of readability. "Chronicles and Characters," the "Fables," "After Paradise," and "King Poppy" are books that one can read and re-read—which is very much more than can be said of some poems which have taken rank apparently once for all as "great." And yet in parts of these, continually—still more in the best things of "The Wanderer" and "Marah"—the poet is not in the very slightest degree a mere *amuseur*. On the contrary Owen Meredith possessed and was able to express, not very seldom with intensity, very often with more than adequate success, two of the highest qualities or functions of literature—two, moreover, the conjunction of which in poetry is of the rarest. The poet who has neither passion nor humor is in a sufficiently parlous state, though sometimes, as in the famous case of Wordsworth, he may attain the heights to which he cannot soar on these two wings by arduous pedestrian labor up steep mountain byways of thought and observation. The poet who has passion only is constantly liable to become extravagant or ridiculous, conventional or *saugrenu*. The poet who has humor only is scarcely conceivable; for, though passion unfortunately may and frequently does exist without humor, humor, by the very terms of any valid definition of it, always implies passion in the background. But when a man can show in verse that he has both humor and passion, it will go hard, very hard indeed, but he will be saved. And it cannot go hard with him who in his last and most mature work held out to us, as presents from the grave, "King Poppy" in one hand and "Marah" in the other.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY.

DRAWBACKS OF A COLLEGE EDUCATION.

It is pleasant for the officers of our colleges to enumerate the advantages which the colleges are giving to their students. Some of these advantages were discussed in an article, "The Best Thing College Does for a Man," published in *THE FORUM* for March, 1896. It is important too,—seriously important, I think,—even if not pleasant, for college officers to consider some of the disadvantages under which, in the opinion of certain reputable citizens, the college graduate labors. In suggesting some of these disadvantages I would not be understood as being sympathetic in either heart or mind with the full force of the statement in each case. I am only trying to present the drawbacks as strongly as the most determined opponent of a college education would present them.

In my opinion, as well as in the judgment of others, the college may injure men through fixing the habit of loving and doing only that which is agreeable. The college may minister to laziness. The laziness may be of a crude sort, such as belongs to Mrs. Stowe's *Sam Lawson*; but this type is far less common than that of a refined dilettanteism. The college may minister to an indolence manifesting itself in methods and manners which are at once gentle and inane; of excellent form, but of worthless content. To do nothing, or to do nothing hard, is a special form of the agreeable. It represents our inheritance of "total depravity." The statical quality is a far more pleasant one for the ordinary human being to manifest than the dynamical. Now the college is in peril of developing in the students this quality; and the agreeable is found in indolence or a gentle dilettanteism. I do not, of course, fail to recognize that if, on the other hand, the agreeable have for its content,—as it has for some natures,—vigor, hardihood, daring, there can be no peril in the college promoting a love of such qualities; but, alas! too many of us are inclined to find the agreeable in soft pleasures and gentle inactivities.

The college may foster the habit of loving and doing only the pleasant by several means. The habit is promoted by the general condition of liberty which obtains more or less fully in most colleges. I

am not now arguing against liberty in our colleges. Necessity is laid on us to have it: it is the Divine method for bettering mankind. But every advantage carries with it certain perils; and I am only stating one of the results which follow present conditions. I lately asked a graduate of one of our oldest and most conspicuous colleges—a scholar of wide reputation, who himself graduated forty years ago, and whose son is now a student in the same college—if it was as good a college now as in his own undergraduate days. Instantly came the reply, “No.” “Why?” I asked. “Because,” he answered, “the men are not obliged to get up in the morning.” The condition of liberty was too unrestrained. He also meant to say that the college was doing little to train its students to do what they do not like to do. The same condition obtains, at least to some extent, in all our colleges; and it must obtain. The advantages of the condition are far greater than the disadvantages; but the perils of liberty are, nevertheless, not to be lightly passed over.

But the old graduate also intended to convey that not only was freedom too free, but that luxury was too luxurious. If men of very small means suffer in the value of their education through poverty, men of very large means suffer, and usually more so, through too large expenditures. The ordinary college man does not spend too much: the rich one does. The rate of expenditure of the rich student may be no higher than that of his family; but, in relation to the development of his character and the discipline of his life, he frequently spends more money than he ought. Further, he consumes more time and strength in spending this money than he can afford. Luxury is not usually the nurse of scholarship. “Henry,” said the old graduate above referred to, as he was visiting one of the luxurious dormitories,—“Henry, we did n’t use to make first scholars on Turkish rugs.”

The college is also promoting this love of the agreeable by failing to insist upon students doing a proper amount of work. It is not my intention to enter upon a discussion as to the amount of work which a college student in good health and of average capacity should do: any such estimate belongs quite as much to the physician as to the college officer. It is, however, safe to say that, while certain students work too much, four-fifths of the men do not work enough. The ordinary college adjusts its work somewhat on this basis: In each week to hold for each student about fifteen exercises, the number being seldom less than twelve or more than seventeen. The length of an exercise is usually one hour; and the character of each is such that two hours are allotted to adequate preparation. Therefore, each student is supposed to

devote to affairs intellectual nine hours a day for five days of the week. Most wise men would agree in saying that nine hours of stiff work is enough for a college man to do in one day. Some men do more—sixty hours a week, or even a larger amount; but the number that do less, very much less, is considerable. I was recently told by a professor in a well-known college, that a student could graduate at that college by working two hours—and two hours only—each day. In these two hours was included the time spent in recitations. “But the recitations are more than two a day.” “Yes: but he can cut some of these; and with a good tutor near the time of examinations he can make up his omitted work, pass the examinations, and get his degree.” I myself do not believe that the condition is quite so lax, or the ability of certain students so great, as the professor intimated. But it is clearly safe to say that there are thousands of students who, including the time spent in recitations and lectures, do not devote five hours a day to their college studies. At once the question arises, Why do not the college authorities compel students to work as (some would say) is their duty, as (all would say) is their privilege? The answer is, that such compulsion would probably throw the whole body of students into a state of irritation, if not of absolute rebellion. Judging by the work done in preceding classes, as well as in colleges other than their own, students have a tolerably clear idea of how much they may be justly called upon to do. Against any attempt to greatly increase their work they would rebel; and college authorities do not like rebellions or friction. These would be as injurious as the addition of one-third to the amount of work would be beneficial. It is thus better to keep things as they are.

This condition is not quite so loose as might be inferred from what I have said; for, though the work by which one may slide down the college course be slight, yet, beyond and above all requirements, many opportunities are open to the strong and conscientious man for pursuing investigation and for reading. The fields of scholarship are large and inviting to the eager student, and are not unattractive to some who do not care to pursue the regular curriculum. Enough has, however, I trust, been said to show that, in allowing its students to cultivate a love of the agreeable, the American college is fostering a real danger. Four years of such a condition at a formative period make it difficult for a man to do hard work in the years which follow the college quadrennium.

A second drawback of a college education is one which the public

often realizes but seldom calls attention to, viz., the training of the judgment of the student at the expense of his energy. The college teaches the student to see; and his clarified and broadened vision gives him such a knowledge of difficulties that he becomes the less inclined to undertake tasks requiring energy and persistence. The college teaches the student to discriminate; and his finer sense of appreciation enables him to estimate the nature of the perils and obstacles which lie in his way. He, therefore, becomes less inclined to exercise his power. He keeps his talent where it is safe.

The extent of this drawback will seem to some great, and to others slight. It cannot be doubted that, if certain men had had the advantage of a training in weighing evidence and in seeing comprehensively,—qualities which the college specially disciplines,—they would have been saved from mistakes many and momentous. The Patent Office would not need so large chambers for the stowage of useless inventions. But I also find myself asking, What would have been the effect of a college training on some of the more energetic men of our time, who have been the leaders in aggressive industrial movements, or masters of large affairs? What would have been its effect on the older generations of that family which controls certain railroads running between New York and Chicago? Would the marvellous and magnificent enterprises of Commodore Vanderbilt have been rendered less so by a college education? Better judgment about many things he would have had; but, would he not have had less energy? Great as is the need of good judgment in the administration of affairs in the home, the factory, the shop, the need of energy is greater. Fewer men fail by reason of a lack of judgment—numerous as these men are—than from a lack of force. More men are found sitting at the base of the mountain of some great enterprise because they are too indolent to climb than are there through lack of wisdom how to make the ascent. We Americans plume and pride ourselves upon being the most energetic of nations; yet our energy lags behind our judgment. It is, therefore, a serious matter when the college causes her students to run the risk of losing energy in order to increase the riches of judgment.

It is urged as another drawback that the time spent in getting a college education removes the man destined for a commercial life from the most favorable opportunities for learning business. The four years between the ages of eighteen or nineteen and twenty-two or twenty-three are those in which the most valuable habits of commercial life

may be most easily learned. About one-third of the graduates of certain colleges are going into business. These men are obliged to begin, at an age beyond twenty-one, work of a kind which they might have begun several years earlier. Have they not lost time, training, opportunity? In this relation, one urging the man who is to enter business not to enter by way of the college would probably say that, as a rule, the great fortunes of our time have not been made by college graduates; that they have been made by men of tremendous energy, of keen insight, of mighty industry, of close economy,—by men who began their careers early and have followed them with haste and without rest.

Before I pass to another rather serious drawback (as it is believed by many to be) of college education there is a conception regarding the college man as a learner of a business which calls for notice. It is commonly believed that there is a “certain condescension” in college men. Many are inclined to think that the collegian considers the dust out of which he is formed to be a trifle finer than that which makes up the constitution of the ordinary mortal. For him the best things of life are none too good. His manners, gentle and refined, may be maligned on the ground of being slightly pompous. He is exclusive and seclusive. Such an interpretation is not uncommon. Some college men give ground for it, but not all. In point of fact the charge is better founded when applied to the students of certain colleges than to those of others. But it is not to be doubted that such an impression is made and that it prevents college graduates from securing a fair chance in commercial life to prove that they are neither coxcombs nor supercilious ninnies.

A further drawback is urged, with a good deal of vigor and generality of statement, that the college fills the mind with useless knowledge and trains it in antiquated methods of thought and action. In the same breath it is added that the scientific school gives practical knowledge and that its training is vital. The comparison between the dead languages and the modern is made,—always to the credit of the modern. The value of modern history and of economic science is made to appear greater than that of ancient history and of philosophy. Scientific studies are lauded as by far the most precious. The humanities are discredited. I remember overhearing at a hotel table a conversation between two recent graduates of the scientific school of a rich and famous university. “Mr. —,” said one, “gave several thousand dollars for any use the officers wished to make of the money. And what

do you think they did with it? Why, instead of buying something useful, they spent it all in buying some mugs of the old Greek duffers." It was evident that the study of the humanities had not seriously influenced the manners nor the linguistic tastes of the graduates in question.

The drawback is not infrequently charged against the college that it trains individuality but not social efficiency. The college tends, it is said, to remove the graduate from the ordinary concerns of ordinary men. It lessens his interest in human affairs. It develops the critic—the man who tears things apart: it does not make the creator—the man who puts things together, the constructor. It creates men of the type represented by a certain scholar, who, being told on an April forenoon, "Fort Sumter is fired on," replied, "What do I care? I must finish my Greek Grammar." In patriotism, national and local, it develops the mugwump,—the man who is dissatisfied with things as they are, but is powerless to make them better. To public improvements of any sort the typical graduate has a blind eye, a deaf ear, a cold heart. He represents an academic type, which is without grace or graciousness, learned without public spirit, individualistic without social relations. This disadvantage, as well as the preceding one, I state with a good deal of boldness; for whatever of foundation in fact either drawback possesses, the college should be willing promptly to acknowledge. This drawback may be called "academicity."

I shall allude to but one more drawback, or rather to an application of a disadvantage to which I have already referred. For the man who takes no interest in any one of the manifold concerns of a college, the college is a distinct and positive injury. These concerns are manifold—scholastic, fraternal, social, athletic. If the student is irresponsible to each of them, college is not a fitting environment, and must, therefore, have a deteriorating influence upon him. Was it not a former president of Harvard who used to say that it was on the whole good for a man to come to college, even if he did no more than rub his shoulders against the brick walls? Was it not another teacher, now living, who said that it was worth while to come to college, even if one stayed only a short time and did nothing, provided he got the college touch and atmosphere? I do not, I trust, fail to appreciate the value of the college touch and atmosphere. But, while one is getting these one may be also acquiring other things which may prove quite as disadvantageous as the touch and atmosphere are desirable. Is not one in peril of becoming pessimistic in thought and feeling, of

blurring moral vision, of forming indolent, lackadaisical habits which may prove to be as confining in their limitations as the atmosphere and touch are full of inspiration? The boy who has not come to his second intellectual birth before going to college,—and most boys have not,—or the boy who does not come to his second intellectual birth at college, is the boy who does not receive much of value while in college. Such a boy, whether he have the free and happy nature of Hawthorne's *Donatello*, or a nature touched by the spirit of evil, without interest in any one of the many relations of the college, goes forth from the institution less well fitted to undertake the great business of life than if he had not rubbed his shoulders against the red bricks, or breathed a college atmosphere.

I have written thus far largely, though not entirely, with another's pen. I have tried to interpret certain convictions which are held more or less firmly, or which are more or less widely spread. I now wish to become judge and critic of what I have written.

The drawback of a college education resulting from promoting a love for the agreeable seems to me to be so well founded that the officers should be alert to its perils. These perils are greatest for those whose environment is of the soft things of life. For the men who work hard in college and who must work hard in life, the temptation is that they will not appreciate the value of those courtesies and refinements which bear so large a part in the constitution of a beautiful character. It would be well if every man of wealth—inherited early or acquired late—could say, as said one graduate on the fortieth anniversary of his class: "I am thankful the old college made me do disagreeable things: it was the training I needed, and it has been of priceless value to me these forty years." The rule should, it seems to me, be somewhat of this sort: 'The college should require its students to take those studies which yield the richest educational results. (I am not now discussing the elective system, in which I do thoroughly believe.) Whether these studies be agreeable or disagreeable is an element of secondary importance. Yet their disagreeableness may, in certain instances, be so great as to render their educational value slight. In this case to pursue them is a task hardly worth the doing: the boy had better leave college, if he can find no study agreeable. But in general no such value should, in my judgment, be attached to the pleasant or unpleasant character of studies in the early part of the student's course, as prevails in certain colleges.

In respect to the luxurious living of a certain set of college men,—I believe it is very easy to over-estimate its importance. The number of such men at the most is but small, and they are found in only a few colleges: in most colleges they are not found at all. The influence, too, of luxury on the character of rich young men is not so enervating as those of us who have no luxuries are inclined to believe. The evil is, that men become so attached to luxurious modes of living that they cannot give them up. But this evil is not so serious for college men as for men who lack intellectual interests and resources. College men of any vigor at all are inclined to regard these soft things as pleasant enough and are glad to have them; but to be obliged to part with them is not so dire a wrench as to wreck either happiness or character. We are learning that young men of great wealth may be as vigorous and virile as poor men.

The second drawback referred to, consisting in the tendency of the college to train the student's judgment at the expense of his energy, is another actual peril; but its existence is not wide. The peril has also lessened with the increase of the relations and elements which constitute the life of the modern student. The constant peril of the scholar is that of a lack of energy: the acquiring and the executive functions seem often to be antagonistic. But, for the student in whom energy is mightier than judgment, the modern college opens up many opportunities for the enlargement and discipline of his chief power. The various concerns of the students—athletic, social, dramatic, musical—represent fields in which he may prepare himself for winning his Gettysburgs; and it may be noted, in evidence, that some of the greatest constructive works of modern times, requiring bravest daring and the most intrepid confidence in oneself and in mankind,—such as the building of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, great bridges,—have been among the triumphs of college men.

The drawback which relates to the disadvantages under which the college graduate labors in entering business is one very commonly urged. The frequency of its presentation is, however, lessening. It is lessening for the best of reasons—the power and the success of the college man in business. The simple fact is, that if the graduate begins at the age of twenty-three to learn a business at that very point where he would have begun at eighteen, he stays at this point only about one-tenth as long as he would have stayed had he begun at eighteen. The rate at which he attains skill and power in business is many times greater. When he has reached the age of twenty-seven, he has not in-

frequently overtaken and passed the boy who has been in business since the age of eighteen. For the sake of gaining ability sufficient for managing great undertakings, every boy who is to enter business should give to himself the best and widest training. Such a training is usually found in the college. If it is at all noteworthy that many of the very rich men of the United States, who have made their riches by their own energy and foresight, are not college-bred, it is certainly most significant that the sons of these men are receiving a college education.

As to the fourth disadvantage named—that the college fills the mind with useless knowledge, and trains it in antiquated methods of thought and action—I wish to say two things: First,—One of the most valuable kinds of training which the college can give is the linguistic. If to think is important, linguistic training is important. For we think in words. Therefore, thinking becomes clear, orderly, profound, as language is adequate. Language represents those methods and results of thought without which thought itself is feeble and inefficient. Therefore, training in language is of the highest value. To be able to think in, or adequately use, the English or any other language, one should know the language. He can only know this language as he knows those languages which have made the richest contributions to its structure. Every new science, and every new application of any old science, goes to the Greek for its very name. Hence, a training in Latin and Greek is of the greatest worth. The college is *not* filling the mind with useless knowledge in requiring students to learn these, not dead, but living languages. Second,—The scientific school is a professional school. Its graduate goes from its commencement, as goes the graduate of the school of law, theology, or medicine, directly to his life's work. It is not a school of liberal culture or of general training. It is to be said, and said with the utmost clearness, that the governors of our best technical and scientific schools are beginning to recognize the advantages which the man desiring to enter these schools possesses if he has previously received a general training through the college. My friend and co-worker, President Staley, of the Case School of Applied Science, has said to me frequently and forcibly: "I wish that all students before coming to the Case School had had a regular college course." A recent commencement orator at the same school urged all students before beginning their technical studies to be college graduates. The reasons that prompt the student of law, of medicine, of theology, to gain a good general education also prompt the student of technical science

to secure one. It is, therefore, evident that, even in the judgment of those who would be inclined to disparage a college education, the knowledge which this education conveys is not rubbish, nor are the methods in which the college trains students antiquated. Indeed, such men are coming to recognize that a technical education, without a liberal education preceding it, may result in giving to its recipient an intellectual narrowness of a type so narrow as to fail to recognize its own limitations. The narrowest narrowness is that which is unconscious of itself.

The drawback which I have called "academicity," has been common, is not uncommon, but is becoming less common. For with each year the college becomes more vital. It is more thoroughly adjusting itself to life. It is training men for service in the first half of the twentieth century. Its keynote is not individual sufficiency but social sufficiency. The whole tone of the typical commencement address is not, "Stay here in the college!" but, "Go into life!" For, as President Cleveland said a few weeks ago at the great celebration at Princeton:—

"I would have those sent out by our universities and colleges, not only the counsellors of their fellow-countrymen, but the tribunes of the people—fully appreciating every condition that presses upon their daily life, sympathetic in every untoward situation, quick and earnest in every effort to advance their happiness and welfare, and prompt and sturdy in the defence of all their rights. . . . A constant stream of thoughtful, educated men should come from our universities and colleges, preaching national honor and integrity, and teaching that a belief in the necessity of national obedience to the laws of God is not born of superstition."

It is significant that the most aggressive and fearless of the reformers of recent years have been college graduates. It is also significant that the wisest, most vital, most direct method of social improvement bears the name of the "College Settlement."

The American college sets before itself the highest ideals. It calls into its service great personalities. It receives large material endowment. It is filled with a spirit of earnestness. Its methods are usually wise. It seeks to relate itself to its own age and place. It is a great power in American life, despite even the greatest weight which may be attached to its drawbacks. It only remains for those who love it, and who work for it,—good as it is,—to make it better, to increase its power for securing its highest ideals, to enlarge its material endowment, and to quicken the force of its great personalities. The duty rests on such to make the American college a more vital and a more vigorous part of American life.

CHARLES F. THWING.

ANATOMY LAWS *VERSUS* BODY-SNATCHING.

A COMMITTEE, of which I was a member, reported to the Association of American Anatomists, at its meeting in December, 1895, on the question of the supply of subjects for dissection.¹ More than a year earlier this committee had addressed to all professors of anatomy in the United States, and to many in Europe, a circular asking for information. The answers were so curious and interesting that I have been tempted to pursue the matter further; for it opens many historical and social questions which are well worthy the consideration of thinking people in general, and of legislators in particular. In my presidential address to the anatomists, I referred to the report of the committee as their contribution to civilization and to science: I hope to show that it fully deserves that title.

Since the Middle Ages it has been understood that a knowledge of anatomy is necessary for the treatment of disease, and that it can be acquired only by dissection. Nevertheless, law-makers have dealt with the question timidly, knowing the universality of public aversion to dissection. Owing to their timidity on the one hand, and to the zeal of anatomists on the other, glaring abuses in the obtaining of bodies have everywhere occurred. It is instructive to see how the problem of securing a sufficient number of subjects for dissection has been more or less perfectly solved; to study the successive phases; to note the repetition of similar scenes in widely different countries; and to observe the uniformity of human nature at several epochs and among diverse races. It is particularly interesting to Americans because, in this country, the question has passed through the same phases with greater rapidity. In some States, however, it is still far behind the point which it has reached in others. In comparatively few, if indeed in any, has a satisfactory solution been obtained; and in none is the system so perfect as it should and might be.

¹ This report was published in "Science," January 17, 1896. A paper by Dr. HARTWELL on the study of anatomy, in the "Journal of Social Science," No. XIII, 1881, contains much information and a good account of the laws of the several States with regard to this subject at that time. The latter have, however, been considerably changed since the paper was written.

The rise of modern anatomy is rightly attributed to Vesalius (1514–1564); but, beyond question, the dissection of human bodies was practised before his time. Mondino dissected in the first part of the fourteenth century, and occasional dissections were made in Italy in the thirteenth. Whether any bodies were at that time openly given for the purposes of dissection is doubtful: that some were irregularly taken seems certain. A teacher and four pupils were tried at Bologna in 1319 on the charge of having taken from the grave, for anatomical purposes, the body of a man who had been executed. Apparently it was of this time that Corradi¹ wrote: "The laws against the desecration of graves were silent without being abolished, and the authorities interfered only if decided violence had been used or a great scandal raised." In the latter half of the fourteenth century laws were passed in various countries apparently allowing a limited number of dissections of executed criminals. It was decreed in the statutes of the University of Bologna, in 1405, that "no doctor or student or anyone else shall appropriate a corpse without the permission of the Rector." Later, Ferdinand, the Catholic, allowed physicians at Saragossa to open the bodies of those who died in the hospital if, in their opinion, any useful purpose would be thereby served.

The question of the attitude of the Church to dissection is an interesting one. If in the full tide of her mediæval power the Church had opposed dissection, it is inconceivable that it should have been practised at the Italian universities, as it undoubtedly was. The bull of Boniface VIII, in 1300, against eviscerating and boiling the dead—a custom that had sprung up in the Crusades, to admit of the bones of the fallen being returned to their homes—was not in any way levelled at anatomy. Dissection has never been forbidden; on the contrary the theologians of Salamanca at the time of Vesalius pronounced it lawful. Nothing can be produced to the contrary. How strong or general private repugnance to it may have been among ecclesiastics, it is impossible to say. Probably all shades of opinion were held. In any case, it would appear that dissection was at first tolerated and then more openly favored by law. Indeed, there is some reason to think that the toleration of irregularities may have been excessive; for in 1550 the people of Padua demanded that the laws against the desecration of graves and the stealing of bodies be more strictly administered. The raids of Vesalius on graveyard and gallows seem to have been chiefly, if not wholly, perpetrated in France; for, during

¹ Rendiconti del. R. istit. Lombardo, 1873.

his successful career in the universities of Padua, Pisa, and Bologna, he had all the subjects that he needed delivered to him from the scaffolds and the hospitals. It is even said that the judges were so obliging as to execute criminals by such methods and at such times as suited the convenience of the Professor.

Practical teaching in anatomy was developed in the universities of other countries at a later period and to a much smaller extent than in those of Italy. Not until the fifteenth century were such demonstrations given in Paris. Apparently all bodies that were delivered for dissection in that city originally went to the Faculté de Médecine, and, by a law of 1552, none could go elsewhere without special permission of the dean. A century or more later the savants of the Jardin Royal—afterward the Jardin des Plantes—became restive. There exists a very curious account of their capturing a body, and of the vigorous but fruitless pursuit of the followers of the Faculté. Ultimately the Garden was victorious, for in 1673 a royal ordinance gave its professors priority; and they being required to give gratuitous demonstrations to the public. This, however, was long after the beginning of these exhibitions; for in the statutes of Paris it was decreed, in 1598, that at least two public dissections should be made yearly. In the latter half of the seventeenth century many of the fashionable world, and even ladies of high rank, attended public dissections. Molière alludes to an actual practice when he makes *Thomas Diafoirus* invite the lady he is courting to a dissection; at which the soubrette exclaims: “Le divertissement sera agréable. Il y en a qui donnent la comédie à leurs maîtresses; mais donner une dissection est quelque chose de plus galant.” The company was not, however, always select, for Lamy, an anatomist of that time, relates that once, when Cressé lectured against him, “plusieurs canailles du faux bourg empeschaient les honnêtes gens d’avoir place.” On the lecturer continuing a controversial discourse for three hours, they stamped and threw stones.

In the seventeenth century the supply of subjects on the Continent was fair, if not large. “Yet many difficulties were thrown in the way of anatomical teaching by the neglect of the authorities to supply the necessary bodies, by the tedious prolixities and time-killing scribblings of stupid officials who were connected with this matter, and above all by the prejudices prevailing among the people.” These words of Puschmann¹ might admirably be applied to some of the States of the Union to-day; but of this later. There would appear to have been

¹ “A History of Medical Education.” English translation, London, 1891.

some grave-robberies; for in the days of Prof. Rolfink of Jena, the graves were watched lest the dead should be, in common parlance, "Rolfinked." Moreover, mobs gathered at Berlin and Lyons. It is worth noting that the morbid curiosity to see dissections existed in Germany as well as in France; for when this same Rolfink was appointed to the court of Weimar, he, at the request of the Duke, performed a dissection for the entertainment of distinguished guests. It is gratifying that this particular custom has never been introduced in this country.

In Great Britain, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the conditions seem to have been practically the same as on the greater part of the Continent; namely, that a few bodies of criminals, or some from the hospitals, were allowed by law, that they were insufficient, that anatomy languished, and that subjects were obtained surreptitiously. Thus the Charter of the Surgeons and Barbers of Edinburgh (1505) granted them yearly one condemned man "after he be dead to make anatomy of." In 1694, the Council Register of that city records a grant of the unknown dead. There is little doubt that in the early part of the eighteenth century body-snatching was practised in Greyfriars Churchyard. It is to the credit of the College of Surgeons that they seem to have tried honestly to put it down; for in 1721 a clause was inserted in the indentures of apprentices against the violation of graveyards, and a more stringent one was substituted the next year; nevertheless, a mob threatened to destroy the college building in 1725, on account of alleged snatching. It is curious to note that dissection was at times added to the sentence for certain offences,—not for the good of medicine, but to add horror to the punishment.

To sum up the condition on the Continent from the time of Vesalius to the last quarter of the eighteenth century: Gradual progress had been made everywhere; but in Italy anatomy had flourished more than in other countries, as is shown by the long list of anatomists whose names are household words to those of the craft. In Italy, however, we hear nothing further of the desecration of graves, nor of mobs; which implies a more enlightened policy.

Great Britain was, apparently, behind the rest of Europe; for toward the close of the last century a new era of unprecedented horror began—that of the resurrectionist. The number of medical students had multiplied, the supply of bodies was inadequate, even if the laws had been honestly carried out; hence, till the year 1832, stealing was practised in a manner absolutely startling. The reader with a taste for

horrors will find the account of the resurrectionists in Bransby Cooper's life of his uncle, Sir Astley Cooper, very entertaining, if he can stomach it. Here are most extraordinary records of the doings of these men, showing their courage, cunning, and endurance; their utter want of principle; how they betrayed their employers, and betrayed each other; how utterly vile they were; that, during their reign, no grave in England was safe,—till one is aghast at the thought of such a phase of civilization in modern times. For instance, in London, through the connivance of a servant, the body of a gentleman was stolen from the coffin in his own house the night before the funeral. The coffin-lid having been screwed down, and a proportionate weight of earth having been substituted for the body, the theft was never suspected. Bransby Cooper intimates that this was no isolated case. The era culminated in the Burke and Hare murders at Edinburgh, which led to the passage of an anatomy act in 1832. At the preliminary hearings, Sir Astley Cooper testified to the effect, that the graves of the highest subjects in the realm were at the mercy of the resurrectionists; that additional precautions merely increased the difficulty and the expense of securing the body, and were in the end futile. Such a condition of affairs was without parallel; but, with the passage of the act, body-snatching in Great Britain ceased at once and forever.

In our own country we have rapidly reenacted the longer history of Europe. With the exception of the morbid curiosity that favored public dissections, we have passed through all the old phases; and one, which in England existed only in embryo, has here taken an astonishing development. In the days of the Revolution, subjects were plentiful, and, in the absence of prohibitory laws, snatching went on gaily. Naturally English methods were in vogue; only the business was at first done in an amateurish way by students and young doctors. In 1788 the "doctors' riot" occurred in New York. A student of the *Bob Sawyer* type, at the New York Hospital, showed a boy an amputated arm, telling him it was his mother's. It so happened that the mother had recently died, and on her grave being opened no body was found. The hospital was sacked. Students and doctors were imprisoned for protection, and subsequently the mob, having vainly searched for them in suspected places, discovered their retreat and tried to take them from jail. The soldiers at last fired, killing several persons.

Very curious is the conduct of the New York Legislature of the succeeding year: it first provided severe punishment for the violation of graves, and then, in order that science might not suffer, gave to it

the bodies of those executed for murder, arson, and burglary,—always, however, at the discretion of the court, who thus could nullify even this niggardly concession.

A similar state of affairs existed in Massachusetts, though no actual outbreak occurred. In the memoirs of my grandfather, Dr. John C. Warren, the second professor of anatomy at Harvard, and who succeeded his father in that chair, is an interesting passage describing how, when a student, he, with others, “raised” a body. He says: “When my father came up in the morning to lecture, and found I had been engaged in this scrape, he was very much alarmed; but when the body was uncovered, and he saw what a fine healthy subject it was, he seemed to be as much pleased as I ever saw him.”

Later in his own career, the difficulties in obtaining subjects increasing, he states that they were driven to “the most dangerous expedients.” “Two or three times,” he writes, “our agents were actually seized by the police and recognized to appear in court. One or two were brought in guilty, and punished by fine; but the law officers, being more liberal in their views than the city officers, made the penalty as small as possible.” “Sometimes,” he adds, “popular excitement was got up and the Medical College threatened. I had reason, at some periods, even to apprehend attacks on my dwelling-house.”

At length, largely through Dr. Warren’s efforts, the first anatomy act deserving the name was passed in 1831—one year before that of Great Britain. When Dr. Warren died, he left directions—by way of showing that if he had done what might shock many, he had at least done nothing to others that he would not have done to himself—that his body should be dissected and that his skeleton should be placed in the museum of the Harvard Medical School named after him, its founder. It hangs there to-day.

It would take too long to follow in detail the progress of events throughout this country. In brief, the demand for subjects increased, and anatomy laws were enacted but slowly. Officials, through prejudice or superstition, tried to evade the laws where any existed. On the other hand, there seems to have been no determined effort to suppress body-snatching in places where it flourished. Civilization spread unequally. Thus, while in some States the grave has long been practically safe, in others, even at the present day, it is not so. On December 9, 1895, a body which, apparently, should not have been there, was found in the Kansas Medical College. This discovery led to others and to the examination of graves. It is stated that of thirty

graves, twenty-six had been rifled. The justly enraged mob was so threatening that the militia had to be called out.

Just ten years ago, a murder similar to those that put an end to body-snatching in England occurred near Baltimore. An old woman of bad habits, who lived among negroes, was killed by one of the latter, and her body was sold to a medical school. The man employed in collecting bodies for the school was suspected of complicity and tried, but the only evidence against him being that of the actual murderer, he was acquitted. His occupation was, however, gone, and he lived in fear of his life. The murderer, it is satisfactory to note, was duly hanged on September 9, 1887.

Not only has the professional body-snatcher flourished, but a new figure has arisen,—the dealer in human bodies, who, procuring corpses, either by theft or by corruption, is able to distribute them at a high rate of payment to colleges throughout the country. Sometimes the same man has combined the two professions. The history of the District of Columbia is in this respect a truly disgraceful one. Not until the last Congress was an anatomy act passed. We have had the demoralizing spectacle of some five hundred students among several schools, almost under the shadow of the Capitol, dissecting bodies that everyone knew had been illegally obtained. Washington, especially at the close of the war and for some years after, was a great field for the above-mentioned gentry. They did a large business in several States. Some of them had all the characteristics of their English prototypes. One of the fraternity, Janssen by name, was repeatedly arrested. At Baltimore he departed from the prudent line of stealing only the bodies of the poor, and carried on his depredations in a cemetery for the better class. At Washington, he stole the body of a criminal who had been hanged and sold it to a medical school: the next night he stole it again to sell it to another, but was caught with his booty in a hack. After serving his sentence he actually lectured on body-snatching in one of the smaller theatres, giving practical illustrations with a sham corpse. But the most instructive part of his career is the story of his final departure from Washington. The medical schools made up a purse to induce him to leave, as, during his presence, the police were so active that what may be termed the quiet and respectable pursuit of the business was impossible. His last arrest for grave-robbery was so late as 1884.

What has occurred in the West has not come to my knowledge at first hand; but exceedingly ghastly stories are so plentiful and precise

that one cannot doubt that, till within a few years, the state of affairs has been scandalous. A marked improvement has been general in the last twelve years, due largely to the passage, in 1883, of the Pennsylvania law—since imitated in many States—creating a receiving and distributing board, which gives each institution its due share of subjects. In reading the laws of various States it is very curious to find how often the heading of the act contains the statement that it is for the better protection of the grave; as if its violation were, like the ravages of the gypsy moth, one of the misfortunes to which nature is liable. Reckless body-snatching is, I believe, now unknown, except in the wilder parts of the West; but probably in many places bodies are illegally taken which, in a more enlightened community would, as a matter of course, be granted for the purposes of medical instruction. I was particularly struck with the peculiar condition of affairs in one State, as shown by the answers to our circular. Subjects were plentiful, they were cheap, they were received in good condition; yet there was no law authorizing dissection, and, what is more remarkable, there seemed to be none protecting graves. Truly a comfortable place for anatomists, though not one of the most respectable arrangements!

The business of the dealer in bodies is not what it has been, but it is still larger than it should be. This is a source of danger. The mere fact that a man is engaged in such a business suggests the suspicion that he may not be over-nice in choosing his sources of supply: doubts arise whether, under the stress of circumstances, he might not go to considerable lengths rather than disappoint a valuable client. Such conditions are, moreover, injurious to the schools in the same State, to which the bodies should properly go,—assuming, of course, that they are unclaimed. Nearly all the States have now anatomy laws; but there is great variation in their nature and enforcement. In many States the law is simply permissive, and in these, of which Massachusetts is unfortunately one, the supply is much hampered by the prejudices, the superstition, the timidity of superintendents and boards of management. Many officials live in a state of terror of the demagogue, which is truly pitiful; for the cry of desecration of the bodies of the poor is one of the tricks of his trade, and officials may well hesitate to involve themselves in difficulties for the sake of what is to them an abstract question. This condition is not unlike that mentioned by Puschmann as existing in Europe two centuries ago.

In some States the law is apparently meant to be evaded. Legislation in Maine is notoriously peculiar. The anatomy act, besides

giving unclaimed corpses and, unless the relatives object, the bodies of murderers (who are never hanged), has been sagaciously amended so that ten residents in the town in which such a person dies can, by signing a paper, prevent the use of the body. It is easy to see that such signatures can be easily procured. The following extract (which I am permitted to quote) from a letter from the professor of anatomy at Bowdoin deserves to be read carefully :—"Here our supply from other States is insufficient and precarious ; and we get so few subjects from domestic sources that the law must soon be made serviceable to science, or practical anatomy must cease in Maine." To a greater or less extent, this is the case in many other States. It is alarming, both as regards the cause of medical education and the sacredness of the grave.

To turn to another aspect of the case revealed by the answers to the committee,—it appears that the disposition of remains is not altogether satisfactory. In twenty-seven institutions they are buried, in ten, cremated, and in four, thrown away. One correspondent concisely answered the question (as to disposal) with the word, "sewer." It is to be suspected that in many of the cases reported as cremated, nothing more is meant than that the remains go into the furnace as garbage. Here is ample opportunity for reform. In other countries the remains are generally buried ; sometimes, even in different cemeteries, according to creed ; and I have been told, but will not vouch for the fact, that in England services are read over them. One of our Western colleges owns a lot in the graveyard. It is clear that those not having such conveniences can hardly bury bodies surreptitiously obtained.

How are these things to be conducted in the ideal State ? First of all, the rights of the poor have to be respected. There must be no danger that the body of husband, wife, child, or near relation may be taken through any lack of means on the part of the survivor. On the death of a pauper due notice should be given to those near of kin : these failing to claim, the demands of medical education come next. Still, the principle is to be laid down that such a body is, as it were, only loaned to science, and that it is to be treated with decency throughout the operation of dissection. Any religious emblems or trinkets are to be removed and placed in the coffin, which, later, will receive the remains. The examination being finished, the body is to be decently buried in a cemetery ; if possible, in one of the creed of the deceased. Probably the nearest approach in America to this treatment of the remains prevails at Harvard. I like to boast that, for many

years, not a single body has been received by the anatomical department for which I am not ready to give an account. By such a course, all reasonable opposition is obviated. There is no wrong to the living, no insult to the dead, and the needs of science are met.

It is curious to observe that everywhere there seems to have been a greater readiness to have dissection practised surreptitiously than to put it on a solid legal basis. Other countries have passed beyond this stage: we are still struggling with it. While our legislatures will not do what is imperative for anatomy, they wink at the disgusting trade in the dead, at the fact of corpses being sent about the country in boxes and barrels, to be finally thrown away as refuse.

Our system is faulty, as regards humanity on the one hand, and education on the other. While I consider it a debasing superstition to hold that dissection is an injury to the dead, I do not consider it one to say that the body should be decently treated, and that the grave should be rendered inviolable. Humanity demands that the feelings of near relatives, poor or rich, should be respected. Enlightenment demands that not a single unclaimed body that is needed for education should be lost. These demands are not antagonistic: on the contrary, the most perfect solution of the problem secures both. This solution requires that the law be imperative; leaving officials no discretion, but directing them to give to the schools, under penalty, all the bodies that properly belong to them. In freeing officials from responsibility, it protects them from attack. Wise and strict regulations should prevent the surrender of any corpse without due inquiry. The law should likewise demand bonds from the schools for the due observance of the above-mentioned rules for care and burial. Finally, all trading in bodies should be punished with the greatest severity, the penalty being imprisonment without the alternative of a fine.

Till the law does all that it should for medicine, in many places the grave will be unsafe; some new horror will disgrace both science and our law-givers. The demands of medical education are both so just and so imperative that they must not longer be neglected. The cry of humanity, that no wrong be done, is equally urgent. We cannot hope that superstition and prejudice will readily die out; but the intelligent community must rise above them. Till this question has been fairly met, we cannot boast that our civilization equals that of Europe.

THOMAS DWIGHT.

AMERICAN WOMEN AND AMERICAN LITERATURE.

A LEADING English Review has recently undertaken to discuss the question of the influence of the American woman upon the literature of her country. The subject, in itself both interesting and important, deserved a better fate than that of falling into the rash hands of a writer who would seem to belong to the class proverbially credited with more than celestial hardihood, though armed with less than angelic caution. There is consolation in the fact that he would seem to be a stranger whose personal acquaintance with his subject is of the slightest texture, and apparently a very young man who may yet hope to acquire wisdom with maturing years.

It is a familiar and well-worn reflection that the most careful of men have little power of foreseeing the consequences of their actions ; and it may well be that the authorities of the Boston Public Library selected with no overwhelming sense of responsibility the names of the women representative of literature and science upon their memorial tablets. They may even have supposed that in selecting from other countries rather than their own the names of women who should receive this honor, they paid a graceful tribute to the literature of Europe, and exhibited a generosity that was likely to be appreciated and might not impossibly be imitated. The idea was a natural one, and yet, perhaps, it was hardly less natural that its results should somewhat disappoint expectation. We live in an age of criticism rather than of appreciation ; a time in which not only he who runs may read, but in which he who runs is also too often tempted to write ; and it need not surprise us that to a certain class of minds—which like the poor we have always with us—an action both graceful and generous is likely to suggest ill-natured comment rather than appreciative imitation. To the stranger from New Zealand the fact that five names of British female writers were chosen for places of honor and but one American suggested no appreciation of the modesty displayed, or the stern sense of critical justice exhibited by the Boston authorities. What it seems to have suggested to him was only a sneer at the supposed poverty of the intellectual soil of the country, and an attempt to

prove that this poverty extends to the moral, emotional, and social qualities of the sex in America. The fact is significant, though possibly more important to the critic than to any one else.

The library authorities of Boston have omitted to place on record the considerations that guided them in their selection of memorial names—and for this, it may be, the Australasian critic owes them a not unnatural grudge—yet it does appear that, to one anxious to comprehend rather than to criticize, the names themselves might have sufficiently suggested the reasons for the choice. The intention would seem to have been rather to commemorate those among women who have been the first pioneers of their sex in various paths of literary achievement than to select those who may have attained the highest distinction by following in the paths which they had opened up. Thus Sappho was selected, while Mrs. Browning was omitted; and thus it may well have been that Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen, and Charlotte Brontë were each chosen not because of a supposed intellectual preëminence over all others but rather in honor of their work as pioneers in distinctive paths of literature. An explanation so natural and self-evident as this might indeed have been omitted here were it not that it disposes of the first count in the “Contemporary’s” indictment of the women of America in relation to literature. That count was intended to show that the female writers of America had already suffered condemnation at the hands of their own people who had esteemed them unworthy of commemoration; what it did show was certainly no more than this,—that in the opinion of these judges it had not remained for the literary woman of America to point the way into new paths of literature.

This, however, although the first, is by no means the last or most serious count of the indictment preferred by the critic of the “Contemporary Review.” He intimates indeed that the literary authorities of Boston have practically given up the American woman as a failure, but he hastens to point out that in doing so they have shown a keenness of judgment and an independence of spirit which distinguish them from the rest of their countrymen. Elsewhere, we are told, the man of America lives but to heap praises the most undeserved, and compliments the most fulsome, upon the women of his country. He professes that he can see in her no faults nor imperfections; lets it be understood that he can imagine no virtues or graces of mind or person which she does not illustrate and adorn; and is jealous to the verge of absurdity of the pretensions of the women of any other country, especially Eng-

land, to compare with them in any of these respects. The short-sighted American man has thus, it appears, exalted the supposed virtues and exaggerated the fictitious graces of the unfortunate American woman, till he has incurred the terrible retribution of rendering her the most superficial and shallow of womankind; the most self-conscious and self-indulgent of human beings; the most entirely unreal in her relations with others, and the most wholly selfish in her ambitions for herself or any of her sex. Here be accusations, truly! After this who can wonder when he is told that the women of America have inspired none of their native poets with visions of purity, love, and beauty? Who can blame Longfellow when he hears that he pictured *Evangeline* as an Acadian maiden, with all the gifts and graces which, Mr. De Thierry says, unfailingly indicate her French descent, and not as a fashionable young Boston lady of to-day? Who can even wonder—however much he may regret—that the heroine of “The Golden Legend” is represented as a mere German girl, apart from the circumstance that there were no American girls at the date of the story? Who, indeed, can blame American poets for their want of human inspiration; novelists for the want of depth and pathos displayed by their characters; even actors and singers for their lack of power in conception, and scope in execution, so long as their mothers, wives, and sisters are the soulless creatures they have become. The poets of America have turned, it appears, in despair either to nature for their themes or to foreign types of womanhood for their ideals; her novelists either wallow in the frivolous and commonplace because they select heroines from their own people, or choose heroines from other races not yet contaminated by the fatal defects of their own. If these things are so who can wonder indeed? The only strange and unaccountable feature of the case would seem to be that these nobly dissatisfied men do not appear to seek for the companions of their own hearths and homes the foreign ideals they have been driven to seek for their literary purposes.

There is one drawback which is apt to attach to criticisms conceived on large and heroic lines like these—they generally fail in usefulness even while they conduce to healthy amusement. Thus it may be feared that the, no doubt, well-meant criticisms of the writer from the South Pacific will fail to throw much useful light on the interesting subject which he professes to discuss. Yet the subject is one which is well worthy of investigation. It is true that in the long run the literature of each country must afford the surest index of the

character and aims of its people as a whole; and therefore each step in its development may well be watched with interest and criticized with intelligent solicitude. It may even be said that of all the branches of a national literature the imaginative will be found to be the most instructive, for while history records the lesson of the experience of a race, it is in its poetry and fiction that we may read the working of the forces that are to go to the making of its history and already foreshadow the experiences which accompany its rise or fall. The most recent critic of American literature has indeed brought little to the task which he undertook either of knowledge of his subject or of analytical skill in dealing with the little that he knew; yet it is well to admit that he has done something. Some of his statements have at least a show of correctness, and others are suggestive of inquiry that ought not to be wanting either in interest or importance.

The allegation that American women have not so far impressed the greatest writers of their own country as to induce them to delineate types of character that can be recognized as essentially American is one which contains, it must be confessed, a considerable amount of truth. It was absurd indeed, to instance the fact that Longfellow artistically represented his *Evangeline* as possessing no especially American characteristics, or that Hawthorne did not select an American rather than an English Hebrew girl as the heroine of "Transformation," which dealt with scenes foreign to America; but it is not absurd to ask the question why these and many other leading American authors have so generally preferred to expend their best energies in delineating characters foreign to their own country rather than those nearer home. This fact—for to an important extent it is a fact—is one of the discoveries made by the critic of the "Contemporary" during his excursion into the domain of American literature; and it is the one which seems to have been responsible for most of his erroneous conclusions. He has found that many American authors, and among them perhaps a majority of the most talented and popular, have found their themes in Europe rather than in America; and he has remarked, and with truth, that in doing so the characters they have portrayed have conformed to the types native to the countries in which their stories are laid. It may be said that this is artistic, and the assertion cannot be refuted; the point is that it is unique. The American author who writes of foreign countries seldom introduces his own countrywomen into them, and never conceives an English, French, German, or Italian girl or woman who can be recognized as only an American girl or woman masquerading in

foreign clothing. This is not true, or at any rate it is not equally true, of the authors of other countries. English writers from the time of Shakespeare downward have scarcely ever done it. Whether their female characters were supposed to live in old Greece, in classic Rome, in the ages of chivalry, or in the seventeenth century, they were all of the ideal British type. *Desdemona* and *Juliet*, *Audrey* and *Ophelia*, are not less English than *Cordelia*, though the great dramatist places them in Italy, France, and Denmark. And what is true of Shakespeare is equally true of Scott, or indeed of any other English poet or novelist that can be named. The same may be said with equal truth of French or German writers. They rarely attempt foreign subjects, but when they do their female characters have a tendency, apparently irresistible, to conform to the ideal types of their own people.

This, stated in a few words, would seem to be the radical discovery made by the critic from the South Pacific, which underlies the whole of his indictment against the women of America. It is hardly necessary to point out that the discovery is not a new one, as its whole importance lies in the application. There are exceptions, and some brilliant exceptions, to the rule as laid down regarding American writers, but they are sufficiently exceptional to leave the problem announced by the "Contemporary" critic untouched, and to enable him to arrive at the conclusion that there is either no ideal of female character native to America or that, while it has an existence, it is too commonplace and frivolous to rouse the sympathies or engage the serious attention of readers at home or abroad. The conclusion is a hasty one, founded largely, it may be, upon prejudice, but certainly not the result of a careful analysis of the facts, or an intelligent comparison of these with others that should have been specially within the critic's knowledge.

Any view of the literature and social characteristics of a people which fails to grasp the history and conditions of the population must at all times be shallow and misleading. Thus an attempt to estimate the intellectual and social conditions of the colonies of Australia to-day by a reference to its imaginative literature would be in the last degree misleading. A few writers, indeed, both in prose and verse have been produced; but, generally speaking, they have found comparatively little honor in their own country, and for the most part turn sooner or later to themes that are foreign to the Pacific continent. Nor does the fact imply any condemnation either of the writers who fail to find any permanent inspiration in Australian subjects, or of the men and women of the colonies who have ceased to be their heroes and heroines. The

first condition of a successful imaginative literature in any country must be that it excites as well as satisfies the imaginations of that country as they exist at the time. In the case of new countries, no longer in the first stage of pioneer adventure, the struggle of life is generally keen, and the conditions of life are in many respects prosaic. In these cases the imagination when excited to any degree of activity turns naturally to circumstances and conditions of life that are less familiar than those surrounding it; to a state of society which at least seems to be richer in the stored-up results of time and the long accretions of civilization than that to which it is accustomed. In Australia this is emphatically the case to-day. It may indeed suit an Australian critic to assert that the fact of the non-existence of Australian heroines in books written by Australians is that their appreciation of their mothers and sisters lies too deep for utterance, but the fact remains that it is not uttered by making them the heroines of their books.

In many respects the analogy between Australia and America is closer to-day than that between this country and any of the old countries of Europe. The conditions of life are altogether more alike, the habits and social customs of the great body of the people have far more in common. The explanation is that both are new countries. In both, the process of forming a people fitted to make the best of those conditions is still going on, and in neither has the crystallizing effect of long centuries acting upon the people had time to make itself fully apparent. The past history of either country seems as nothing compared with the great expanse of the future that lies before it—the faces of the people of each turn naturally to the future of the country rather than to its past. It is in such a state of things as this that imaginative literature finds little material at home. When Shakespeare wrote in England it was to foreign scenes that he turned most naturally, and, except in his historical plays, he made little use of his own country. It is true that he made his characters, wherever they were supposed to be, speak as English men and women, but this arose from the fact that he knew none but English people, and so far as it went it was a limitation of his genius. In this respect writers are more fortunate to-day. It is possible for the writer who finds that works of imagination dealing with countries foreign to his own are the most appreciated by his own people to visit those countries and render his artistic work more perfect by making it more true. In doing so he meets a natural want, and satisfies a craving which both in himself and his readers is artistic.

The evolution of a literature, like that of a people, is necessarily a

slow process, subject to many laws and conditions which can only be very partially understood even by those who approach the subject in the spirit of unprejudiced inquiry rather than of flippant fault-finding. In the earlier stages of its development the new nation and its literature will naturally bear all the marks of that from which it sprang; the models for its imitation will be found not in its new home but in that which it has left, and its standards of excellence will, consciously or the reverse, be looked for there. At present the United States, in respect at least of its literature, is only beginning to emerge from this elementary stage of intellectual evolution. Its existence as a separate people extends only a hundred and twenty years,—a time far too short to produce either in a race or its literature any very radical variation from the parent stock. Changes, indeed, there are, but as yet they are rather indicated than developed; to be looked for rather in the region of tendencies than of full-grown diversities either of form or of substance. The attempt, therefore, to draw any conclusions of the important and far-reaching character which the critic of the English review has attempted from any omissions that may be noted as yet in the literature of the country is a short-sighted and childish one. Only in a literature that has grown up with a people can anything of this kind be safely attempted.

A great literature, it is well to remember, does not any more than a great nation, spring up full grown in a single century. The first stage, with the literature as with the people, is a period of assimilation, accompanied by more or less of ferment and experiment. In America, more than in any other country of ancient or modern times, this was to be expected, because nowhere else has the growth been so rapid or the amount of foreign elements to be assimilated been so vast in amount or so varied in kind. It is hardly correct, indeed, to speak of "the American woman" at all as though she belonged to any distinct race, or had existed for the length of time necessary to evolve any new racial peculiarities of intellect or disposition. As yet the races that have been pouring into the country for the last fifty years at the average rate of a third of a million annually have really amalgamated chiefly for political purposes, and cannot have in any degree altered their types or taken any considerable share in forming a new one. It is not in the great cities, at any rate, that any reasonable person seeking for the type of the American woman which comes nearest to a national one would dream of looking for what he sought. In the country districts of the East and South, indeed, where the mixture of

ances has been small, and the influences of climate and environment have had the longest time to operate, the first beginnings of racial peculiarity might be sought with some hope of success; and this would seem to be the very last place where their critic has thought of looking. What he has seen of the women of America—if indeed he has seen them at all except through the distorted medium of the newspapers—he may have seen in one or two of the larger cities in the hasty glimpses which he succeeded in catching of what he was led to believe represented good society, and from such a view no true idea could possibly be gathered.

In every civilized country there exists to-day a small class to which the possession of large wealth and the enjoyment of selfish ease are the fruitful sources of absurdity and eccentricity. That such a class exists in America, as it does in England and France, goes without saying; but the observer must be foolish indeed who mistakes that class for the nation at large, or charges its eccentricities upon the whole people. In America, indeed, it is generally new and consequently more aggressive than elsewhere. In its desire to make itself seen and heard it is apt to make its weddings a public exhibition and its funerals a so-called society function. It has much of the obtrusiveness of novelty, and discloses the rough edges of a gentility lately and hastily put together. Yet in America, as in older countries, this class is but the fly upon the great wheel of the progressive life of the people, although here as elsewhere it is too apt to imagine that it is the motive power. The critic of the American woman seems, in his youth and inexperience, to have accepted this class at its own valuation. He has seized upon and exaggerated its foibles; he has dwelt upon and emphasized its absurdities; and he has fancied in his ignorance that he was criticizing the women of a great people.

A critic who has fallen so easily into the vulgar error of supposing that a small clique of idle people could be taken to represent a nation might have been expected to take an equally superficial view of its literature. There is a curiously second-hand ring about his references to all the American writers, to whom he refers, and even his extracts are suspiciously like those supplied by a well-known cyclopedia, yet it is possible that he may have read some of them. He may have done Miss Wilkins the honor of reading some of her New England sketches; he may have glanced over one or two of Miss Murfree's stories of Tennessee; he may even have read a novel by Mrs. Deland, but, if so, it is evident that he considered he had thus exhausted the contributions of

American women to imaginative literature, or at any rate that part of them which had any claims to his distinguished regard. He is of course too young to remember how a work of fiction by an American woman once aroused not only the United States but Christendom by its realistic force and passionate sympathy, and aided more than any other book ever written by any woman to right a great human wrong and sweep away a great national disgrace; but he might with profit to himself have spent a few months in reading the many books by American women, pure in sentiment and tender in feeling, that illustrate phases of American life evidently undreamt of by their critic.

To a critic fenced about with a panoply of ignorance and well-equipped with the weapons of flippancy and prejudice it is an easy and possibly a congenial task to make attacks upon the women of any country. To point the attack by sneering at the poets, laughing at the actors, and dismissing the musicians of the country with patronizing contempt, is a feat of no great difficulty for one so well provided. He need not have read a line of the poetry; he need never have seen one of the actors; it is wholly needless for him to have listened to one of the singers whom he dismisses so cavalierly. It may be thought, indeed, that something more was required before he could venture to sketch and criticize the American girl in her social aspect and triumphs—but even this is doubtful. A casual meeting with one or two in the haunts of travel in any part of the world could hardly fail to confirm what he had already heard and read of their charms; it is far from improbable that it has also enabled him to speak from personal experience of “retorts, as crushing as they are merciless,” administered, not without cause, to himself.

It is not, however, the observer who adopts such methods of inquiry as these who need expect to see anything which can possibly be worth recording. They may indeed inspire an article spiced with ill-nature, and highly flavored with prejudice, and thus it is conceivable they may secure for the writer a little—a very little—short-lived notoriety; but they can contribute nothing to the knowledge of mankind, and less than nothing to the mutual goodwill and intelligent appreciation of peoples nearly related in blood and feeling. The critic who really wishes to know something of the women of America must study, not the little clique of exceptional cases made eccentric and ridiculous it may be by newly found wealth and unaccustomed luxury, but the vast majority of the sex who form the centres of millions of homes and are the mothers of the nation which is being developed out of the various races that

have mingled in this great land. Such an observer may indeed find new characteristics to satisfy his curiosity and afford food for his speculation, but they will not take the direction of indifference to the ties of home, and the absence of those finer feelings which in the future, as in the past, must ever form the crowning charm of womanhood. A greater freedom from the restraints of old conventionality; a more active sympathy and acquaintance with the thousand and one interests which men have hitherto enjoyed apart from women in the countries of the Old World; these he will find, and in finding them he will discover the charm which accounts for much of that admiration felt for the American woman by the men of her own, and not a few of those of other countries.

It is difficult to part with a critic who professes to look at the women and the literature of America from a colonial point of view without a lingering feeling of wonder that he of all men could have fallen into blunders so shallow and mistakes so entirely without excuse. In Australia, as in the United States, a new nation of English origin is in course of formation. There, as here, are already to be found symptoms of the gradual divergence from the parent type which new conditions must inevitably produce. In the case of Australia the lapse of time has been shorter and the admixture of races has been less than in that of America, but on the other hand the conditions of life in the Pacific continent are more strange and the whole environment is more dissimilar from that of the cradle of the race than here. Already there are English people who speak and write of the new type of the Australian girl; already they see in her a greater independence of mind, and some at least discern a consequent charm of manner greater than they can find in her more conventional cousins in England. It may be that ere long some ill-natured and worse-informed critic may be found who will assert that the Australian land is fatal to the best moral, intellectual, and social qualities of the race, and that the women of Australia are in a condition of incipient decay. There, as here, however, the race, and not least the women of the race, may be trusted to maintain their high position. There, as here, amid minor variations and charming diversities, the women descended from the sturdy old Anglo-Saxon stock will continue to be the worthy centre of the life of the home, and the best guarantee of the abiding virtues and capacities of the race.

HUGH H. LUSK.

The Forum

JANUARY, 1897.

POPE LEO XIII.

I ACCEPT with pleasure the invitation of THE FORUM to speak to Americans of that European whose thoughts are most engrossed by America. This man is unquestionably Pope Leo XIII.

From my interviews with the venerable Pontiff I have always carried away the impression that the New World, and particularly that part of it populated by the Anglo-Saxon race, was the pole toward which the meditations, calculations, and hopes of this intuitive genius were in preference directed. This fact is in itself sufficient to stamp him with a characteristic individuality in the long line of the successors of St. Peter.

At an advanced age, when the generality of men withdraw to contemplations of the inner life and recollections of the past, Leo XIII becomes indeed the typical Pope; that is to say, the individual—unique in the world—who, by virtue of his office, is placed in some degree beyond the limitations of time and space, and whose mind, guided by an active solicitude, is ever circling the universe, seeking the most favorable centres for that light which it is his mission to keep bright. This tendency is the more remarkable as being manifested in a recluse who, imprisoned by unfavorable circumstances between the ancient walls of the Vatican, is obliged to overcome a thousand material difficulties in order to keep in permanent contact with all the races, all the forms of intellect, all the new problems, which are the product of our times.

Copyright, 1896, by The Forum Publishing Company.

Permission to re-publish articles is reserved.

My friend Paul Bourget defines the American as "a man who invariably uses the newest method." This is also the dominant trait in the character of Leo XIII. Within the measure permitted him by a heavy chain of traditions, he does not hesitate to grasp the most modern weapons in defence of his ancient faith; and this deliberate boldness explains his *penchant* for the American character. Yet in those very innovations which most alarm his timid advisers he is conscious of being far less an innovator than a restorer of forgotten tradition. He relies upon the examples set by the great Popes of the Middle Ages, who, in their day, came down to the market-place, stirred the crowds, and led the people on to new horizons.

In the course of later centuries, since the consolidation of the great European monarchies, and during the revolutionary disturbances which followed the decay of these monarchies, a series of Pontiffs restricted the political and social rôle of the Papacy; some of them going so far as to make of it a simple Italian *cabinet d'affaires*. Leo XIII has revived the vast ambitions and the bold procedures of a Gregory VII, of an Innocent III. Like them, with an action broad and resolute, he has cast the Fisherman's net over democracies beyond the seas. The originality of this genius and the most interesting trait for the historian lie in the fact that he should have found in the Middle Ages the secret of an intimate relation with the modern spirit; of an impulse to contemporary Catholicism.

I will endeavor to trace briefly, but with perfect freedom, the successive developments of this lofty genius, and the corresponding increase in the prestige and moral power of the Papacy throughout the world.

Some pious souls love to picture the Holy Father as a lamp which, by virtue of divine inspiration, has always shone with an equal brilliancy. Historical research does not justify this view. An individual, be he even a Pope, is subject to the influences of his environment, passes through inward transformations, and arrives but slowly at the full manifestation of those qualities which he possessed in the germ. Cardinal Joachim Pecci, the descendant of a noble family of the Roman Campagna, held, in his thirty-third year, a diplomatic mission to Belgium. This short embassy to Brussels constituted his single contact with the outside world, his one practical initiation into European affairs. Appointed in 1846 to the bishopric of Perugia, he isolated himself in that tranquil and studious solitude for a period of thirty-two years. Like many other great men, he had his long seclusion in

the wilderness,—a time of earnest and silent preparation for future activity. Forgotten in the shadow of the episcopal palace of Perugia, this austere priest there studied with avidity the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas. In the “Summa” of the philosopher who has accomplished for the Christian world what Aristotle did for the pagan,—giving it a code at once religious, intellectual, and social,—Pecci sought the solutions forever applicable to the needs of the human intellect. His labors won for him the reputation of a sound theologian and a good administrator; and this unobtrusive renown, which did not reach the ears of the profane, secured for him, after the death of Pius IX in 1878, a majority of votes in the Conclave. I was at that time passing through Rome, and was able to be present at the exaltation of the new Pontiff in the Sistine Chapel. The ceremony was thrilling and solemn; but as a rite of the Catacombs, celebrated by shadows in the midst of shadows, far from the world of the living. In the narrow enclosure peopled by the characters of Michelangelo,—figures so full of life and energy that they gave greater emphasis to the weakness of the creatures of flesh and bone,—the aged men of the Sacred College pressed around the sexagenarian whom they were raising to the *sedes gestatoria*. They observed to the best of their ability the pompous etiquette prescribed so many centuries ago; but, in this dark and tiny chapel, their actions seemed but an awkward imitation of the pageantry of former days, when the *cortéges* traversed the imposing and luminous distances of St. Peter's. And, in lieu of the people who formerly proclaimed their new king in St. Peter's, only a few spectators were to be seen scattered in the background of the Sistine Chapel,—the last faithful families of the Roman nobility, some stranger pilgrims of high rank, together with reporters and draughtsmen who sketched with indifference the singular scene for their respective papers. Everything spoke of dead grandeur and a frozen survival; nothing of quickened power or the hope of renewal.

The lengthy reign of Pius IX appeared to have drained the Papacy of its final energies. This Pope had endeavored to play a political rôle in the reconstitution of Italy; and, his liberal concessions resulting only in his dispossession, the disabused Pontiff had levelled at modern society warnings which sounded like anathemas. He had imprinted upon Catholicism a spirit of uncompromising mysticism, of surly opposition to every idea of the age. Silently his light had gone out in a city where the young royalty had noisily established itself; in a transformed Italy to which the Vatican was nothing more than an art

museum, sheltering a troublesome prisoner; in a world passionately fond of problems to which the Church appeared either hostile or indifferent.

It was the unanimous opinion of Catholics that the loss of temporal power condemned the Pope to absolute political impotency, and to a religious activity of little moment. The successor of Pius IX, ascending the pontifical throne at an age when one is generally more fitted to complete than to inaugurate, presented the appearance of a saintly man who would but feebly trim the sanctuary lamp whilst waiting for better days. At the brief formal audience which he gave to a few Frenchmen on the eve of his coronation, Leo XIII impressed me as a typical monk; pleasing by the exquisite smile of his race, and imposing through that air of nobility which a serious and dignified life had stamped upon his entire person. But this monk who expressed himself with difficulty in a forgotten language,—could he have issued from his cell for any other purpose than to throw the lean and lofty silhouette of an ascetic into the historic gallery of pontifical portraits? It was doubtless due to our lack of discernment that nothing in his personality revealed a man born to mould and lead the world. In fact during the early years of his pontificate he was ignored by all outside his ecclesiastical environment. He reflected; he studied the age on which he was entering, and the multiplicity of affairs of which he had charge; he dealt tactfully with changes. Only those engaged in the internal government of the Church could appreciate his administrative qualities, the laborious vigilance of his mind, the prudence with which he persevered in his determined struggle against the civil authorities of the kingdom. Little by little the growing troubles of the royal power drew attention to the skill of an adversary who profited by every error without committing a single fault himself. It was felt that he played his game with ability; but it was one purely Italian, and possessed little interest for foreigners, who considered it already lost. The restoration of the temporal power of the Papacy seemed but an idle dream. Meanwhile, the chessboard of this party was daily enlarged, and soon extended beyond the frontiers of the kingdom. Strong in his absolute moral authority and in the affection and discipline of the Catholic parties in all the countries of Europe, Leo XIII opened negotiations with the various governments and compelled the attention of their sovereigns, from whom he drew many concessions. His solicitous care embraced the affairs of all Christendom, in the East as in the West. It was realized more and more that they were controlled by an unparalleled

will together with a remarkable breadth of view. But it still seemed as if one question dominated every other; and that the hidden source of the pontifical activity rested in the hope of a speedy reëstablishment of the temporal power.

This was the period during which Bismarck exercised an undisputed hegemony over European nations: the German Chancellor became the objective point of Vatican diplomacy. Bismarck had need of the Pope to reduce the opposition of the Catholic party in the Reichstag; and he had equal need of him as a scarecrow to render the kingdom of Italy subservient to his designs. An interchange of friendly relations took place between the Protestant Chancellor and the Head of the Catholic Church. In Rome it seemed as if the question of the temporal power were to reach a new awakening. But it was a dangerous game: these coquetries with Germany vexed Italian sentiment, and served especially to disaffect the principal Catholic nation,—France. The play was tempting. The respect which Bismarck paraded evoked corresponding sentiment from the highest personages in Europe: public curiosity was profoundly interested in this sovereign without a kingdom, who negotiated on equal footing with the statesman who was master of the destinies of Europe. Leo XIII was recognized as a great politician, a successor of Sixtus V, a continuator of those ecclesiastics who during four centuries had given to kings and cabinets lessons in superior diplomacy.

At this period (1887) I made another visit to Rome. The changes which I found were very striking. The most prominent feature was the feeble old man whom I had met nine years before. His figure loomed higher each day upon the horizon of the Eternal City. Immediately upon their arrival visitors of distinction rushed to the Vatican to solicit audiences. Now, not only devout pilgrims came to have a chaplet blessed, but people of every creed and notorious unbelievers, the guardians of European interests, monarchs, princes, ministers, ambassadors, publicists,—all were anxious to hear that voice which had already found a universal echo. All the diplomatic negotiations between the Powers had their ramifications at the *Secrétairerie d'État*: the arbitration of the Pope was asked in international differences; he intervened to facilitate reconciliation and a good understanding. Leo XIII had taken rank among the great politicians; but as yet that was all. He was, however, to become more than that.

Whilst preponderating influences surged about him, with the single thought of obtaining the restoration of temporal power through cab-

inet intrigues, his ripened genius comprehended that this was but a deceptive mirage. He perceived the danger of entanglements in which he might be compromised with a monarchy, a system, or a minister, that a crisis might sweep away to-morrow. From successes which might well have intoxicated him, he carried away the single lesson that the power of the Papacy no longer required territorial support in order to play a great rôle, perhaps the greatest rôle, in the universe.

The modern world lends itself to the formation of ideal forces,—forces of public opinion, of credit, so to speak ; for these are all born of that evolution which has transferred the wealth of an ingot of gold to a scrap of paper. The great international banks, the vast federations of labor, the press, hold, in varying degrees, an amount of political power equal to that held two centuries ago by certain principalities and secondary kingdoms. Of these forces, the Church is the strongest ; all the stronger from the fact that she keeps her independence unimpaired. The groundwork and safeguard of the Holy See lie in the hearts of the Catholic people, in the involuntary respect of non-Catholics. What could the possession of a clod of earth add to it in these days, when government by a few priests would not be tolerated, when the pontifical garrison could only oppose a ridiculous defence against the numerous armies of the neighboring states ?

At the same time that Leo XIII discerned the secret of his power, he discovered also the best use for it. Democracy surged about him like an irresistible flood ; submerging in France the remnants of monarchical rule, and slowly undermining it in countries where it still existed. Everywhere popular opinion was becoming sovereign mistress ; everywhere social questions were taking precedence of political questions. Was there not for this Pontiff, erased from the roll of kings, an immense part to resume,—a part identical with that of his illustrious predecessors of the Middle Ages ? To regain the confidence of the people, hostile to the Church since she had identified her interests with those of thrones ; to group together the unguided masses, espousing their legitimate aspirations, and imposing a bridle upon their brutal revolts ; to give to democracy a rallying point and the most respectable of patronages,—might not this be for the Papacy ample compensation for the loss of its little temporal kingdom, a means to universal monarchy, a return to those triumphant epochs when a pontifical bull roused nations and deposed their sovereigns, when the Vicar of Christ appealed to his tribunal all the great causes of oppressed humanity ?

In this same winter of 1887, an event occurred which, though of apparently secondary importance, was destined to produce incalculable consequences. The American prelates, Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, arrived in Rome to defend the rights of the Knights of Labor. The ideas they brought astonished and scandalized the venerable dignitaries of the Sacred College: it might be said that the all too bracing air of the Atlantic still clinging to the garments of the travellers made those aged Italians gasp. The Pope alone was unamazed: he understood this adaptation of Catholicism to a society free and democratic. Perhaps he was already meditating on the vanity of those diplomatic successes which had aroused the extravagant expectations of his *entourage*. A study of the transformations in Europe, and his own natural bent, inclined him toward the popular cause. The powerful doctrine of his master, St. Thomas Aquinas, was fermenting in his soul; suggesting that in the ancient Christian wisdom might be found solutions of the social problems of the present day.

There is every reason to suppose that the words of the American prelates supplied the spark which rekindled the flame in this smouldering genius. This, however, is but a psychological induction,—a rash one perhaps,—and I alone am responsible for it. To penetrate the secrets of his private meditations, or to pierce the organic development of his thought, is a privilege Leo XIII has accorded to none. But the facts allow one to say that from this period the characteristics of his pontificate become determined, enlarged, and complete. The able politician becomes above all a great social physician: the crafty diplomatist, who formerly appeared to work for immediate benefits, rises to the masterly conceptions of the historian; his vision embraces centuries, and henceforward he labors for the long future. The claims for temporal power are presented but rarely, and then in such prudent and general terms as to appear merely concessions to habit and to the exigencies of the situation. Leo XIII soon removes the counsellors too deeply engaged in aggressive politics and court intrigues: he desires no other assistant or confidant than Cardinal Rampolla, the faithful servant of his master's mind.

Henceforward the activity of the Pope increases: acts and documents of significance follow one another without intermission. The encyclical on the condition of the working-man brings upon the Holy Father the accusation of socialism; but smilingly he replies that his socialism is very old and perfectly canonical, since the encyclical epitomizes the unadulterated doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas. There are

encyclicals to the French and American peoples. These treatises, drawn up in traditional form, are completed by more original and familiar manifestations and by interviews accorded to journalists. The aged Cardinals and many of the laity, dumbfounded, veil their faces when the Pope good-humoredly explains his politics to an editor of "*Le Petit Journal*." To speak directly to the masses, and to draw them to him by every means in his power, was his constant thought, of which he made no secret. The pilgrimages organized by working-men during the Jubilee year were received at the Vatican with the graciousness formerly reserved for the great.

The intentions of the Pope have been nowhere more greatly emphasized than in his discreet and resolute intervention in the affairs of France. The storm he called forth by advising submission to republican institutions is well known. The greater part of the younger clergy submitted to this indication; but a fraction of the older body still resists. The storm is not appeased, nor can it be; since a profound misunderstanding exists between Leo XIII and the Catholic politicians, who charge him with failing to recognize the true interests of religion. These start from false premises. In their eyes the Pope is still the crafty Italian who plays a diplomatic game with the government in power and who expects speedy political returns. He gains nothing; the concessions he makes turn against him; the republican rulers persist in their hostile attitude toward Catholicism; our conservative politicians triumph in this failure. They cannot or will not understand that the Pope cares very little for the government nor expects much from it: their short-sightedness does not grasp the one idea which has dominated the evolution of the Holy Father; namely, to overcome gradually the distrust of the people by favoring those principles to which the people are attached. Leo XIII has entered upon a far-reaching religious and social action; immediate political successes are exacted, and, as these successes are not forthcoming, he is accused of having blundered.

The American public—strangers to the prejudices and passions of the Old World—will not easily conceive the violence of the attacks directed against Leo XIII by the very men who call themselves the accredited defenders of the Church. The Pope stands between two fires: on the one hand, unfeeling abuse from the party in power, who give to irreligion the first place in their programme; and on the other, the sly calumnies of the older parties, who make of religion a weapon to serve their own interests. In this painful struggle, in which, at the be-

ginning, he stood almost alone against them all, the Pontiff has proved himself admirable in courage, prudence, and tenacity. When his supporters speak of discouragement, he replies, with an ardent faith, "Look farther ahead!" When the younger men weaken, it is the old man who inspires them with fortitude. Each day brings him some seeming deception; but, never having hoped for immediate victory, he remains unshaken. If you would form an estimate of the commanding figure of Leo XIII, consider the amount of resolution necessary for him to undertake and continue this struggle; think of the overwhelming pressure of his connections, of his *entourage* opposed to any innovations, combining to weigh him down and to maintain him in the rôle until now devolving on the Head of the Church,—the rôle of chaplain of a cemetery, entrusted with the pious care of the political tombs sheltered under the shadow of the sanctuary. Though an octogenarian, the aged athlete has left this burial-ground, to throw himself into the world of the living, to struggle for it with adversaries who imagined it incontestably their own. He has uttered the word of his Master, "Let the dead bury their dead!"

Since his appearance before the masses with the halo of the prophet,—martyr to his convictions and protector of their cause,—Leo XIII has become even greater than before in the sight of all intelligent Europe. This Europe has watched during half a century the disappearance, one by one, of the famous men by whom it has been subjugated, led, or interested. The historical stage is occupied unceasingly by new actors. The Pope alone survives; always active, always in the foreground; like a magnificent pine, isolated, unique of its kind, which rears its haughty head, and attracts attention to the treeless horizon of the Roman hills. The prolongation of every energy in his fragile body far beyond the customary limits of human strength adds somewhat of veneration to the physiognomy of the Pontiff. More than ever the press inquires into everything affecting the Pope: it remarks upon his least word, his slightest action. Those who recall the scornful indifference, until recently, of the secular papers toward all that passed in the little secluded world within the Roman *curie* are much impressed by this evidence of public interest. Each time the press is in want of news it kills the Pope; and a man must possess immense historical vitality, to have the privilege of frequently reading the announcement of his death in the newspapers.

More than ever the stream of visitors of every condition flows to the Vatican; and their stimulated curiosity is well justified by what

they see and hear in this retreat of the oracle. The stranger knocks first at the *portone*,—that wall of bronze which separates the voluntary prisoner from the world. He climbs interminable marble stairs; he traverses galleries peopled with masterpieces of art; everywhere silence, solitude, the overwhelming majesty of great memories and by-gone centuries. In mounting these solemn steps the most powerful monarch experiences a sense of personal insignificance; at long intervals he touches lightly in passing silent shadows which have, despite himself, power to expand or limit his authority; he can say, with Goethe's *Egmont*, "I see before me silent and pensive spirits who weigh in shadowy scales the destiny of princes and of peoples."

At the end of the long ascent, in the upper story of the vast palace, in those aerial chambers which embrace a panorama of the Eternal City, a discreet chamberlain conducts the visitor to the *salon d'attente*. Here he finds a truly œcumenic company; men of every race and clime; bishops, missionaries, pilgrims, arrived from the farthest points of Asia, Africa, America, Oceanica. Thanks to these informants, the terrestrial globe accomplishes its revolution daily under the eyes of the recluse who never moves: at every moment he is cognizant of what passes at every point of this earth; he can govern, with a perfect knowledge of events, the scattered multitudes whose souls he holds in the hollow of his hand.

A door opens, giving egress to one of those missionaries who is returning, it may be, to Peru, to China, or to Australia, armed with instructions appropriate to the precise needs of the flock to which he returns. The visitor is admitted in his turn into a small salon draped with yellow silk; a crucifix hangs upon the wall; several chairs are ranged along the two sides of the room; at the back, beneath a canopy of crimson damask, a pale, white form is seated on a gilded chair. It is the embodiment of the spirit which animates all the spiritual governors spread over the planet; which unceasingly follows them to each inquietude, to all the sufferings whose distant plaint reaches his ear. So slight, so frail; like a soul draped in a white shroud! And yet, as one approaches him, this incorporeal being, who appeared so feeble when seen standing at the services in the Sistine Chapel, assumes an extraordinary intensity of existence. All the life has centred in the hands grasping the arms of the chair, in the piercing eyes, in the warmth and strength of the voice. Seated and animated in conversation, Leo XIII seems twenty years younger. He talks freely, easily; he questions the speaker by word and look; eager for details of the

country under discussion, of its prominent men, of public opinion. The Pope does not linger over the puerilities of piety ; he introduces at once the serious problems of human existence, real and vital interests. Soon he grows animated in developing his favorite topics ; presenting them with a few sweeping sentences, clear, concise, acceptable to all. " We must go to the people, conquer the hearts of the people. . . . We must seek the alliance of all honest folk, whatsoever their origin or opinion. . . . We must not lose heart. . . . We will triumph over prejudice, injustice, and error."

It would seem that the mind of the Pope is haunted by several all-absorbing projects. One is the reunion of the Eastern churches, to recall whom to the fold he has made so many paternal advances. Another is the reconciliation of parties in France, and the return of my country, with new political and social forms, to its former position of Christian vanguard. Yet another is the future of the United States, where European civilization assumes new aspects, opens out new paths to humanity and to the Church. A lengthy conversation with Leo XIII leaves the impression of a very broad and clear intelligence, truly Roman in the former sense of the word ; of a gently inflexible will persistent in the way it has outlined for itself ; of a sincere liberalism which covers no clerical hypocrisy ; of a hardy though enlightened faith, respectful of the faith of others ; of a heart still warm, free from hatred toward his adversaries, without meannesses, very affectionate toward friendly persons, paternally divided between the nations in his charge beyond his Italy. It is impossible to forget the look, the gesture, the ring of the voice, with which he follows you, as you retire backward, your fingers already grasping the door-knob ; the hand extended with a sudden propelling of the whole body from the chair ; the inflection of those last words which linger in the ear of the visitor returning to his own land : " Courage ! Work ! Come back to see me again ! " Never a melancholy word ; never one of those allusions, so customary in the aged, to the lessening chances of meeting a friend once more. On leaving this man of eighty-eight one carries away a singular impression : it is, that he does not wish to die, so long as there is a battle to fight ; that he does not think of death ; that he will not die !

Yet one day,—let us hope yet far distant,—the icy breath of the ineluctable will extinguish this brilliant light. What will then happen to the bold advances made by the Church under Leo XIII, and how will they be continued ? This question is asked with anxiety by his partisans ; by his adversaries with secret joy, for they already discount

a reactionary policy. I believe the latter deceive themselves in thinking that the choice of a future Conclave can arrest or turn aside the evolution we are witnessing. Such an idea is little in accord with the teachings of history. An irresistible impetus being given, all are carried away ; the strong direct its course, the weak submit. Individual opposition is short-lived and has, at the utmost, but the power to impede its progress for a moment. The successor of Leo XIII may not possess the personal prestige of the Pontiff we admire ; but to imagine that he will give the Church a direction contrary to that imposed on it by the evolution of nations, and accepted by the select body of the Church, is to suppose a captain steering his vessel backward from his intended destination.

There is still another fear to quiet, a fear which haunts some persons. These perceive the magnificent vistas opened to development for the Papacy by the coincidence of the times and by the initiatory work of Leo XIII, and they fear that a return to theocracy—incompatible with the exigencies of the free modern spirit—will follow a full realization of these dreams. This is to underrate the prudence natural to the Church.

During the Middle Ages and the early dawn of civilization, the constant watchfulness of the Church extended to every detail of daily life ; its protection was a defence against the brutalities of feudal powers. But no such conditions exist in our day ; and the Church is well aware of the fact. The nations of the world matured, emancipated from ancient traditions by the growth of intellectual faculties, may still claim help and general guidance from the Papacy ; but, mistresses henceforth of their policy for good or evil, they reserve to themselves the right to refuse this help and guidance. They no longer need the minute and constant intervention sanctioned by penalties which, correctly speaking, belong to the theocratic system and which may still be useful in dealing with some savage tribes of Africa or Oceanica. But is it necessary to refute objections which common sense instinctively rejects ? No mother has yet been found who keeps her grown-up children in leading strings. Joseph de Maistre himself undertook to calm these apprehensions at a time when human liberty did not possess all the guaranties accumulated by our own. In his book "Du Pape" he says : "If they ask me, What will limit the power of the Pope ? I will tell them : Everything : canons, laws, national customs, royal powers, great tribunals, national assemblies, inalienable rights, representative bodies, treaties, duty, pru-

dence, and, above all, public opinion, queen of the world." This queen of the world has recognized the breadth of the aims of Leo XIII, especially since the time when his fully matured genius revived the policy of his most illustrious and popular predecessors. Disinterested witnesses, opposed to his views or adhering to other creeds, have with one accord proclaimed him the greatest man of our time.

I have not pretended here to outline all the features of his complex character: I have tried to follow the steady development of his mind. My chief object has been to convey the personal impression made upon me by his gracious welcome. An unbiassed Frenchman cannot leave the Pope without taking with him an affectionate remembrance; and I believe that every American, whatever his opinions or his religion may be, will carry away from the Vatican a like sentiment. I repeat: Since a prejudice and an instinctive inclination have drawn him into the ranks of democracy, Leo XIII, in the depths of his heart, cherishes a special solicitude for France and the United States. A steadfast conviction shows him France as the field where the harvest for the coming summer will ripen; the United States as that in which he is sowing seed for harvests in years to come. He looks upon mysterious America as Noah must have gazed at the peak of Mount Ararat, when the waters of the deluge were rising; seeking there the place of refuge in which the divine promises shall be fulfilled and whence the preserved races will start afresh and begin a new cycle of life.

The ultimate course of the United States, and to what extent it will justify the expectations of Leo XIII, is the secret which history will divulge. But, happen what may, the historian will pay due homage to the Pope, who, like a new Christopher Columbus, was the first to reach out to the transatlantic world. Columbus set out with undefined convictions; uncertain whether he would find islands or a continent in his path; convinced only that in its then condition the earth was incomplete, and that he must supply the unknown quantity. Sustained by this faith, he set a lighted torch in the prow of his caravel, the *Santa Maria*, and went forth to explore the ocean mists. This torch of the discoverer of new worlds Leo XIII, in his turn, has set in the bow of the bark of St. Peter; with the same faith he has steered this bark toward new shores, divining the need of their weight in preserving the equilibrium of Christendom.

Above all the noble enterprises of his Pontificate, this perception will remain one of the first titles to fame of this glorious initiator.

E. MELCHIOR DE VOGÜÉ.

MIDDLE GROUND ON THE TARIFF.

A LONG and varied practical experience in business has led me to conclusions in regard to the tariff question differing somewhat from those generally entertained by the advocates of a national Protective policy, although I have always favored that policy and am still a believer in its fundamental principles. In the course of this experience, I was led to an examination of the conditions of home manufacture,—especially in its relations to the protective system,—and to the discovery, as I think, of the errors of the high Protective school in which I had been educated. At the same time, I saw clearly the impracticability of the Free-Trade ideas which represent the other extreme in the tariff question.

One characteristic of our people impressed me strongly,—the tendency to overdo in any branch of manufacture that seemed especially profitable. This is natural; but its effect is, upon the whole, injurious. Some forty years since, the manufactures of New England were mainly confined to medium grades of broadcloth, cassimeres, and satinets. These, together with flannel and negro cloths, constituted the bulk of woollen and worsted fabrics; and in cotton goods the lines were mainly sheetings, shirtings, print cloths, and printed calicoes. There were, of course, varieties of manufacture, such as cambrics, silesias, cotton flannels, etc.; but the staple woollens and cottons before-named made up fully two-thirds of the whole dry-goods manufacture of New England. It struck me then, that competition was too great in plain fabrics, such as broadcloths and cassimeres, in woollens; and in sheetings and shirtings among cotton goods. The inclination to adopt prevailing manufactures, and to attempt little or nothing in producing variety in style, color, or pattern, was evident to anyone familiar with the domestic fabrics of the time; and to this I ascribe the occasional difficulties which beset the manufacturer. As factories multiplied without bringing variations in fabrics, this trouble became more pronounced; and, in my judgment, it was a constant obstacle to satisfactory results.

The obvious inference is, that successful manufacturers must study, and be governed by, the laws of supply and demand, and that whatever stimulates an unhealthy competition will inevitably bring disaster to

the competitors. The result is at first beneficial to consumers ; but, in the measure of its interference with industrial prosperity, it must finally compel the people to pay dearly, on account of the scanty supply which must follow unprofitable manufacture.

I think the same principle holds good in the adjustment of the tariff ; and it is to its application in this respect that I propose to advocate a middle ground between the two extremes, which men of either party can occupy.

The argument in favor of a protective tariff, as I understand it, is this : It is desirable for many substantial reasons, that manufacturing industry should be encouraged. First, because it furnishes greater and more varied employment to labor ; and, second, because it renders a nation more independent and self-supporting. This proposition seems elementary and can hardly be contradicted, except upon the assumption that a purely agricultural people would be quite as prosperous by exchanging products of the soil for the fabrics we propose to manufacture. This alternative is so thoroughly against modern theories of progressive civilization, that its discussion would be a waste of time ; and it is safe to assume that it would be scouted by a vast majority of the people of the United States. In popular estimation, the encouragement of manufacturing industry is vital to the intelligent development of the nation. If, then, manufacturing industry is desirable, we come to the question of the best means to its successful and permanent establishment.

If all conditions as to labor and raw materials were equal throughout the civilized world, the question would be a comparatively simple one. We should then need only the requisite machinery and skill to compete with foreign manufactures ; but if we have to compete with cheaper labor and cheaper raw materials, we must overcome these disadvantages or abandon the attempt to manufacture. I do not see how this competition can be met in any way except by a judicious tariff ; and I think the advocates of Free Trade may be safely challenged to meet this argument, unless indeed they contend that domestic manufacture is not essential to national prosperity. For, if foreign manufacturers command cheaper labor and cheaper raw materials, how, without the intervention of a protective tariff, can home manufacturers succeed in competing with them ? This position, it seems to me, constitutes the strength of the protective tariff argument.

It may be fairly urged that American skilled labor is generally more intelligent than foreign labor, and that, consequently, a given

number of workmen employed in domestic manufactures will produce more than a corresponding number in foreign countries. It may be added that the inventive faculties of American workmen are more active, and that the history of manufactures in the United States shows constant and ingenious improvement in machinery and economical methods. All this may be admitted ; but the fact remains, that the obstacles presented at the start are insurmountable unless neutralized by a protective tariff. Superior skill can only be acquired by experience ; and labor-saving devices are stimulated by thorough study of manufacturing processes. The superiority claimed can be established only by providing the opportunities for developing inventive faculties. Thus, even under the advantages claimed for American workmen, it is indispensable to encourage the establishment of industries which, with present conditions, could not live under competition. Such works, when thus introduced as new enterprises, have been correctly described as being in the infancy of development. Even if the conditions as to labor and raw materials were equal, it would require some time for the introduction of regular and systematic work, and for the adaptation of the manufacture to the markets which it is desired to supply. But, handicapped in the competition with cheaper labor and raw materials, it is superfluous to discuss the minor points of skill and intelligence. Competition under such circumstances is impossible.

I think the extremists who represent the parties to the tariff controversy are, on the one hand, those who contend that the duties should be higher and more comprehensive, and, on the other, those who consider that the duties are much too high, and that the list embraces many commodities which should be free. It is between these two political schools that I find the "middle ground" upon which I think that reasonable men of both the great political parties can stand.

The first consideration should determine the principle upon which tariff protection should be founded. This is plainly indicated by the conditions of competition, and is easily arrived at. The cost of manufacture is mainly governed by the cost of labor and raw materials. If these raw materials are imported and admitted duty free by foreign countries, it follows that, to be upon equal terms in this respect, we must enable our manufacturers to obtain their raw materials at the same cost, or cover the additional cost by a higher duty upon the fabrics. In either case, the amount of protection should at least cover the difference in cost. This would be a safety-point and would leave the field of competition free. Next, it seems absolutely necessary to

open our ports to the admission of all raw materials duty free, unless such a policy would seriously interfere with the production of such materials in this country. In the latter case, it would be necessary to increase the duty on foreign fabrics to the extent of the advantage gained from raw materials used in these goods. This would be a simple matter. It is easy to ascertain the difference in the cost of labor and raw materials, and, consequently, to decide the actual advantage possessed by the foreign manufacturer. The tariff to meet the case,—to be in harmony with the system which I think should be adopted,—would base its duties upon the difference in cost.

The reasons in favor of this policy are, in my judgment, of the most substantial character. The inequality of conditions is fully overcome by it; and the domestic manufacturer is provided with a shield against the cheap labor of foreign countries. Here, it seems to me, the protection should stop, inasmuch as all the duty beyond that point would simply add to the profits of the manufacturer at the cost of the consumer. Beyond this guarantee the duty should not go, because it would simply act as a prohibition to foreign competition at just the time when that competition should be admitted. If, for example, a duty of 10, 20, or 30 per cent *ad valorem* on woollen goods would cover the inequalities to which I have alluded, and enable the manufacturer to make a good profit, it would be all he could reasonably demand.

But there is another point of view which, taken by the manufacturer, supports the "middle ground" of customs duties on the lines indicated. If the duties should be high enough to be virtually a prohibition to imports, it would give such an advantage to home manufacturers as to tempt too many into the particular industry or industries which could secure this large profit. The result of this would be unhealthy competition, over-production, a surfeited market, and all the deplorable consequences of a demoralized and declining business. This disastrous reaction, which is inevitable under the stimulus of the large profits promised by the high duties, is the most formidable obstacle to home manufacture encountered in this country. We can trace it through all its phases of initiation, growth, and prosperity, and then, with accurate foresight, predict its overgrowth, its over-supply, and all the disasters of a suicidal industrial strife. It is in view of such consequences that men of broad intelligence and practical knowledge in manufacturing openly advocate a moderate tariff, rather than one which prohibits, to the extent of extorting high prices and un-

reasonable profits. Such a policy is fatal to the manufacturers; and the practical among them do not hesitate to express this view.

I consider the admission duty free of raw materials used in our various manufacturing industries a very important auxiliary in the line of protection; for it is quite obvious that we must be upon an equal footing with foreign manufacturers in this respect, in order to compete with nations which obtain their materials free of duty.

At this stage of the discussion we come in contact with the wool-growers of the West, who protest against the admission of free wool upon the averment that without duty the wool industry cannot prosper. They claim, too, that the wool-grower is as much entitled to protection as the manufacturer. The claim does not appear to me reasonable; but it is, nevertheless, entitled to respectful consideration.

For many years, the woollen manufacturers of New England have been contending for free raw materials, and especially for free wool, upon the ground that without such legislation we cannot compete with foreign manufacturers, or maintain the woollen mills we have, upon an equal footing with these outside competitors. This proposition in the interest of the manufacturer seems to occupy impregnable ground; and it is only the argument of the wool-grower that requires examination.

Wool-growing, or sheep-farming, requires, in the first place, cheap and suitable grazing-lands. In this respect the United States cannot be at much disadvantage, as compared with Australia and other wool-growing nations. As to labor, which is not a very important part of the cost of wool, it is, of course, to be considered in the competition with countries where labor is very cheap. Admitting all this, the practical question is, at how much less cost can fine grades of wool be raised and landed in our ports than the wool of the United States? A satisfactory answer to this question requires expert knowledge; but it can be determined beyond a doubt. This would apply, as already stated, to fine grades of wool only; as such grades alone are raised in the United States. If then it should be demonstrated that fine wools cannot be raised in this country in competition with foreign countries, in consequence of the difference in cost, we should be in a position to enter upon the second inquiry which I now propose.

The argument of the manufacturer in favor of free wool is, that it will assist in enabling him to compete with foreign manufacturers who obtain free wool. Now, if this be true, and if, with an adequate tariff to offset cheap labor, the woollen manufacturers of this country can,

as the result, extend and multiply the woollen mills of the country, is it not quite possible, nay probable, that the greater home demand for wool created by the increase in the manufacturing industry in this branch would not only increase largely the consumption of domestic wool, but eventually raise its market price; inasmuch as the largest importation of foreign wools has always been in the coarser grades, such as carpet wools, etc.?

This question, I think, can be determined fairly only by a thorough inquiry assisted by expert knowledge; but it is obviously an important matter from either the standpoint of the manufacturer or that of the wool-grower. If the conclusions arrived at, after a full and impartial investigation, justify the position taken by the wool-grower, then the duty on woollen and worsted fabrics should be increased to the extent of the advantage possessed by the foreign manufacturer in this respect. It appears to me, however, that, as a general principle, it is thoroughly consistent with the policy of moderate and judicious protection to admit duty free the raw materials used in our manufactures. It is easy to conceive, by way of illustration, the injurious effects which a duty imposed by Great Britain on cotton would have on fabrics made of that material in that country, while in other countries it was free to rival manufacturers. Justice to the wool-grower calls for an impartial decision of this point, after a complete exploration of the ground.

The "middle ground" argument which this paper offers, was forcibly and clearly presented by the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt in the House of Representatives in 1882. Mr. Hewitt, at that time a member of Congress from New York, was then and had been for many years a manufacturer of iron. The following resolutions, offered by him, embrace the essential points advocated in his speech:—

"Resolved, That the bill creating a tariff commission be recommitted, with instructions to the Committee on Ways and Means to report within thirty days, or at an earlier day if it be practicable, a bill based upon the following instructions:

First. That all raw materials, meaning thereby all materials which have not been subjected to any process of manufacture, and all waste products, meaning thereby all waste materials which are fit only to be manufactured, and all chemicals which are not produced in this country, and alcohol for use in manufactures, shall be placed upon the free list.

Second. That, so far as possible, specific duties shall be substituted for ad valorem duties, and that in determining such specific duties the average dutiable value of imports during the last three years shall be taken as the standard of value, upon which no higher rate of duty shall be imposed than shall be necessary to compensate for the difference in the cost of labor at home and abroad ex-

pended in the production of such products, after making due allowance for the expenses of transportation, and that the rate of duty shall not in any case, except on luxuries, exceed 50 per cent of such average dutiable value."

It is scarcely necessary to say that the policy outlined in these resolutions was advocated by Mr. Hewitt with the logical power and clearness characteristic of that gentleman's arguments. I have not space to quote from these arguments; but I strongly recommend, to all who feel an interest in the subject, a perusal of this speech and of another upon the same subject, delivered by him in 1884.

I think the opinions of a man of Mr. Hewitt's practical experience and broad intelligence are important and especially entitled to respect. I think, too, that a large proportion of fair, disinterested business men will agree with Mr. Hewitt in the position taken by him.

Hasty legislation in this country is, in my judgment, one of the greatest evils to which business men are subjected. Partisan feeling exerts too strong an influence in the decision of questions which, in their nature, should be non-partisan, but which, unfortunately, are adopted by one side or the other as a party issue, and worked in that way to influence votes; although it is well understood that a wide difference of opinion exists among the individual members of these parties. Coming to the two great parties of the present time for an illustration, I find many protective-tariff men among the Democrats, and many of the opponents of that policy among the Republicans. I do not see, under the circumstances, why the tariff should be considered an article of party creed. I see no reason why Democrats may not be Protectionists, or Republicans Free-Traders; but I can find strong reasons for the occupation of the "middle ground" by both parties. The close and peculiar relations of the tariff question with the great business interests of the country appear to call for a more impartial study of the subject than it is likely to receive, if proclaimed as a party issue. No possible harm could come to either division, if its doubtful members should remain neutral until the most careful and searching investigation should be made by a commission composed of an equal number from each of the great parties. This would prevent premature conclusions and hasty legislation.

In 1888, it had become evident that many of the duties on foreign imports, as well as the taxes under the internal-revenue laws, were unnecessarily burdensome. Most of these unpopular laws were the relics of a system of taxation introduced by the exigencies of war and cheerfully acquiesced in by a patriotic people. The proposition to re-

form our revenue laws, implied in the discussions of the period, met the views of a vast number of voters of both political parties, and was the promise of a careful revision of customs duties and internal-revenue laws consistent with the conditions and wants of foreign and domestic trade. It was responsive to what seemed to be a popular impulse in favor of tariff reform, and was thus generally recognized. The result of this agitation was the passage, in 1890, of what is known as the McKinley Bill. It is not my purpose to criticize this law; but it certainly did not meet the expectations of those who had been urging tariff reform, and the consequence was seen in a wave of discontent which swept over the land. To this bill, as much as to anything tangible in political controversies, the Republican party owed its defeat in 1892.

Again, upon the accession of the Democratic party to the administration of national affairs, Congress—obeying, apparently, the same impulse of popular will—passed the Tariff Bill which is now in force. The recent election did not turn upon this issue, as in 1892, although opposition to the Wilson tariff was a part of the Republican platform. The financial question took precedence of all others; and to the firm and decided stand taken by the Republican party in favor of sound money, its success is largely due. If the regular Democratic convention held in Chicago had adopted a strong declaration in favor of an honest financial policy, and had omitted the extraordinary anarchistic features of its actual declaration, the result of the election would have been doubtful; especially with the Southern States solidly united in support of Democratic principles.

The fact is significant enough to give greater force to the proposal urged in this paper, in favor of a calm, thorough, and strictly impartial investigation of the whole tariff question before fresh legislation is attempted. This can be secured only by occupying the "middle ground" with such force and persistence as will prevent the domination of extreme Protective ideas upon the one hand, or of Free Trade upon the other. The composition of the next Congress renders the latter contingency out of the question; but the danger of a movement in the other direction calls for the exercise of cool and deliberate judgment.

A frank and candid examination of both the McKinley and the Wilson bills would, I am confident, expose glaring defects; but, to correct them, I believe a different method should be pursued than that adopted by Congress in passing either of those vitally important measures. It is with this end in view that I appeal to non-partisan and

dispassionate intelligence to take position on the "middle ground," for the benefit of the people and not of a party.

It cannot have escaped the observation of all who keep in touch with the movements and fluctuations of business that the mere agitation of changes in the tariff system of the country, the extent and bearing of which cannot be determined in advance, has always checked business activity in every direction. The merchant, the manufacturer, the producer, and the consumer are equally in the dark as to the conditions which may be established, and the especial influence of those conditions on their respective occupations. The importer, unable to determine whether duties on foreign goods may be advanced or reduced, dares not accumulate any stock in advance of temporary demands; the manufacturer is equally uncertain as to the measure of protection on which he can rely, and is unable to form any trustworthy opinion as to duties on raw materials; the producer in agriculture or in mining can make no well-founded calculation upon the home demand for his products; and the whole area of commercial energy and enterprise is pervaded by a thick mist of hesitation and distrust.

Such were the results which followed the various phases of the McKinley Bill; and the same blighting effects were witnessed as the Wilson Bill dragged slowly through Congressional manipulation.

Such disturbances in the machinery of business are unhealthy and demoralizing, and should be avoided.

Following the precedents established by Congress in the enactment of the McKinley and the Wilson tariffs, we might expect similar attempts to reverse tariff laws which have not been long enough in operation to enable the people to estimate their drawbacks or their advantages. Such superficial methods of constructing laws pregnant with good or evil results are utterly unworthy a great and enlightened nation, and are especially inconsistent with the proclaimed policy of a free government. The science of taxation is in itself a profound study; embracing as it does those principles of equity upon which all good government is founded, and calling for the exercise of impartial judgment and mature consideration, in order to give a system the advantage of a wide distribution of its burden, and to render its collection easy. Nothing is more odious to taxpayers than a system which seems to favor one class at the expense of another; and in tariff legislation this feature deserves especial examination. Particular industries are inclined to seek a protection which is equivalent to prohibition; thus excluding the competition of foreign manufactures. Taxation for revenue wisely established

finds a forcible illustration in a small duty on imports of tea, coffee, and sugar; so light as to be scarcely felt by the consumer, and so widely distributed as to be practically imperceptible. A few cents per pound on tea, coffee, and sugar will produce a large sum from the imports of the United States and will be cheerfully borne, while the same amount collected on commodities not in general use would be considered exacting and burdensome.

The plain inference is, I think, that the machinery of taxation should be most carefully adjusted; not only that its burdens may be distributed over the largest number, but that it may not work for the special benefit of any single interest.

As between the advocates of the Cobden School in England, with "Free Trade" as the motto to express its creed, and that of Greeley and Cary in the United States, with "Protection" as its watchword, I would interpose the calm and deliberate judgment of those who are disposed to examine both sides of the question in the light of practical experience. This in no way reflects upon the well-recognized intelligence of those eminent leaders of public opinion; nor does it detract from the value of their conclusions, drawn from their points of view and from the conditions which governed their opinions at the time of formation. Thus, just as commercial conditions in Great Britain led that country at one time to adopt a protective policy to encourage the development of manufacturing industry, and in later years to a complete reversal of it in favor of a tariff for revenue only, so it is reasonable to modify opinions in the United States in accordance with the progressive changes in the world of industry and trade.

It is obvious that Great Britain,—with an increase in its population to an extent much beyond its domestic food-supply,—having established its superiority in manufacture, must seek the best method of extending the use of its fabrics in foreign markets, and, at the same time, must invite a free competition in its own market of the food-products of other countries. The Protectionist of this country might, therefore, be a Free-Trader in Great Britain and *vice versa*, and in both cases be governed by intelligent and consistent regard for the ruling conditions. Public policy in such matters must be elastic according to the growth, development, and resources of the nation. No cast-iron rules will meet the case.

It is difficult to understand why the tariff question should be presented as a question between the two great parties of the day. It is certainly reasonable to suppose that extremists are to be found in both; and it would be hard to determine the distribution. It can hardly be

asserted that the Protective policy is a distinctly Republican party creed, when such a staunch Democrat as the late Mr. Randall was among its most earnest supporters; nor can it be claimed with truth, that Free Trade has not many advocates among Republicans. It is altogether reasonable to conclude that the question has never been a real party issue, although party conventions have often appeared to make it so; and it is also an undeniable fact, that Democratic platforms have pledged the party to tariff reform, while, on the other hand, Republican platforms have generally assumed the championship of the Protective policy. It seems to me, however, that party lines cannot be drawn as to the merits of a question so dependent upon practical knowledge and relative conditions, which can only be understood after the collection of full and trustworthy evidence.

Hence, to meet the peculiarities of the case, I venture to urge the appointment, by act of Congress, of a commission composed of members of both parties, invested with full power to collect evidence on the subject, with the view of reporting such changes, if any, as may, in the opinion of the commission be desirable and advantageous to the industrial interests of the country. I would also have the bill provide that the commission should sit during the intervals of Congress, and report at the end of one year. It will require at least this period to enable the commission to gather the evidence, written and oral, which will always be available for such an inquiry. The testimony and views of all who can furnish practical information, and who have made the subject a study should be invited. In this way the commission can be provided with data upon which to base their recommendations. Such an inquiry should embrace the treatment of raw materials used in our manufactures, and give especial attention to the question of free wool. At the end of the year the Wilson tariff will have been in operation about three years,—a period long enough, probably, to test its adaptability to the industrial interests of the country; and people will have had an opportunity to judge its provisions during years of average prosperity, as well as during the years of depression which followed its enactment. It will then be wise to consider whether its defects, if any, can be removed by judicious amendment, instead of going through the tedious and disturbing process of a new bill.

Government which seeks the greatest good and the permanent prosperity of its people should not be carried away by temporary popular excitement in regard to legislation which interests and must affect the whole country. Our system of finance and our revenue laws require

and deserve the careful study and impartial consideration of the best minds in the country. When this is recognized sufficiently to cause the elimination of partisan feeling from the questions which cannot be claimed as the distinct creed of either party, the country will have the benefit of well-digested laws, to the substantial advantage of all.

The fact that a similar commission has once before made an investigation, as to contemplated changes in the tariff, is not a valid objection to another inquiry in the same direction. To be of real advantage to Congress and to the country, the non-partisan composition of the commission must be scrupulously observed. An impartial court, selected, after the manner of the Venezuelan Commission, from the most able and trustworthy men in the country and outside of Congress, is what we need for the proper and satisfactory adjustment of this important question.

It is alleged that under the existing tariff the revenue will be inadequate to pay the expenses of Government. This may be true ; but the years of business depression during which it has been in operation furnish no fair criterion of its productiveness. The year 1897 will probably enable us to form a much more trustworthy opinion in the case. At all events, judicious amendments will be less hazardous than a sweeping revision ; and the necessity and character of such amendments can be determined with much greater precision by a longer and more thorough trial. The country will suffer less by a delay which confirms judgment than by hasty and purely experimental legislation.

I have tried in this paper to discuss the question from a strictly business standpoint, with entire fairness to both of the great political parties ; and, if I have been at all successful in thus presenting the subject, the "middle ground" will offer a compromise beneficial to the great industrial and commercial interests of the country.

Emerging from one of the most exciting elections known in our political history, with the triumphant verdict of the people in favor of sound money and national honesty, we are bound to admit that this gratifying result has been greatly aided by the best men in the Democratic party. Under such circumstances, it would be a graceful compliment for the incoming President to pay to these intelligent and patriotic citizens, to treat the tariff question as one of the great national problems which require for their correct solution thorough study and comprehensive intelligence outside the political arena.

O. D. ASHLEY.

THE ESSENTIALS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

IN the preceding article, the opening one of this series, I discussed the possibility of securing satisfactory results in the so-called essentials if the course of study in the elementary schools were materially enriched. I argued, that nothing definite could now be said on this subject, because no agreement had yet been arrived at, either in regard to what is essential, or as to what results in individual branches may be deemed satisfactory. Until our ideas are clear on these matters, we shall of course be unable to estimate how much time it is necessary to devote to the formal studies, and how much should be set aside for work that is purely educative in its nature.

Before it will be possible to decide how far the curriculum may be safely broadened, then, it will be necessary to define clearly the limits of the essentials, as well as to establish standards that will enable us to tell how much time is required to cover satisfactorily the indispensable ground. And the purpose of the present article is to throw some light on these points. For want of space the discussion of the problem from the psychological standpoint, which I had intended to undertake in the present paper, will be deferred to the next number.

In endeavoring to define the legitimate limits of the positive knowledge and skill that may be regarded as essential, a process of exclusion will be required. It will be necessary to exclude, first, matters belonging to the category of mental gymnastics, *i. e.*, measures introduced into the school course solely with a view to the development of the faculties; and, second, matters of detail that the layman is not expected to possess in the form of ready knowledge, and which are found in the school course simply because they have been handed down by tradition.

At present the time devoted to the three R's alone, in the mechanical schools, is about 70 per cent. It might be possible, however, through a process of exclusion such as I have indicated, to reduce this time by 50 per cent or more. Indeed, so great may be the change brought about, that what is now regarded as the body of the work of the elementary school would constitute only a side issue. If this

should be true, then of course the possibilities of enriching the course of study would be almost unlimited. Moreover, the exclusion of unnecessary material would form only one part of the reduction in time. An equal reduction might be secured by an exercise of economy in actual teaching,—a subject that will be discussed in my next article.

As I have drawn a line between the essentials in a course of study and measures of educational discipline, it may be thought that I do not appreciate the value of the latter. This, however, is by no means the case. My reason for making the distinction is that, while I am of the opinion that the people are fully justified in demanding certain results in matters of useful knowledge and skill, I believe that in questions of educational discipline no universal course should be laid down, but that considerable freedom should be allowed to the exercise of judgment on the part of individual educators. The problem of mental gymnastics is still so completely veiled in obscurity, and opinions among educators in regard to the relative values of disciplinary measures vary so markedly, that dogmatism is entirely unjustifiable.

While some educators believe that the most valuable disciplinary work lies in pushing the formal branches of study beyond a reasonable point, others are of the opinion that the disciplinary value of the formal studies is far inferior to that involved in *content* studies; and that, in consequence, the time not devoted to instruction in what is actually indispensable, in the formal lines, should be devoted to such branches as the arts, the sciences, history, and literature,—subjects having a direct influence in developing æsthetic taste, as well as interest in nature and humanity. It follows, therefore, that while the individual educator oversteps the limit of his authority when he fails to give due recognition to the conventional side of education, the people overstep their authority when they needlessly condemn the child to a life of drudgery, and deprive him of elevating influences, by demanding more than their due in the way of conventionalities.

One more point requires to be mentioned before entering into the discussion of details. It may be argued that, as our ideals are not fixed, the essentials of a school course cannot be clearly defined. While it is true that the demands of society are constantly changing, and that what may now be regarded as useful knowledge may not be so regarded at some indefinite period in the future, history nevertheless proves that the process of evolution is so slow, that, if standards should be set in accordance with the demands of to-day, they would answer the purpose for many years to come. Indeed, I do not think it an exaggeration to

say, that, if standards should once be fixed, the labor involved in changing them, to keep pace with the process of evolution, would be, figuratively speaking, as insignificant as that involved in repairing a building, from time to time, as required by ordinary wear and tear.

The time may arrive when every individual will be permitted to spell as he chooses. But the educator who to-day should prepare his pupils for such an era would not be entitled to encouragement. Nor are we justified in believing that the period is near at hand when neat and legible writing will no longer be regarded as a necessary accomplishment. Again, the ability to use good English, and facility in handling figures, will not grow out of fashion within the next decade. Taken all in all, then, whatever may be said of the evolution of pedagogical ideals, we cannot consider as serious any arguments to the effect that, because we do not know exactly what the future may bring forth, we cannot tell what should now be taught in the elementary schools.

The dividing line between positive knowledge and skill on the one hand and mental gymnastics on the other may be made clear by a simple illustration.

Society expects, for example, that the individual shall be able to write a letter in well-constructed sentences and without grammatical errors. It is not concerned, however, as to whether or not the writer is able to analyze the sentences, or to parse the words in his letter. If facts should prove, beyond question, that individuals who can parse and analyze with facility are able to construct better sentences than those who are unfamiliar with technical grammar, this subject might rightly be placed among the essentials of school work. If, however, it should be proved that the English employed by those who had not studied technical grammar was practically as good as that employed by those who had had a thorough grounding in the subject, then it could not be regarded as essential, but would belong to the domain of mental gymnastics.

In the latter case, the question of introducing technical grammar into the school course would be purely and simply a problem of relative values, *i. e.*, a question as to whether it would pay best to devote, say, thirty minutes daily, for four or five years, to grammar, or whether more profit would be derived by devoting this time to matters of importance and interest now crowded out of many of our schools on the plea of lack of time. Whether, or in how far, it is possible to lead the child to use good English without instruction in technical grammar, is an entirely different question. It is one, however, that cannot be

decided by *a priori* reasoning. Nothing short of the study of results will suffice to bring the truth to light.

As in language, so in arithmetic the question of mental gymnastics plays a prominent part. While facility in ciphering, to a certain point, is demanded of every individual, whatever is done in this branch beyond what is directly useful and practical must be regarded as disciplinary in its nature. Consequently, the question arises, whether, in the arrangement of a school programme, it is advisable to allow a certain amount of time for purely disciplinary arithmetic, or whether this time might not bring a greater return if given to matters more directly destined to elevate our social ideals.

The importance of such questions of relative values becomes strikingly apparent when we consider that thirty-five minutes a day is equivalent to an entire year out of the eight devoted to elementary education. Consequently, by economizing only a little here and there, by the exclusion of merely a part of the disciplinary measures of minor or doubtful importance,—such as drill in arithmetical puzzles, in superfine penmanship, in parsing and analysis beyond what is actually needed,—it might be possible to save as much as the equivalent of two school years, which might then be utilized toward enriching the course of study, without in any way neglecting the essentials. When the time wasted in reading aloud merely with a view to the development of oratorical power is taken into consideration, the estimate of two years is probably too conservative.

When the purely disciplinary elements in instruction are clearly determined, one step will have been made toward defining the limits of the indispensable. The next point will lie in a process of exclusion applied to matters of detail that lie beyond what the individual may be reasonably expected to possess in the way of ready knowledge and skill. This would mean in large part the elimination of many things now taught in the schools not because they are supposed to meet any particular requirement, but simply because no concerted effort has ever been made to exclude them from the traditional course of study.

The subjects that, without harm in any direction, will bear a rigid test of exclusion are spelling and penmanship. Every moment devoted to these subjects beyond what is actually needed may be regarded as wasted. When we consider that, in spite of their lack of educational value, nearly one fifth of the time in some of our schools is devoted to these two subjects, it becomes apparent that the importance of exercising economy in teaching these branches cannot be

over-estimated. In determining the ground to be covered in spelling, it is necessary simply to secure an agreement as to where the line may be drawn between words that the average individual ought to be able to spell without referring to a dictionary and those that might be safely relegated to the latter. This would lead to the omission of a very large number of words now taught in the schools and which the child may never be called upon to use.

In penmanship, it will be necessary to determine what standards of legibility may be deemed satisfactory. Owing to the importance of this subject, I beg to repeat what I stated in my last article; namely, that over-attention to penmanship, for the purpose of securing elegant writing, may mean the waste, both directly and indirectly, of an enormous amount of time. As the child, during the entire school course, is obliged to do considerable writing, apart from that intended to improve his penmanship, undue slowness in the use of the pen must be regarded as a waste of time against which provision should be made.

In arithmetic, aside from the disciplinary element, the question of how much ground it is necessary to cover in order that the pupil may be sufficiently well equipped to meet the ordinary demands of life, requires careful consideration. By exercising a wise process of exclusion, the course might be considerably abbreviated. It would be necessary here to make a careful distinction between those parts of arithmetic with which everyone ought to be conversant, and those parts concerning the more complicated calculations belonging to special lines of business, and which need to be mastered only by the specialist.

In English, in addition to the problem of mental discipline, the question as to how high the goal should be placed comes into play. In written language, limitations that do not appear in any other subject are set by the immaturity of the child-mind. In other branches, however high the goal may be placed, there is a reasonable assurance that it will be reached, provided the instruction be thorough, and ample time be provided for the purpose. In composition, however, in establishing our aims, the powers of the child must be taken into consideration. Consequently, before instruction in this subject can be conducted without undue waste, it will be necessary to learn just what the child is able to do under the most favorable circumstances. When we have learned what the most successful teachers have accomplished, and how much time they expended in reaching their ends, we shall have a sensible basis for determining what may be reasonably expected of the child, and how much time it is wise to devote to this branch.

Complaints to the effect that the results in written language are highly unsatisfactory are commonly heard from individuals in all walks of life, and particularly from instructors in high schools and universities. As the unsatisfactory results are usually attributed to insufficient attention to the subject in the elementary schools, the demand is made that still more time be devoted to English. But if the circumstances should be such that it is impossible to lead the average child beyond a certain point, however great the pressure may be, then of course the time expended in endeavoring to do so is wasted.

An important point to be decided before definite goals can be established, is the question of literary style. When we know the average child's limitations in this direction, we shall be able to tell whether or not it will pay to spend a great deal of time in endeavoring to lead the child to acquire the ability to write an original story, a reproduction, or a description, in good style on the first draft. Again, we shall be able to determine whether or not time and energy expended in re-writing will be sufficiently rewarded to warrant the teacher in compelling the child to labor over a composition until he feels that he can no longer improve it. That the properly trained child is able to appreciate good literary style when he finds it in the writings of others, is quite possible; but whether he is able to imitate it in his own writings, is an entirely different question.

Next, geography, and particularly that phase which treats of the location of places, the boundaries of states and countries, the length of rivers, the height of mountains, etc., offers a broad field for exclusion without true loss in any particular. How much waste there is in the old-fashioned method of teaching this subject, becomes apparent when we consider how exceedingly little the average individual has to show, a year or two after leaving school, for the numerous hours a week, during five or six years, devoted to this study. And not only from the standpoint of economy, but for other reasons as well, would the elimination of cut-and-dried facts, that properly belong to books of reference, exert a most salutary effect. For, while geography when treated in the traditional manner is one of the most burdensome subjects in the curriculum, yet, when the matters of minor importance are excluded, and substituted by valuable ideas, it becomes converted into perhaps the broadest as well as the most interesting in the entire list of school branches. While the number of facts in topographical geography that the individual is required to know in order that he may be able to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the world is

considerable, it is, nevertheless, very small when compared with that which the child is compelled to acquire in the traditional course of instruction. Indeed, so great, in my opinion, is the discrepancy between what the child is compelled to memorize in the old-fashioned schools and what the citizen is expected to know, that I do not regard it as an exaggeration to say that the traditional course in topographical geography might be shortened by 70 or 80 per cent without neglecting what is useful.

Last, I desire to call attention to the waste in a mechanical course in history. As in geography, so in this study would the preparation of a list of facts, limited to what is helpful and what the individual may be expected to possess as ready knowledge, bring about an enormous reduction in memory material. Of course, there are many facts that the individual ought to know and that every educated person is expected to know. But just what these facts are, and how many might be excluded, without impairment, from the traditional course, has never been properly determined. By a wise substitution of historical ideas for cut-and-dried facts of minor importance, history, like geography, would be converted from a mechanical study into a most valuable and interesting one.

What is needed, then, in order that a beginning may be made toward the solution of the problem of the course of study, is to undertake measures that will speedily lead to a clear definition of the essentials. In my opinion, the most rational plan would be to place the matter in the hands of committees, appointed preferably by the National Educational Association. If committees of, say, ten members should be appointed for each branch, the labor so divided that proper attention could be paid to details, and meetings held at frequent intervals, enough might be done in a single year to clear the course of study at least of those matters that are retained simply by tradition.

In drawing conclusions in regard to what to retain and what to omit, ordinary experiences would suffice to set the matter well under way. For the rest, it would be necessary to undertake researches leading to the discovery of the exact limits of our social demands. But the latter course would represent a later stage, which might be carried on in a more leisurely manner. In order that the work might be thoroughly conducted, a special appropriation should be made by the Government, to be placed at the disposal of the Association.

Besides defining the essentials, it will be necessary to secure standards that will give us a basis for judging what results in the essentials

may be deemed satisfactory ; and not until we have these standards can it be determined how much pressure it is advisable to put on the conventional side of school work, and which methods of teaching are the most economical in point of time. But to obtain such standards, ordinary experience will not avail ; nothing short of careful research, on a very broad basis, will supply the needed information.

In our country, where elementary education is characterized by absence of system, it is not unusual for individuals, whether educators or laymen, to examine a class on a set of questions selected in an arbitrary way, and to judge by the results whether or not the teacher has done satisfactory work. So long, however, as we have no standards, judgment based on the results of an examination, in a single room, school, or city, is not only absolutely worthless, but may mean a gross injustice, in estimating both the qualifications of the teachers and the value of the methods employed by them. Under existing conditions, there is only one way in which definite information in this matter can be obtained. It is by extending a reasonable test to a large number of classes, in different localities, so that all methods and conditions may be represented, and by judging of the results on a comparative basis. In this manner we are enabled to learn what results were secured by teachers in general, which classes exceeded and which fell below the average, and how much time was consumed by different methods in securing the various results. It is only in this way that we can judge whether the results obtained in any particular class, school, or city may be regarded as satisfactory.

It was with a view to the development of standards for measuring results, as well as to discover the most economical methods of teaching, that the tests in spelling, penmanship, composition, and arithmetic, to which I referred in my last article, were made. In penmanship and composition, it is of course a simple matter to employ tests that are universally applicable. In spelling and arithmetic, although the ground covered in different cities varies considerably in regard to details, I nevertheless found that, by exercising care, the tests might be so formulated that they would cover a common ground, and thus be suitable for the schools of any locality. In spelling, three different tests were employed. One was a column of fifty words ; another consisted of sentences, fifty test words being employed in the lower, and seventy-five in the upper grades ; and, third, the spelling in the composition test was examined. In arithmetic, the questions were so arranged as to fit the various grades. In penmanship, the general written

work was used as a test. And, finally, in composition, I employed as a test the reproduction of a story read by the teacher to the children. This story was written specially for the purpose, and was accompanied by a picture intended to aid the children in their work. The grades examined included the fourth to the eighth school years. The results will be published in detail in future articles.

While such work as this represents only a temporary stage in the development of standards, I nevertheless believe that it will suffice to lead to definite information on the most important educational problem of the day; namely, whether or not it is possible to broaden the curriculum without detriment to the three R's. To reach a conclusion on this point, it is but necessary to learn whether or not the results in the formal studies obtained in the progressive schools compare favorably with the results in the formal lines obtained in the mechanical schools. If the pupils educated in the schools in which the bulk of the work is thoughtful and interesting should do as well in the formal studies as those brought up in the schools where the work is almost entirely formal, the feasibility of the new education would be practically proved.

Until the essentials are clearly defined, then, the question of satisfactory results must be decided on a purely comparative basis. For, as long as the ground to be covered represents a very wide area, and no discrimination is made between matters of primary and those of secondary importance, the results of an examination in a given school might be apparently so unfavorable as to convey the impression that the teaching had lacked in thoroughness, while in fact the results would compare quite favorably with those secured in other schools. By a comparative study of results, even on a much narrower basis than I have indicated, a great deal might be accomplished in a very brief period toward the solution of the problem of methods. It would simply be necessary for superintendents and teachers in neighboring localities to coöperate in a series of tests which would show the rate of progress under different methods.

When the requirements in positive knowledge and skill are limited to a reasonable point, the ideas will have an opportunity to become more thoroughly assimilated, and definite results may be demanded. Under these circumstances, it is possible that, in the course of time, absolute standards would be developed, so that it would be no longer necessary to draw comparisons on a wide basis before reaching conclusions in regard to the qualifications of a particular teacher or the excellence of a particular school.

J. M. RICE.

MODERN COMPOSERS IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM.

"BY favor illumed, by hatred obscured, his character meets us in history." What musician or artist can entirely free himself from the conditions or escape the limitations of the judgment thus expressed by the poet; and, touching more particularly the composer to whose personal activity we have been witness, what intelligent observer may venture to assume the character of an infallible judge?

A purely objective estimation and an entire impartiality are alike impossible to the conscientious critic; at the most he can only be expected to reject the favoritism and the hatred of the cliques, and to transfer historical methods to the conditions of the present. The words of the poet indicate with particular clearness the fate of the eminent men of whom this article proposes to treat.

The character of Richard Wagner has yet to be presented to us in classical purity; for his partisans and opponents still continue a struggle in which favoritism on the one hand confuses contemporaneous judgment as much as do the outbursts of hatred on the other. It may be said without exaggeration, that by far the greater part of those obstacles which it became the life-work of Wagner to overcome were occasioned by persons who the most loudly proclaimed themselves his heralds, as well as by others who professionally assumed to be the apostles of the Messiah of musical drama. Under the pretext of serving the Master, this Bayreuth advance-guard had been for more than a decade successfully endeavoring to discredit the cause, to render more difficult its comprehension, and to frighten off its true adherents. Throughout this entire period it was well-nigh impossible for an honest and respectable lover of music to declare himself a follower of Wagner, lest he should be associated with those howling dervishes of Bayreuth whose grotesque dances compromised and injured the Wagnerian cause. True and natural relationships were completely ignored. He who, revering the great creative genius of Wagner, had also the courage to maintain the rights of other composers,—even the most modern ones,—was derided; he who acknowledged the musical-philosophical

writings of Wagner to be works of importance, but did not implicitly accept their every particular as divine revelation, was denounced as a heretic. Those who admired Wagner as a dramatic poet, yet presumed to place a Goethe or a Shakespeare at his side or even before him,—in short, those who did not depopulate all Parnassus to make place for him,—were not entitled in the codex of the fanatic to be called Wagnerian. On the contrary, they were persecuted and placed in the pillory by the professional chiefs of the coterie who presumed to exercise a dictatorship of art throughout Germany. Books and pamphlets were written, and it would be difficult for anyone, not a personal witness of the feud, to give even a superficial idea of the material which, until late in the 'eighties, was served up to the Germans as Wagnerian literature.

I will endeavor to throw what light I can on the subject, and at least to indicate the arsenals from which the reaction against Wagner obtained its best ordnance.

I have already described Bayreuth as the headquarters of the Corybantes who roared forth their "Evoe Wagner" in bacchanalian frenzy. The literary orgies were celebrated in the so-called "Bayreuth Blätter," the official organ of the inner group of Wagnerians, who, with all the authority of a government order, issued to the entire Wagnerian press of Germany its parole and its battle-cry. Wolzogen, Hagen, Porges, Wirth, Franz, and others as famous as these, have been feared in their time; regarded one another mutually as gods and demi-gods; and, by means of an unprecedented terrorism, finally succeeded in their effort to be considered as true apostles and prophets of Wagnerianism, although in fact they had never been more than sonorous heralds. As affording an insight into the critical methods of the Bayreuth circle, let us take as a striking example one of the most untiring of the body-guard, Emerich Kastner, who, as the compiler of a Wagner catalogue,—a catalogue of writings and musical works by and upon Richard Wagner,—had acquired the rank and title of Great Archivist of Wagnerian literature. Kastner introduced a new critical method, based on the number of beats and the metric measure, and began to measure out the works of Wagner as one would a stretch of roadway or a field, with the intention and conviction of discovering an unsuspected and highly important principle in art. By careful computation Kastner found that "Rienzi" contained 5,980 beats; the "Flying Dutchman," 4,434; "Tannhäuser," 4,831; "Lohengrin," 5,129; the "Meistersinger," 6,513. He then announced, by means of a demon-

stration whose secret will remain eternally inscrutable, that the life-destiny, and artistic experiences of Wagner were reflected in these dry numbers. In fact he went still further, and grouped together the number of beats in every single scene from the operas of the Master, continually calculating, adding, and subtracting until he reached, through purely arithmetical methods, the establishment of psychological laws. This absurd sport, played by him with figures and notes, many of his colleagues pursued with the words, syllables, nay even the single letters, of Wagner's texts. Thus a literature was created whereby mental criticism was to be replaced by those mechanical instruments—the balance, the microscope, and the knife of the vivisector. All these researches, prosecuted with much ardor, clearly demonstrated to what a degree artistic views may be lowered through blind idolatry.

Compared with the bitter battle which waged throughout Germany over Wagner, the struggles of Handel in London and Gluck in Paris were mere harmless skirmishings. To-day it is possible to consider the nature of this campaign—which was maintained throughout a decade—from a better point of view than when we stood in line of battle. We know that the cause of Wagner has conquered because of its merit, and not in consequence of the strategic methods employed by sworn Wagnerian fanatics and literary Mamelukes. The work of Wagner has triumphed, not from a paucity or adroitness of defence, but in virtue of its powerful elemental forces. This fact once accepted, we may quietly and objectively admit the superiority of the phalanxes of the opposition in the height of the quarrel; not alone numerically, but in point of intelligence and general culture.

Even at this time, when Wagner's compositions were becoming the chief support of the opera repertory, the most cultivated minds of the nation were repulsed by the artistic principles of the Master. A peculiar and frequent feature in the history of music is the fact, that a new genius—particularly when he is a reformer—convinces and wins over the lower classes with greater facility than the élite among the more cultured. Among the opponents of Wagner, from the beginning till the day of the "Nibelungen," there was continual dissatisfaction and discontent. Robert Schumann pronounced the creator of "Tannhäuser" to be clever, but a musician lacking in the sense of melody. The celebrated historian of art, Julian Schmidt, considered that opera depressing in its musical insensibility. The great theorist, Moritz Hauptmann, designated it as a totally inartistic achievement; a deception of the public, who imagined they perceived a firmament of stars, whereas they saw

only mist. That talented poet of sentiment, Grillparzer, waxed ironical in his criticism of the overture, which, according to his own confession, made his ears ache. Emile Naumann, the poet and musical author, whose volumes have met with a wide circulation, treats of Wagner under "Epigonen," and speaks of his *leitmotiven* as *baroque* and retrograding. Hans von Hopfen, the distinguished lyrical poet and novelist, makes a clear demonstration from the text of "Tristan" that Wagner failed in the primal conception of poetic genius. Eduard Hanslick, the greatest musical æsthete of all times, still entertains the opinion that the work of Wagner is in the highest degree ruinous to art.

In these examples we have but a drop from an ocean; for not only volumes but entire libraries might be filled with what has been written against Wagner by musicians and critics, and especially by the academical modernizers of classic tradition. Many enemies, much honor!

The very existence of such a compact opposition would of itself prove that Wagner was not only a man of positive action but an iconoclast as well, and that his life-work represented an attack on all preconceived standards. Public opinion considered it to be the duty of the opera, particularly of the more modern, to represent human destiny in musical form. Guilt and atonement were the two poles between which the action must move; and this action required human beings endowed with a free will, with the right of independent consciousness, and with a sense of personal responsibility. We have here the first great fundamental law attacked by Wagner, who drew his material from Germanic sagas and northern myths, wherein man appears not as the carver of his own destiny, but as a more or less arbitrary instrument in the hands of supernatural powers. Even in "Lohengrin," the tendencies of the action indicate a point lying beyond the horizon; the hero is subject to laws to which human life offers no analogy; and his relations to the mysterious abode of the Holy Grail contain problems which we cannot approach with the customary why and wherefore.

A still greater infraction of operatic traditions is shown in "Tristan and Isolde"; for here the law of causality is disregarded at the critical point of the action, to follow the consequences of a purely mechanical miracle,—the effect of the love-potion.

Wagner also did violence to the principle I have mentioned when he introduced upon the stage his important work, the "Nibelungen" tetralogy, with all the impenetrable mysteries of the northern Edda. What arguments might not be urged against the design; against the possibility of completing what is here begun! He who had not an

absolute familiarity with the entire northern mythology, it was universally conceded, must remain forever excluded from a proper comprehension of the four-day opera. Hence the claim made by Wagner, that his musical dramas, "Rheingold," "Walküre," "Siegfried," and "Götterdämmerung," were to constitute a dramatic festival for the nation, was in fact untenable. The people have no knowledge of the Edda, and still less appreciation of its forms, occurrences, and *motiven*. The impossibility of finding a way through the confusion of gods, giants, nixies, dwarfs, and men who, in the strangest dependence upon one another, acted now under, now above, the earth, had come to be regarded as an established fact. These gods possessing no divine power, these miracles bound by no recognized formula and anticipating their failure,—who could understand them? Alike questionable, uncontrollable, and contradictory were the diction, the incidents, and—not least of all—the music.

What a perpetration of violence was not committed against those sacred rules and models which hitherto had formed the basis of every opera! To the frequenters of the theatre, as well as to the academician, Wagner's entire method of composition appeared to be an open declaration of war against every settled principle. The compact melodies were abandoned; and the unprepared listeners found themselves reluctantly carried forth upon a boundless ocean whose roar and tumult the Master called "the infinite melody." This flood of sound, with the cadence, rhythm, modulation, harmony, and especially the declamatory intervals as yet wholly novel, fell upon ears still captive to the influence of the old operatic melodies; making it difficult for them to comprehend this new revelation. The laity, and others of high musical culture, mutually confessed that to them this music presented the accumulation of abstruse inharmoniousness and clanking discord. The erroneous estimate of these violent effects arose however from the inexperience of the audience. It has in fact been demonstrated that "Rheingold" does not contain half so many *forte* measures as the C-minor symphony of Beethoven. It was the difficult music of "Rheingold," in contradistinction to the familiar tones of a Beethoven symphony, which produced the impression of fearful uproar.

A generation must pass away and a new generation arise before Wagner's works can become the common property of the nation. So long as we were occupied with Wagner's activity our constant endeavor from a purely objective standpoint was to attain gradually to a fuller appreciation of the magnitude of what he had accomplished.

The phrase "reform of the opera" does not comprehend the full nature of his achievement. Had Wagner began simply where Gluck left off, and undertaken his reform as the continuation of Gluck's, the full acquiescence of his contemporaries had been less difficult to secure. The conception of reform presupposes that the initiatory mind must experience the emotions, be able to awaken the slumbering ideals of his time, assimilate, formulate, and bring them to a perfected expression,—neither more nor less. In common with contemporaneous sentiment, Gluck held the desire to see the opera freed from every falsity, conventionalism, and redundancy,—a desire he furthered by melodious expression, while working exactly in the direction prescribed by the unspoken but clearly existent ideals which his period demanded. Another Gluck in our day would have been in place. Gluck's reform did not meet the requirements of the time; and the main evil combated by him, namely, the dependence of the stage upon the necessities of the singer, reappeared in as urgent a form as before.

A reformer to-day would have to take Gluck's programme as it is clearly expressed in the preface of "*Alceste*," and which,—certain to retain its validity for all time,—with the present increase of musical resources, might thus be brought to completion. Wagner, if we consider the musician principally, went far beyond this point; for he raised the musical level of the period, creating, as he did, new demands upon it. He satisfied the longing after he had personally awakened it.

No programme could express what it was given Wagner to fulfil; no necessity of the time, no presentiment of national feeling, could indicate the remote point attained by the musical genius of Wagner.

In the reform separating Wagner from Gluck we find three specially marked points of difference: the material employed, the form, and the expression. A departure from the old type of opera, the dissolution of the fixed and definite forms which Gluck had only indicated without formulating as a principle, might well be regarded as a demand of the spirit of the age. It was felt that for dramatic mobility a greater constructive continuity was desirable; consciously or unconsciously, objection was made to the restraints which had been artificially introduced in the course of the action. With the rejection of the undramatic and concertante in the external construction, a thorough change in the musical expression was required. Had Wagner been led to this reform by the light of an intelligent criticism, he would have been satisfied by the removal of the disturbing barriers between individualized parts, by covering more carefully the musical seams,

and by bridging over with pleasing melody the great gaps in the former construction of the opera. That would have been a relatively convenient solution of the problem; and it would, perhaps, have sufficed for another half-century. Wagner, however, foresaw, with the clear perception distinguishing true genius, that music *per se* was capable of and required greater expansion; hence he proceeded to dissolve and recast, in the fire of his genius, the entire ariose and recitative material of the past. This revolution and new creation in music Wagner undertook and carried out in a manner which we must to-day recognize as far exceeding our every hope and dream. He succeeded in rendering the music itself so perfectly mobile that every emotion and turn, however slight, yielding itself readily to his will, was incorporated into the dramatic development; and he also created in the orchestra an entirely new organ of expression.

To-day we regard Wagner's symphonic orchestra as the most perfect interpreter of his thoughts; the accompanying conscience, as it were, of the drama. In it we recognize and admire a polyphonic instrument by means of which expression is made eloquent beyond the power of words; unveiling and illumining the underlying fabric of the action. The nature of Wagner's work is hereby recognizable,—the conception of the dramatic placed in sovereignty over the musical, while the melody executes the will of every thought, be it prominent or subordinate. This order is maintained by means of "the infinite melody" and the perfect control of the *leitmotiven*, by which determined personalities, characters, events, and relations are identified in the polyphonic character of the instrumentation. The question whether Wagner was correct in the treatment of his *leitmotiven*, or whether he overshot his object, remains an open one to this day. To express my own views, I should say that overloading is here apparent; marring the enjoyment of almost all Wagner's scores, and serving to confuse rather than to enlighten the listener. No continuous study of the score is of the least avail to overcome this difficulty; for even the most musical ear is not always able to comprehend and unite the many disjointed details of the descriptive *leitmotiven*. It is not the principle I oppose, but the exaggeration in its application.

Had Wagner's musical power been weaker than it was, he had been infallibly wrecked by the superabundance of his motive ballast. In fact in the attempt to apply to the artificial structure of Wagner's work any self-constructed system of æsthetics, based upon experience in

musical development and sharply defined by comparison, a residuum of unsolved problems will always remain.

A natural musical emotion refuses to accept musical equivalents for perfectly definite conceptions and occurrences that can only be expressed in words which retain their unchanged course throughout an entire great work. From this it is evident that Wagner was met by no unexpressed need, but that he himself first introduced the demand for absolute congruity of the music with the action. Even he who, with trained comprehension and open heart, yields to the enjoyment of these works without becoming ensnared by the delusive æsthetics of Bayreuth, is confronted to-day by a great problem. He cannot permit himself to recognize the method as a universal criterion; and yet, at the same time, he can recognize no other standard for the stirring effect. The result is indeed enormous, and is as overpowering for the moment as it is lasting in its influence. Its far-reaching power attracts ever-widening circles, and will make tributary, at no distant day, every part of the world where good music is appreciated. These discrepancies may perhaps be reconciled in confessing that Wagner's musical genius is greater than his reformatory genius. His theory proclaims the supremacy of the drama; but the truly revealed worth of the music proclaims its sovereignty. The principle forces the *leitmotif* to render a service impossible in the degree required by Wagner; but the inherent value of the *motiven* and their symphonic developments is so considerable that from them is raised a glorified structure, considered purely musically, without characterizing each individual block. The method itself, therefore, may not be regarded as the most valuable part in the heritage of Wagner; and it is doubtful whether, in the manner of its transmission, it can form the foundation of a school. One might reply that the German, and in part also the French, opera-houses produce every year many works which are brought out in the "modern German style,"—emanations, almost without exception, of the apish and superficial imitators of Wagner, who represent no school capable of further development, but only a collection of dubious and slavish copies. All the later Wagnerian composers—the miniature Wagners of our epoch—play, in the household of music, an analogous part to that of an orchestra-leader who is a composer. They have worked over the musical remains of Felix Mendelssohn and Karl Maria von Weber; they have appropriated the musical emanations of master-minds; they imitate their style without manifesting their original power; and the next great wave of music sweeps them aside.

Whether he be an orchestra-leader of the old school, like Reissiger and Kalliwoda, or of the new, such as Ritter and Richard Strauss, it is practically the same.

The last few years show conclusively that the most powerful individuals among the moderns are by no means disposed to subject themselves to the extreme demands of the Wagnerian theory. The modern operas rising above mediocrity, as those of the young Italians, Leoncavallo and Mascagni, besides the "Manon" of Massenet, "Hänsel und Gretel" of Humperdinck, and others, repudiate in their chief parts the principle of Bayreuth. They however evince that their authors have learned much from Wagner, and their melodizing shows the profundity of his influence. But, in the sense established by the masters of the old Neapolitan and Venetian schools of music, Wagnerian art will certainly never attain an efficient posterity. Its principles manifest a purely personal character, and hence are unavailable as models which can be adapted by any successor. In respect of gigantic powers of invention, they would almost suffice to create a new style in each of the great dramatic designs to which they are applied. In fact the source of the material seems to have been absolutely closed against those whose desire was to follow in Wagner's footsteps; as if the entire wealth of the northern myths had been poured into the lap of a single mortal. Hence Wagner's true legacy comprises both his great works, wherein he speaks and sings directly to us, and the sovereign intellect which, through these works, has flooded the world.

Interrogating the intellect rather than the method, we must grant that, in its comprehensive sense, no master has acquired a larger following than the Master of Bayreuth. It may honestly be said that, whenever musical talent is inclined to fresh achievement, the genius of Wagner is strongly felt; while the effect of his protest against a blind adherence to older traditions, the formal narrow-mindedness, and the abuse of pure art for material gain is everywhere manifest. Both directly and indirectly Wagner's supremacy is made clear.

To-day, without reference to Wagner,—who has become the sole criterion in the general estimation,—it is impossible to define the true position or importance of any modern composer. When a composer, relying on the consciousness of personal ability and creative genius, presents a claim for recognition, the public ultimatum is based upon the relation of his art and personality to the art and personality of Richard Wagner. This standard of adjustment has lessened the claims of many highly gifted musicians; arbitrary and independent artistic tem-

peraments suffering under the enforced comparison. Anton Rubinstein affords a markedly sad example of this subordination. In the beginning of his career he was neglected and unappreciated; yet, but for the overpowering Wagnerian current forcing common opinion into a circumscribed channel, his mature works would undoubtedly have received recognition as those of a great leader. It was not granted to Rubinstein to develop his fine overflowing talent in accordance with foreign principles. He was thus driven to live within himself for an entire lifetime with an intensity untouched by the influential activity of Wagner, which he regarded with animosity and bitterness; untouched because his own musical nature had a totally different aim, and with animosity since he saw his blossoms of melody cruelly torn and scattered by the Wagnerian hurricane. Rubinstein followed the pure ideal of beauty felt, not formulated, much less to be paragraphed as in the announcements of a programme.

The conditions are now unfavorable for the apostles of absolute musical beauty: the time demands fact and a programme; it calls for a Wagner or a Berlioz, as in literature it demands a Zola, an Ibsen, or a Tolstoi. Rubinstein is rooted in the lyric, which cannot assume the offensive nor be powerful in propaganda. Its influence is contemplative, without power of persuasion, or intrusiveness; and in the tumult of the modern intellectual struggle its position cannot be maintained. The tragic element in Rubinstein's life as a composer lay in the fact that he was from conviction a lyrist, while he strove for the laurels of the dramatist. Withheld from the theatres solely by his conscience, he would not turn, although frequently reaching the true dramatic spirit, even if more by construction than by native impulse. The difference between his fundamental nature and the dramatic heights toward which he strove was clearly indicated; a divergence which, emphasized in the fate of his works of which none has maintained a position in grand-opera repertory, embittered the later years of his life.

We possess documentary proof that Rubinstein cherished deep in his heart a peculiar aversion to the opera in every form, while devoting himself to it with the energy of the most ambitious artist. Undoubtedly this distaste was felt when, in 1891, he published his "Theoretical Legacy." In this work, Rubinstein maintains the absolute supremacy of pure instrumental music, rejects all vocal melody, and speaks in harsh criticism of the opera as "a subordinate order of music." There is reason to believe that twenty or thirty years earlier Rubinstein considered this subject with less severity. He could scarcely have held

the opera as subordinate at that period, when he was giving the world the delightful melodies of the "Maccabees." On the first nights of "Feramors" and the "Demon," when the dead notes of the score sprang into life, he could not have experienced the force of the views he has bequeathed us. The enthusiasm he formerly evinced for expanded oratorio and sacred opera does not accord with his later attacks upon the opera in general. Every line of his later polemic, if accepted, could be used in argument against the Biblical composition with which Rubinstein's muse stood in such intimate connection. A significant picture is here recalled of the Director Anton Rubinstein before the powerful chorus of his sacred opera, "The Tower of Babel"; his long hair fluttering in the air, while every nerve in his body trembled under the overwhelming sensation of the sound of his own music. Could he have then reflected, "Here I stand the advocate of a subordinate variety of music"? Was he not rather overpowered by the sound of his individual creation and the sentiment of soaring as on eagle wings to the very zenith of art?

True, the earlier wonderful triumph of Rubinstein's operas, secular and sacred, has not reaped the enduring success prophesied, and which he anticipated for them. While catchy ballads of inferior composers hold their own on the stage, his divine "Feramors" has disappeared. Thersites has outlived Patroclus. The public, especially in Germany, has dismissed the composer Rubinstein with truly Platonic homage. *In abstracto* it honors him; but it erects no altars, and denies him the sacrifice. We have, however, an explanation, plausible if not fully satisfactory; *i. e.*, the celebrity of Rubinstein the performer has obscured the fame of Rubinstein the composer. The incomparable virtuoso excited too powerful a personal interest to allow his great creations an equal assertion. The majority of his more difficult works have met a common fate; kindling at the outset a splendid blaze of enthusiasm, which was as speedily to be extinguished. Hardly would the faithful Rubinstein enthusiasts now suffice to fill a single theatre.

The great majority, on whom depends the durability of similar work, continued reservedly indifferent; rejecting not only in the concrete, but with a certain distrust of the composer who witnessed himself obscured by his own brilliant virtuosity. The wide and ever-widening circles spared their laurels only to heap them repeatedly on the incomparable interpreter of the piano,—the singer and thunderer of the concert-room. In large measure Rubinstein, with his leonine hands on the keys, killed his success as a composer.

The reaction was not wanting. To the world's injustice he responded by another whose motive was as old as that of the fox and the grapes. Weary at last of the mistress so long unsuccessfully wooed, he made a list of her defects and nailed to the door of the Temple this thesis: "The human voice establishes limitations for melody which do not govern the instrument. A truly free, imaginative, and melodious development is only possible with pure instrumentation. The words of the text, however beautifully phrased, cannot express the overflow of sentiment; they rather hinder an artistic revelation of the emotions. Vocal composers may be compared to those who, with the right to answer set questions, are not privileged to question or express an opinion. These are servitors: instrumental composers, on the contrary, are lords and masters." Such was the conclusion Rubinstein arrived at as the theoretical result of a long career in the composition of operas, cantatas, and songs.

The case stands completely isolated in the entire history of music. No other master has been urged to a similar self-condemnation and exposure of his holiest possessions. In every case, without exception, the reverse has been true. So long as there have been artists, each has accorded to his particular branch of art the most extraordinary attributes: doubting perchance his own gift, he has never doubted art itself, which is supreme. Form—the high altar—is enduring. In Rubinstein, art first experienced opposition in the serving-priest to the divinity: the world sinning against him, he sought to be avenged. Here is a paralogism as fatal as it is unique. Rubinstein, justly and deeply imbued with the greatness of his talent as a composer, and seeing himself by a thousand proofs the favorite of the public,—even while that public deserted him,—sought for the reason of this and sought in vain; and, since any explanation was preferable to none, he finally accused Form itself,—that vocal Form which was unable to assume or express the unutterable emotions striving within him.

Against Rubinstein the accuser, however, there is no better defender than Rubinstein the composer. He conceived no greater melody than that of "Es blinkt der Thau," with which he answered the desire of the poet for the beauty of spring. Or take the first chorus in the "Maccabees," where the composer undoubtedly followed the compulsion of his thought. We admire in this chorus a miraculous melody; and it would seem (were even a more careful scanning of the verse necessary to fully liberate such melody) that the natural artist attains his freest utterance only when under the stimulus of criti-

cal impulse. The text, instead of proving an obstacle to Rubinstein, was throughout his life of the greatest assistance to him. Had the mentioned forms been present only to give expression to melodious emotions, Rubinstein had been as popular as his music—with that of Gounod and Verdi—is the richest in melody of modern times.

Rubinstein's many failures rest in the fact that no modern opera, however productive the lyric, can be sustained without a dramatic and highly interesting action. In this he was not favored; for, although his librettos were never really indifferent, they provoked a greater interest among composers than among the audiences of the opera-houses of Western Europe. The "Maccabees," his most important work, bears the reproach of dramatical insufficiency; having more the character of a sacred chorus. The "Demon" is permeated with a specific Russian mysticism unintelligible to the West. The "Nero" repels every audience by its fearful cruelty. "Feramors" dissolves in lyric eloquence without the solid core of a stronger action; and the "Kinder der Heide" has scarcely been attempted outside Russia.

His oratorios and cantatas have practically suffered from the curiously uncertain character imparted to them. Originally intended for a "sacred opera-house," planned but never realized by Rubinstein, only one of these works, the "Christ," was placed upon the stage in Bremen, and then only after the death of the author. The others remain subject to the favor or rejection of musical societies, who rarely remember the exceeding wealth and depth here hidden.

As the musician revealed in his symphonies, chamber-music, and pianoforte compositions, Rubinstein is however destined to attain a greater recognition. His personality as a composer appreciably increases the farther we remove from dramatic music. The simple song, free of scenic or oratorical effect, marks for Rubinstein the beginning of a genuine and presumably enduring success. He richly repaid his debt to the pianoforte. The impetuosity and nervous haste of his nature, characteristic of the composer, appear throughout his compositions; occasionally hurrying him on to some anticipated passage to the injury of the inspiration. Careful revision was not his specialty. Much of his work, materially developing the finest architectural form, retains a primitive Cyclopean character. This is true of some of his most famous work; for example, the fifth pianoforte concerto in E sharp, and the "Ocean Symphony," among his orchestral compositions. Rubinstein demonstrates the power of his concentrated attention in the "Dramatic Symphony," which, with all its solemnity, is an extraor-

dinary composition of austere vigor and rich conception. The proper relations in development, structure, and gradation are maintained; and each instrument in the orchestra receives a just valuation. In the "Dramatic Symphony" Rubinstein has indeed erected a *monumentum ære perennius*.

It is quite natural to draw a parallel between Rubinstein and Johannes Brahms since Brahms's whole activity until now has been based on the thesis of Rubinstein. A comparison is possible, however, only in so far as the primal incentive of both was derived from the pianoforte, and from the fact that the compositions of the two masters present many features of romanticism indicative of Robert Schumann as their common model. From this point the divergence is great, in fact very great. Rubinstein, continuously manifesting his individuality, remains highly subjective; while Brahms, by a more strictly intellectual method, has attained a truly classic objectivity. Appreciating the commanding position occupied by Brahms in the musical world to-day, we revert instinctively to the prophetic declaration with which Robert Schumann, twenty-two years ago, introduced this genius to public attention as the future Messiah of music. Brahms had already, in his twenty-first year, published his first quartettes, songs, and sonatas, from which Schumann predicted that one had arisen who was to "give full expression to the highest ideals of the time"; in whom supremacy was not to unfold gradually, but who, like Minerva springing from the head of Jupiter, would appear fully grown and armed. The form Schumann perceived on the horizon was not Richard Wagner, who, with the "Faust" overture, the "Flying Dutchman," and "Tannhäuser," already stood in the arena, but Johannes Brahms. "When he shall direct his magic wand where masses of chorus and orchestra shall lend him their forces, still more wonderful glimpses of the spirit-world will be revealed to us. May the highest genius strengthen him thereto! His contemporaries salute him on his course, where, possibly, reverses, but also laurel wreaths and palms await him!" So spoke the memorable oracle; and in many respects time has verified the utterance,—but not in all. The prediction of success has indeed been fulfilled; the name of Brahms has become recognized as one of might and power throughout the musical world, and is not infrequently mentioned with the reverent homage accorded to that of Johann Sebastian Bach; but to "give full expression to the highest ideals of the time" was not allotted to him, but to those mightier ones whose full power Schumann neither foresaw nor recognized.

We have here a further example of the alternation of critical defence with fanaticism, of which mention has already been made in connection with Richard Wagner. During the Wagnerian conflict the musical world became divided into two camps; experiencing not only the necessity of argument, but of a positive creed and the possession of opposing heroes belonging to each alone. He who was not a Wagnerian was a sworn follower of Brahms. The identical bigotry governing the cult of Bayreuth characterized the academic Brahms-guard, until in the musical arena was enacted again the historical spectacle of the rival Popes.

To define my present point of view it may be said that at that period I refused to see in Brahms a Beethoven *redivivus*, but after twenty years' study of Brahms's work my judgment is clearer and partially justified. Yet even to-day the majority of his symphonies afford me more admiration than enjoyment. The striking contrast between the celebrity of this master's works in their totality and the relative unpopularity of some of the most profound among them inspires me with surprise. The notes and not the title create the fame of a work; and much will be found in his chamber-music and vocal compositions to render Brahms famous. But how do the greater allied compositions stand, to which universal applause has been rendered,—the symphonies in D sharp, F sharp, and E minor, with the piano concerto and the double concerto for violin and violoncello? Do these particular works, heard and applauded by the world, remain firmly fixed in the memory of the applauders? I believe not. Whereas the themes and motives of Beethoven and Mozart are so well known as to render their indication easy, it is seldom the case with Brahms. After frequent test of the enthusiastic admirers of Brahms, I have commonly found the memory at fault. The attentive listener receives a general impression, but no definite melody to take away with him: he retains the coloring; but the contour is indistinct. The spirit animating these works remains forever remote, and touches no vibrating chord of human passion. In an unrelenting endeavor to unveil the profoundest mysteries of art, and seeking its uttermost expression, Brahms overreaches his own power. Reassured by his adherents he also reached the conclusion that his mission was to continue the life-work of Beethoven, whose "Ninth Symphony" he followed by an attempt to write a "Tenth" and an "Eleventh"; but, with the greatest exercise of his musical knowledge, his inspiration has been unequal to the task. Much of his work is labored, rarely

combining both the remarkable and pleasing in a single passage. It is, however, the privilege of every artist to be his own judge; hence my endeavor is to define the position of this master from a purely objective standpoint. He must be considered as the most celebrated of all living composers, as the most intellectually prominent in the direct line of descent from Beethoven, with whom the similarity of artistic conception—the resultant of an intense absorption and concentration—is often most striking. His position in every department of music—with the exception of the opera, which he never attempted—is indeed supreme; his talent for combination, as his variations testify, is extraordinary. If his polyphonic works are at times unsympathetic, they yet remain an inexhaustible mine of wealth. Viewed in his totality we see in him a musician who, combining the highest order of intelligence with an iron will, has created a special style. This style, sweeping us not infrequently into wild and sterile regions with misty, icy peaks, never touching the prosaic or commonplace, has yet its mission to fulfil in lighting perchance the future part of some disciple to whom will be revealed the radiant heights of Parnassus. And Brahms is still actively at work among us.

Formerly the career of an artist in his sixtieth year was regarded as practically finished; from him the world could expect no more. But the experience of recent years has disturbed this conclusion. The Olympian exhilaration, which, after a life productive of pathetic and tragic music, inspired Verdi to give "Falstaff" to the world, may yet descend upon Brahms. The way of the modern composer may not be foretold. Gounod, whose music glows with sensuality, becomes in his old age a writer of psalms. Wagner, the impetuous and daring, closed his life's labors by the liturgical tones of "Parsifal." The "immutability of character" maintained by Schopenhauer cannot be applied to the composer. Brahms, conducted into the Elysian fields by his own future symphonies, may still wield a light and buoyant sceptre over a joyous and sensuous melody.

ALEXANDER MOSZKOWSKI.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS PARALYZING TO BUSINESS.

THE abnormal and depressing conditions which have prevailed in nearly every department of business in this country within the past four years, is a subject that cannot fail to interest all thoughtful people. The disturbing influences of these unfortunate conditions have been widespread, and have made themselves felt, in greater or less degree, in almost every household throughout the land. Hardly any branch of legitimate business has been conducted with the possibility of profit; and the consequent necessity for economical management has resulted in throwing large numbers of people out of their customary employment. Reduced earnings of the industrial classes have necessitated the rigid curtailment of expenditures, and have thus materially narrowed the volume of business in the general staples of ordinary trade; while traffic in objects of luxury has fallen to insignificant proportions. The widely extended prevalence of these extraordinary circumstances over all our broad domain indicates a common cause of remarkable potency.

Recent publication of data collated by the Bradstreet Mercantile Agency shows that 11,200 commercial failures occurred in the United States during the first nine months of 1896. This is a much greater number of business disasters than occurred in the same months of any previous year, save only 1893, when the failures for the corresponding period were about 11,000. Thus we have suffered two of the most disastrous business years in all our history within three years of each other; while the intermediate years have been a period of extreme depression in the management of commercial affairs. This unfortunate experience renders it desirable to make serious inquiry as to the cause, and to consider whether there may not be some safeguards devisable that will serve to render the recurrence of like periods of disaster less frequent in the future. The manifest importance of the subject certainly demands that it shall have serious consideration, and, if possible, the adoption of such remedial policy as may appear fairly promising of beneficent results.

Considerable diversity of opinion has been expressed by different authorities as to the real origin of the great monetary disturbances and

commercial crisis of 1893. If not wholly caused by the results of the Presidential and Congressional elections of 1892, it cannot be successfully denied that their severity and duration were greatly aggravated by those events. Industrial activities were suddenly checked, in apprehension of tariff legislation the extent of which could not possibly be estimated. The election of President Cleveland as the avowed champion of tariff reform, and the restoration of the Democratic party to Congressional control—after an interval of more than thirty years,—on a platform demanding radical tariff revision, created what may well be called a manufacturers' panic. The financial condition of the Government had already been seriously weakened by the operation and influence of the improvident silver-purchasing law; and the sudden reduction of the public revenue served to precipitate a monetary convulsion of extraordinary proportions.

Prompt and effective measures of relief were imperatively required; but instead of the necessary remedial action came procrastination with apparent indifference, both on the part of the Executive and of Congress. The Treasury reserve was rapidly depleted; and the Government was forced repeatedly to resort to the sale of bonds in order to provide means for current expenditures. Unwise and ineffective legislation, tardily enacted, only served to continue the period of stagnation in all business affairs. Deficiencies in the public revenues constantly increased the public debt; and confidence was continually strained. This discouraging situation remained without substantial mitigation until the approach of the succeeding Presidential canvass. The country was then plunged into another rigor of apprehension, by the violent agitation of the silver issue. Grave fears of further monetary disturbances were caused by the demand of the Democratic platform for the free and unlimited coinage of silver by our Government, independently of foreign coöperation, upon a basis that would manifestly have created another financial crisis. Acute industrial paralysis followed, with the alarming results indicated by the foregoing record of commercial failures. Business of all kinds continued in a state of almost total suspension throughout the entire period of the political campaign, which was finally and happily ended by the November election.

The complete restoration of confidence in commercial circles and the active resumption of industrial operations so promptly following the result of the recent Presidential election have been quite remarkable, and altogether unprecedented in our experience. These notable

results afford abundant substantiation of the assumption that the real cause of the most recent business disturbances was serious anticipation of the possible success of the revolutionary demand for the free coinage of silver, and the consequent debasement of the national currency. Nearly four years of commercial and industrial prostration have been endured in consequence of apprehension; first, of anticipated tariff legislation, and, later, of the possible success of the silver agitation. Relief from this prolonged and tiresome period of business depression finally came, at the close of the recent national election, with all the celerity of the electric impulse which conveyed the welcome intelligence of the popular verdict. Instantly flashed forth orders for the early resumption of long-suspended industries, by which hundreds of thousands of waiting and eager wage-earners were promptly employed in renewed activities of every description.

Assuming that the experiences of the past four years resulted from, or at least were aggravated by, uncertainty regarding political results, it is evident that effective remedial measures must be sought in the direction of allaying, so far as possible, the disturbing influence of political events upon the vital commercial interests of the country. Obviously the first condition to be attained is greater stability in governmental affairs, and less frequent and irritating changes in legislation affecting the tariff and finances. Our country has now become an immense home of manufacturing industry, and, consequently, requires, as the necessary condition of continuous prosperity, longer periods of industrial tranquillity and freedom from oft recurring seasons of political turmoil. Vast numbers of industrious people are dependent for their livelihood upon the successful operation of manufacturing establishments, which can only rely upon being profitably conducted during continued periods of business stability. Wage-earners cannot find steady employment unless the products of their labor can be satisfactorily marketed. The interests of both labor and capital are, therefore, mutual in the necessity for the continuance of long periods of commercial and industrial activity.

The primary and apparently the most prolific cause of our present political instability is believed to reside in our too frequently recurring Presidential elections. When our patriotic fathers, with all their profound wisdom, framed the Constitution and projected the form of our National Government, four years seemed an appropriate term of official service for the President. With them it was wholly a question of experiment; and they determined it in accordance with their best judg-

ment. Only political interests seemed then to be involved, as there were no great industries in existence likely to be injuriously affected by changes of administration. But the country, through its wonderful development, has apparently outgrown the limit of their distant view. Evidently it has now become a question worthy serious consideration, whether the time has not already arrived for a readjustment of our Constitutional provisions relative to the executive administration of the Government. It is not unreasonable to presume that, with the advantage of experience and suitable consideration of the changed conditions, amendments can be made that will render the Constitution more useful and make its operations more in harmony with our present political and material necessities.

Within the hundred years that have elapsed since the adoption of our National Constitution and the organization of the Federal Government, wonderful changes have occurred in our political and material conditions and commercial necessities. From a meagre and industrious population of three millions, sparsely scattered along the Atlantic coast, principally occupied in agricultural pursuits, we have now become a rich, powerful, and rapidly growing nation of more than seventy millions, engaged in all the activities of industrial enterprise known to civilization; possessing and occupying, in course of rapid development, a continental domain of wonderful fertility and fabulous mineral resources. Our unrivalled system of public schools and our printing-presses have stimulated and cultivated the intellectual faculties of our people into a marvellous mental activity; while the railroad and telegraph have increased their capacity for the conduct of business pursuits beyond that of any other race of men.

Fertility of ingenious invention and superior capacity in business organization, developed under the powerful stimulus of vast accumulations of wealth invested in manufacturing plants of various kinds, have enabled our people to attain a facility and capability of production, in many branches of industry, far beyond the limits of present ordinary demand. One of our greatest necessities now is to promote a greater diversity of labor and thus to provide for the increased employment of willing workers. Enhancement of the earning power of the industrial classes is the surest attainable mode of enlarging the consuming power of our home markets; thus promoting in the highest possible degree the general prosperity of all our people.

Longer continued periods of uninterrupted business tranquillity are extremely desirable, and indeed indispensable, for the safe devel-

opment of a diversified industrial progress. These conditions can be securely attained only by increased exemption from unnecessary political agitation. This desirable result can be promoted with the greatest certainty by extending the length of the Presidential term, in order to prolong the period of political quietude between the recurring Presidential campaigns. The first and last years of every National Administration are naturally seasons of political activity; so that, under a term of four years, barely two years of quiet can be expected. If the Presidential term were lengthened to six years, we might fairly anticipate at least four years of continuous exemption from political strife. The longer intervals of political tranquillity between the Presidential campaigns could not fail to be promotive of conditions favorable to the conservative development of business enterprise in all departments of industrial activity.

Extension of the Presidential term should, by all means, be accompanied by a provision rendering the President ineligible for reelection to an immediately succeeding term. This would manifestly be an important step toward the mitigation of one of our most serious political evils. Under existing conditions and precedents it is presumed, whether true or not, that every newly elected President is constantly planning for reelection; and every official act is liable to be the subject of popular suspicion in this regard. Relieved from this serious discredit, as he would be under the changed conditions proposed, the President would become much more directly influential in his official capacity than he could possibly be under present circumstances. Thus, freed from actual or suspected manipulation of political forces to promote the chances of his own reelection, he would be relieved from many present embarrassments, and have more time and much greater opportunity to see that the laws were appropriately enforced. To the great advantage of the public service, the President would become the responsible business head of the Government, instead of continuing to serve simply as a political almoner, as has too often been the case in times past.

Congress has quite outgrown the limit placed upon it by the Constitution, and imperatively needs relief from the congested condition in which it exists. It is a notorious fact that the pressure of business has become so serious as almost to prevent the consideration of private bills; and monstrous wrong is constantly being suffered by many persons having just claims for relief. Aside from the Government appropriation bills, and other bills having preference under the

rules, it is almost impossible for any measure, however meritorious, to make progress or even to receive creditable attention, if seriously antagonized. For many years no adjournment of Congress has found its business completed to any reasonable degree of satisfaction ; while the number of bills failing to receive a reasonable degree of consideration is rapidly increasing with each succeeding year. The only practical remedy for relieving this deplorable condition is to extend the length of the Congressional term from two years to either three or four.

Supposing the Presidential term to be lengthened to six years, as herein proposed, members of the House of Representatives should be elected for a period of three years. Thus there would be, as at present, two full terms of Congress within the limit of each Presidential term. The official service of each new Congress should also be made to commence within a reasonable time of the election of the members, instead of being postponed, for the first regular session, for more than a year following the election, as is now the case. Thus, the voice of the people, as expressed through their ballots, would become potent, and receive more prompt and considerate attention. The practice of permitting the old Congress to conduct the legislation of the country for a whole year after the election of their successors is a relic of early days which should speedily be dispensed with.

Owing to the continuous character of the Senate in the constitution of its membership, no change would be required to conform it to the suggested longer term of the Presidency and House of Representatives. Such a prolongation of the official term of Congress would obviously afford very material relief from the existing pressure of legislation ; all of which would inure to the advantage of the people at large, and especially to the benefit of many who are suffering from the neglect of worthy measures. Moreover, the proposed change could not fail to be in the direction of more careful and considerate treatment of the details of legislation. The present practice of rushing through, by unanimous consent, bills when not antagonized is an especially objectionable mode of legislation, worthy of the most strenuous condemnation.

Objection to a longer Presidential term will perhaps be made on the ground that if an unsatisfactory President should be chosen it would take a long time to get rid of him. A review of our past history and reasonable consideration of the character and services of our Presidents, do not substantiate this view as a valid obstacle to the

proposed change. The objection certainly would not offset the advantage of relief from the present eligibility of the President for reelection. The lengthening of the interval between the disturbing influences of the recurring Presidential campaigns, resulting from the addition of two years to each Administration, would certainly outweigh all objections of this character. Whatever would tend to minimize the present evil of the political disturbance of business affairs could not fail to prove advantageous to the country at large.

Having rendered the President ineligible for immediate reelection, a very wise and appropriate as well as graceful provision could be adopted, appointing all retired Presidents members of the Senate for life. We should thus continue to the public service the benefit of their eminent characters and great experience, and at the same time maintain by congenial association their official distinction and importance. The number of past Presidents could never be large enough to prove objectionable; and their presence in the Senate could not fail to add to the dignity and usefulness of that august body. Furthermore, it would remedy what is now frequently spoken of as a matter of reproach, viz., that in our public life there is no useful and congenial sphere of service for one who has occupied the chief executive office of the nation.

Propositions for extending the length of the official term of the President and making him ineligible for immediate reelection have repeatedly been introduced into one or the other houses of Congress, but they have never made progress beyond the stage of abstract debate. The subject seems especially worthy of renewed consideration at this time, in view of the forcible illustration our recent experience has afforded of the necessity of increased exemption from political agitation. Deliberate consideration of the cruel and needless disturbance of commercial affairs experienced in this country during the past four years cannot fail to convince any unprejudiced mind of the pressing necessity of removing, so far as possible, the elements of future occurrences of similar character. What other remedy can be suggested that will promise more effectual chances of relief from the dangers of recurring disasters than the lengthening of the intervals between each Presidential election?

To avoid every complication of personal consideration, the date when the amended Constitutional provisions suggested above should take effect and become operative should be fixed far enough ahead to avoid interference with the presumptive right of President McKinley to reelection, in accordance with the precedents of our history. Even

under the most favorable progress which such a measure could naturally command, it could hardly be expected to reach maturity in time for the election of 1900 ; so that probably the proper date for the contemplated change would be 1904. This would afford ample time for the suitable and dignified consideration of a proposition so vitally affecting the framework of our Constitutional fabric.

Although the unfortunate commercial disturbances of the past four years are assumed to have been mainly caused, or at least greatly augmented in severity and duration, by the influence of political apprehension, it by no means follows that such influences are regarded as the sole or even the main cause of business disaster. Such occurrences have their origin in a diversity of causes, which may have no relation to political events or to political influences. It has, however, been quite apparent in recent years that the frequent recurrence of prolonged periods of political activity was liable to produce disturbing and depressing influences of greater or less severity upon the business interests of the country. These facts, together with the clearly defined origin of our recent disturbances, have therefore seemed to justify the propriety of the suggestions herein made.

Consideration of these subjects should be entirely free from political bias or party prejudice. Only the highest interests of the whole people should be regarded in the treatment of the questions involved. The object of this article has been to make an entirely fair and impartial presentation of facts and arguments deemed pertinent and indispensable to the intelligent discussion of the matter. If it be admitted that our recent commercial disturbances have been caused by the political influences suggested, there can hardly be room to doubt that the remedy proposed would be well worth adopting ; even though it served to prevent the repetition of similar disasters but a single time in the next hundred years.

ALONZO B. CORNELL.

THE WANTON DESTRUCTION OF AMERICAN PROPERTY IN CUBA.

THE story of Cuba, as reported by the press, is a conflicting statement of glorious victories claimed by both parties. But, while other points remain in doubt, authenticity of the accounts of the burning of plantations and farms has been established beyond question. Many provinces of the island have been absolutely wasted ; and the work of destruction is energetically going on. It has even been announced, as a grand exhibition of patriotism, that the insurgents will sacrifice everything rather than have the Spaniards succeed, and will leave them a heap of ashes as the prize of victory.

It is to be noted, however, in regard to this patriotic resolve that very little, if any, of the property destroyed belongs to the insurgents. The plantations belong to people who, save in a very few cases, have not joined the revolution. In fact, either directly, or through the equity of money owed, the citizens of the United States are probably the greatest sufferers. From the proximity of Cuba, and the fact that we are by far the greatest consumers of its products, American capital has been one of the greatest factors in its development. Many plantations belong to Americans ; and debts, created by advances to make the sugar crops, have made them the owners of a still greater number. It is Americans who, in the majority of cases, are really the victims.

But there is a still more serious result. Engaged in the insurgent army there are perhaps 50,000 men. Of the remaining million and a half of inhabitants, nothing is told. Of their misery, of their poverty, of their actual starvation, no mention is made. The industries of Cuba are entirely agricultural : nearly the entire population is engaged in the cultivation of the soil. The sugar plantations employ, directly or indirectly, the bulk of the working classes, and by far the greater part of the capital invested. The other large products are tobacco and cattle. With the exception of the cigar factories in Havana, there is nothing manufactured in the island ; even the small industries of the cities and their commerce are dependent upon the sugar and

tobacco crops. The terrible suffering resulting from the absolute stoppage of all agricultural pursuits can be readily imagined. When great calamities have come to other nations, it has been possible for the rich classes to assist their poorer neighbors. In the present case, the planters, beyond all others, have been injured—in fact, ruined. To the impossibility of obtaining employment must be added the enormous rise in all the necessities of life, owing to the destruction or abandonment of the small farms all over the island. Hence, whatever may be the dangers and privations of the men in the insurgent army, the real sufferers are the very great number of the inhabitants who must remain at home, unoccupied, helpless, and called upon to face the slow misery of starvation.

The price being paid to secure the independence of the island is thus a very great one, and it falls most heavily on those who have no control over the course of events; for the condition of the peaceful population is infinitely worse than that of the men in the insurgent armies, as starvation comes to the latter only after there is nothing left for them to take.

The responsibility of the insurgent leaders is, therefore, a very great one. So much human suffering cannot justifiably be incurred without either the consent of those who must bear the burden, or the certainty of the ability to succeed. And the mere exclusion of the Spaniards from Cuba is not in itself a sufficient result. The insurgent leaders must provide a government that will be able to correct the evils from which the country is suffering. It must be remembered, too, that the evils of Spanish rule in Cuba are not the physical cruelties of Alva in Holland.

Is there any possibility of such a government growing from this foundation of destruction and desolation? The Latin races in this continent have shown a distinct incapacity for self-government. The history of the several republics that have succeeded Spanish rule has been one of constant revolutions and disorders, with interludes of despotism; such as the rule of Blanco in Venezuela, or of Barrios in Guatemala. In Cuba the difficulties would be even greater, owing to the presence of the large negro element. The danger of this domination has always been felt by the white leaders in the insurrection. It was one of the causes that brought to an end the previous revolution. Should the Spanish inhabitants of the island emigrate,—as many of them undoubtedly would, should the insurgents succeed,—the two races would be nearly equal in number. The Cuban negro is a much

later importation and is therefore much less civilized than his brother in this country. Many of them came from warlike tribes. The mulatto element is intelligent and ambitious. For years a negro republic, to include Cuba, St. Domingo, and Jamaica, the so-called Republic of the Antilles, has been spoken of. Without a great preponderance, it would be impossible for the whites to control this element. The same favorable conditions—the warm climate, the impenetrable forests, the abundance of food,—that favor the present uprising would render the suppression of revolt and the maintenance of order difficult if not impossible. From all indications, the future of the island under a native government would be even less favorable to our interests than under the present one.

The suppression of the insurrection by the Spanish is improbable, and can be achieved only by the slow process of exhaustion of their opponents. Everything tends to show that the official class has in every way clogged any real effort to bring the conflict to an end. No other explanation of the ineffectiveness of the immense force now under arms is possible. The expenditure of the one hundred millions, which the war is costing the Spanish government annually, affords opportunities for colossal speculation and opportunities for fortunes which are irresistible. It is only when spurred by public opinion in Spain that any serious effort to suppress the insurrection is made.

It is apparent therefore that a return of order and prosperity to Cuba can be secured only by annexation to the United States. But, with the present temper of the Spanish people, such a result would be most difficult, if not impossible. While the official class in Spain recognizes the fact that Cuba is only a source of weakness to the mother country, the patriotic pride of the people would wreak its vengeance on any party that might sanction the cession of the island. But, could Cuba be purchased, the advantages to this country would be enormous. A vast field for American enterprise and capital would be opened up. The island would easily produce not only all the sugar we consume but, in a few years, all the coffee. The cession of Cuba would also remove the large balance of trade against us, incurred by the purchase of these articles; for it would open a market for at least a hundred millions of our products.

The opposition to our acquisition of the island has been based on two grounds: (1) the increase in the undesirable foreign element; and (2) want of any means of governing a colony by the United States.

In regard to the first objection, it is to be said that we are now

receiving annually half a million of foreigners, a large proportion of whom are much less favorable in character than the inhabitants of Cuba.

As regards the second objection, we governed Louisiana in the form of a colony at a time when, proportionately to our population, its inhabitants were much more numerous than the Cubans are to-day; and no great difficulties would arise in Cuba, for no party in the island could afford to antagonize a great power like the United States. Very soon, as in California and Louisiana, the Anglo-Saxon race would establish its supremacy. The annexation of Cuba, however, can only be hoped for; and its advisability would depend on whether the island could be obtained through negotiation.

There is, however, a manifest duty devolving upon the Government of the United States; viz., to prevent, in every possible way, the wanton destruction of property. It has been claimed by the leaders of the revolution that the stoppage of the production of sugar was a military necessity, as the Spaniards were thereby prevented from obtaining any revenue from the island. But as the absolute cessation of the payment of taxes could only cause a loss of twenty-six millions to the Spanish government, while the cost of the war is stated to be one hundred millions a year, it is obvious that the funds for the struggle are being provided entirely from resources outside Cuba. The destruction of the sugar crops has therefore worked an injury that has fallen entirely on Cubans and Americans who own the plantations. But the destruction of the machinery and of farms, the burning of villages and towns, can have no excuse whatever. These are not military necessities, but in most cases arise from a system of extortion practised by the lesser chiefs of the insurgents, who demand money in return for protection. Another cause is the number of negroes and other utterly irresponsible persons to whom destruction and pillage are only mere excitement. In the interests, then, not only of humanity but of our own citizens,—whose losses, it is said, have already reached fifty million dollars,—this wanton destruction of property should cease; and upon our Government and people rests the duty of ending it. It is natural for Americans to sympathize with a gallant struggle for independence; but real liberty can only exist with order.

At a time when the insurgent leaders are asking so many favors, it would be easy to obtain at least some modification of their policy of destruction, which should be made to conform to the rules of civilized warfare. The misfortune of so many helpless people should certainly enlist the sympathies of Americans.

FERNANDO A. YZNAGA.

THE LAW OF CIVILIZATION AND DECAY.

FEW more powerful and more melancholy books have been written than Mr. Brooks Adams's "Law of Civilization and Decay."¹ For one thing, it is a marvel of compressed statement. In a volume of less than four hundred pages he singles out some of the vital factors in the growth and evolution of civilized life during the last two thousand years; and so brilliant is his discussion of these factors as to give, though but a glimpse, yet the most vivid glimpse ever given, of some of the most important features in the world-life of Christendom. Of some of the features only; for the defective point in Mr. Adams's brilliant book is his failure to present certain phases of the life of the nations,—phases which are just as important as those which he discusses with such vigorous ability. Furthermore, he disregards not a few facts which would throw light on others, the weight of which he fully recognizes. Both these shortcomings are very natural in a writer who possesses an entirely original point of view, who is the first man to see clearly things that to his predecessors have been nebulous, and who writes with a fervent intensity of conviction, even in his bitterest cynicism, such as we are apt to associate rather with the prophet and reformer than with a historian to whom prophet and reformer alike appeal no more than do their antitypes. It is a rare thing for a historian to make a distinct contribution to the philosophy of history; and this, Mr. Adams has done. Naturally enough, he, like other men who break new ground, tends here and there to draw a devious furrow.

The book is replete with vivid writing, and with sentences and paragraphs which stand out in the memory as marvels in the art of presenting the vital features of a subject with a few master-strokes. The story of the crusades, the outline of the English conquest of India, and the short tale of the rise of the house of Rothschild, are masterpieces. Nowhere else is it possible to find in the same compass any description of the crusades so profound in its appreciation of the motives behind them, so startling in the vigor with which the chief

¹"The Law of Civilization and Decay." By BROOKS ADAMS. New York: The Macmillan Company.

actors, and the chief events, are portrayed. Indeed, one is almost tempted to say that it is in the description of the crusades that Mr. Adams is at his best. He is dealing with a giant movement of humanity; and he grasps not only the colossal outward manifestations, but also the spirit itself, and above all the strange and sinister changes which that spirit underwent. His mere description of the baronies set up by the crusaders in the conquered Holy Land, with their loose feudal government, brings them before the reader's eyes as few volumes specially devoted to the subject could. It is difficult to write of a fortress and make a pen picture which will always stay in the mind; yet this is what Mr. Adams has done in dealing with the grim religious castles, terrible in size and power, which were built by the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital as bulwarks against Saracen might. He is not only a scholar of profound research, but a student of art, who is so much more than a mere student as to be thrilled and possessed by what he studies. He shows, with a beauty and vigor of style not unbecoming his subject, how profoundly the art of Europe was affected by the crusades. It is not every one who can write with equal interest of sacred architecture and military engineering, who can appreciate alike the marvels of Gothic cathedrals and the frowning strength of feudal fortresses, and who furthermore can trace their inter-relation.

The story of the taking of Constantinople by the crusaders who followed the lead of the blind Doge Dandolo is told with an almost brutal ruthlessness quite befitting the deed itself. Nowhere else in the book is Mr. Adams happier in his insistence upon the conflict between what he calls the economic and the imaginative spirits. The incident sets well with his favorite theory of the inevitable triumph of the economic over the imaginative man, as societies grow centralized, and the no less inevitable fossilization and ruin of the body politic which this very triumph itself ultimately entails. The history of the English conquest of India is only less vividly told. Incidentally it may be mentioned that one of Mr. Adams's many merits is his contemptuous refusal to be misled by modern criticism of Macaulay. He sees Macaulay's great merits as a historian, and his essential truthfulness on many of the very points where he has been most sharply criticized.

Mr. Adams's book, however, is far more than a mere succession of brilliant episodes. He fully sees that the value of facts lies in their relation to one another; and from the facts as he sees them he deduces certain laws with more than a Thucydidean indifference as to his own

individual approval or disapproval of the development. The life of nations, like any other form of life, is but one manifestation of energy ; and Mr. Adams's decidedly gloomy philosophy of life may be gathered from the fact that he places fear and greed as the two forms of energy which stand conspicuously predominant ; fear in the earlier, and greed in the later, stages of evolution from barbarism to civilization. Civilization itself he regards merely as the history of the movement from a condition of physical distribution to one of physical concentration. During the earlier stages of this movement the imaginative man—the man who stands in fear of a priesthood—is, in his opinion, the representative type, while with him and almost equally typical stand the soldier and the artist. As consolidation advances, the economic man—the man of industry, trade, and capital—tends to supplant the emotional and artistic types of manhood, and finally himself develops along two lines,—“the usurer in his most formidable aspect, and the peasant whose nervous system is best adapted to thrive on scanty nutriment.” These two very unattractive types are in his belief the inevitable final products of all civilization, as civilization has hitherto developed ; and when they have once been produced there follows either a stationary period, during which the whole body politic gradually ossifies and atrophies, or else a period of utter disintegration.

This is not a pleasant theory ; but, as Mr. Adams would very truthfully answer, his concern is not whether or not the theory be pleasant, but whether or not it be true. There is in it a very ugly element of truth. One does not have to accept either all his theories or all his facts in order to recognize more than one disagreeable resemblance between the world as it is to-day, and the Roman world under the Empire, or the Greek world under the successors of Alexander. Where he errs is in his failure to appreciate the fundamental differences which utterly destroy any real parallelism between the two sets of cases. Indeed his zeal in championing his theories leads him at times into positions which are seen at a glance to be untenable.

Probably Mr. Adams's account of the English Reformation, and of Henry VIII and his instruments, is far nearer the truth than Froude's. But his view of the evils upon which the reformers as a whole waged war, and of the spirit which lay behind the real leaders and spurred them on, is certainly less accurate than the view given by Froude in his “Erasmus,” and “Council of Trent.” It can be partly corrected by the study of a much less readable book—Mr. Henry C. Lea's work on “The Inquisition.” Yet Mr. Adams's description of the English

Reformation is very powerful, and has in it a vein of bitter truth ; though on the whole it is perhaps not so well done as his account of the suppression of the Templars in France. If he can be said to have any heroes, the Templars must certainly be numbered among them.

He is at his best in describing the imaginative man, and especially the imaginative man whose energy manifests itself in the profession of arms. His description of the tremendous change which passed over Europe during the centuries which saw what is commonly called the decay of faith is especially noteworthy. In no other history are there to be found two sentences which portray so vividly the reasons for the triumph of the great Pope Hildebrand over the Emperor Henry as these :

“ To Henry’s soldiers the world was a vast space peopled by those fantastic beings which are still seen on Gothic towers. These demons obeyed the monk of Rome, and his army melting from the Emperor under a nameless horror, left him helpless.”

His account of the contrast between the relations of Philip Augustus and of Philip the Fair with the Church is dramatic in its intensity. To Mr. Adams, Philip the Fair, even more than Henry VIII, is the incarnation of the economic spirit in its conflict with the Church ; and he makes him an even more repulsive, though perhaps an abler, man than Henry. In this he is probably quite right. His account of the hounding down of Boniface, and the cruel destruction of the Templars, is as stirring as it is truthful ; but he certainly pushes his theory to an altogether impossible extreme when he states that the moneyed class, the *bourgeoisie*, was already the dominant force in France. The heroes of Froissart still lay in the future ; and for centuries to come the burgher was to be outweighed by king, priest, and noble. The economic man, the man of trade and money, was, at that time, in no sense dominant.

That there is grave reason for some of Mr. Adams’s melancholy forebodings, no serious student of the times, no sociologist or reformer, and no practical politician who is interested in more than momentary success, will deny. A foolish optimist is only less noxious than an utter pessimist ; and the pre-requisite for any effort, whether hopeful or hopeless, to better our conditions is an accurate knowledge of what these conditions are. There is no use in blinding ourselves to certain of the tendencies and results of our high-pressure civilization. Some very ominous facts have become more and more apparent during the present century, in which the social movement of the white race has gone on with such unexampled and ever-accelerating rapidity. The

rich have undoubtedly grown richer; and, while the most careful students are inclined to answer with an emphatic negative the proposition that the poor have grown poorer, it is nevertheless certain that there has been a large absolute, though not relative, increase of poverty, and that the very poor tend to huddle in immense masses in the cities. Even though these masses are, relatively to the rest of the population, smaller than they formerly were, they constitute a standing menace, not merely to our prosperity but to our existence. The improvement in the means of communication, moreover, has so far immensely increased the tendency of the urban population to grow at the expense of the rural; and philosophers have usually been inclined to regard the ultimate safety of a nation as resting upon its peasantry. The improvement in machinery, the very perfection of scientific processes, cause great, even though temporary, suffering to unskilled laborers. Moreover, there is a certain softness of fibre in civilized nations which, if it were to prove progressive, might mean the development of a cultured and refined people quite unable to hold its own in those conflicts through which alone any great race can ultimately march to victory. There is also a tendency to become fixed, and to lose flexibility. Most ominous of all, there has become evident, during the last two generations, a very pronounced tendency among the most highly civilized races, and among the most highly civilized portions of all races, to lose the power of multiplying, and even to decrease; so much so as to make the fears of the disciples of Malthus a century ago seem rather absurd to the dweller in France or New England to-day.

Mr. Adams does not believe that any individual or group of individuals can influence the destiny of a race for good or for evil. All of us admit that it is very hard by individual effort thus to make any alteration in destiny, but we do not think it is impossible; and Mr. Adams will have performed a great service if he succeeds in fixing the eyes of the men who ought to know thoroughly the problems set us to solve, upon the essential features of these problems. I do not think his diagnosis of the disease is in all respects accurate. I believe there is an immense amount of healthy tissue as to the existence of which he is blind; but there is disease, and it is serious enough to warrant very careful examination.

It seems, however, as if Mr. Adams was certainly in error in putting the immense importance he does upon the question of the expansion or contraction of the currency. There is no doubt what-

ever that a nation is profoundly affected by the character of its currency ; but there seems to be equally little doubt that the currency is only one, and by no means the most important, among a hundred causes which profoundly affect it. The United States has been on a gold basis, and on a silver basis ; it has been on a paper basis, and on a basis of what might be called the scraps and odds and ends of the currencies of a dozen other nations ; but it has kept on developing along the same lines no matter what its currency has been. If a change of currency were so enacted as to amount to dishonesty, that is, to the repudiation of debts, it would be a very bad thing morally ; or, if a change took place in a manner that would temporarily reduce the purchasing power of the wage-earner, it would be a very bad thing materially ; but the current of the national life would not be wholly diverted or arrested, it would merely be checked, even by such a radical change. The forces that most profoundly shape the course of a nation's life lie far deeper than the mere use of gold or of silver, the mere question of the appreciation or depreciation of one metal when compared with the other, or when compared with commodities generally.

Mr. Adams unconsciously shows this in his first and extremely interesting chapter on the Romans. In one part of this chapter he seems to ascribe the ruin of the Roman Empire to the contraction of the currency, saying, "with contraction came that fall of prices which first ruined, then enslaved, and finally exterminated the native rural population of Italy." This he attributes to the growth of the economic or capitalistic spirit. As he puts it, "the stronger type exterminated the weaker, the money-lender killed out the husbandman, the soldiers vanished, and the farms on which they once flourished were left desolate."

But, curiously enough, Mr. Adams himself shows that all this really occurred during the two centuries, or thereabouts, extending from the end of the second Punic war through the reign of the first of the Roman emperors ; and this was a period of currency expansion, not of currency contraction. Moreover, it was emphatically a period when the military and not the economic type was supreme. The great Romans of the first and second centuries before Christ were soldiers, not merchants or usurers, and they could only be said to possess the economic instinct incidentally, in so far as it is possessed by every man of the military type who seizes the goods accumulated by the man of the economic type. It was during these centuries,

when the military type was supreme, and when prices were rising, that the ruin, the enslavement, and the extermination of the old rural population of Italy began. It was during these centuries that the husbandmen left the soil and became the mob of Rome, clamoring for free bread and the games of the amphitheatre. It was toward the close of this period that the Roman army became an army no longer of Roman citizens, but of barbarians trained in the Roman manner; it was toward the close of this period that celibacy became so crying an evil as to invoke the vain action of the legislature, and that the Roman race lost the power of self-perpetuation. What happened in the succeeding centuries,—the period of the contraction of the currency and the rise of prices,—was merely the completion of the ruin which had already been practically accomplished.

These facts seem to show clearly that the question of the currency had really little or nothing to do with the decay of the Roman fibre. This decay began under one set of currency conditions, and continued unchanged when these conditions became precisely reversed. An infinitely more important cause, as Mr. Adams himself shows, was the immense damage done to the Italian husbandman by the importation of Asiatic and African slaves; which was in all probability the chief of the causes that conspired to ruin him. He was forced into competition with races of lower vitality; races tenacious of life, who possessed a very low standard of living, and who furnished to the great slave-owner his cheap labor. Mr. Adams shows that the husbandman was affected, not only by the importation of vast droves of slaves to compete with him in Italy, but by the competition with low-class labor in Egypt and elsewhere. These very points, if developed with Mr. Adams's skill, would have enabled him to show in a very striking manner the radical contrast between the present political and social life of civilized states, and the political and social life of Rome during what he calls the capitalistic or closing period. At present, the minute that the democracy becomes convinced that the workman and the peasant are suffering from competition with cheap labor, whether this cheap labor take the form of alien immigration, or of the importation of goods manufactured abroad by low-class working-men, or of commodities produced by convicts, it at once puts a stop to the competition. We keep out the Chinese, very wisely; we have put an end to the rivalry of convict contract labor with free labor; we are able to protect ourselves, whenever necessary, by heavy import duties, against the effect of too cheap labor in any foreign country; and, finally, in the civil war, we utterly destroyed

the system of slavery, which really was threatening the life of the free working-man in a way in which it cannot possibly be threatened by any conceivable development of the "capitalistic" spirit.

Mr. Adams possesses a very intimate knowledge of finance, and there are many of his discussions on this subject into which only an expert would be competent to enter. Nevertheless, on certain financial and economic questions, touching matters open to discussion by the man of merely ordinary knowledge, his terminology seems somewhat vague. This is especially true when he speaks of "the producer." Now the producer, as portrayed by the Populist stump orator or writer of political and economic pamphlets, is a being with whom we became quite intimate during the recent campaign; but we have found it difficult to understand at all definitely who this "producer" actually is. According to one school of Populistic thinkers the farmer is the producer; but according to another and more radical school this is not so, unless the farmer works with his hands and not his head, this school limiting the application of the term "producer" to the working-man who does the immediate manual work of production. On the other hand, those who speak with scientific precision must necessarily class as producers all men whose work results directly or indirectly in production. Under this definition, inventors, and men who improve the methods of transportation, like railway presidents, and men who enable other producers to work, such as bankers who loan money wisely, are all themselves to be classed as producers, and often indeed as producers of the most effective kind.

The great mass of the population consists of producers; and in consequence the majority of the sales by producers are sales to other producers. It requires one set of producers to make a market for any other set of producers; and in consequence the rise or fall of prices is a good or a bad thing for different bodies of producers according to the different circumstances of each case. Mr. Adams says that the period from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth centuries was an interval of "almost unparalleled prosperity," which he apparently ascribes to the expansion of the currency, with which, he says, "went a rise in prices, all producers grew rich, and for more than two generations the strain of competition was so relaxed that the different classes of the population preyed upon each other less savagely than they are wont to do in less happy times." It is not exactly clear how a rise in the prices both of what one producer sells another, and of what he in return buys from that other, can somehow make both of

them rich, and relax the strain of competition. Certainly in the present century, competition has been just as severe in times of high prices; and some of the periods of greatest prosperity have coincided with the periods of very low prices. There is reason to believe that low prices are ultimately of great benefit to the wage-earners. A rise in prices generally injures them. Moreover, in the century of which Mr. Adams speaks, the real non-producers were the great territorial feudal lords and the kings and clergymen; and these were then supreme. It was the period of the ferocious Albigenian crusades. It is true that it ushered in a rather worse period,—that of the struggle between England and France, with its attendant peasant wars and Jacqueries and huge bands of marauding free-companies. But the alteration for the worse was due to a fresh outbreak of “imaginative” spirit; and the first period was full of recurring plagues and famines, besides the ordinary unrest, murder, oppression, pillage, and general corruption. Mr. Adams says that the different classes of the population during that happy time “preyed upon each other less savagely” than at other times. All that can be said in answer is that there is not now a civilized community, under no matter what stress of capitalistic competition, in which the different classes prey upon one another with one-tenth the savagery they then showed; or in which famine and disease, even leaving war out of account, come anywhere near causing so much misery to poor people, and above all to the wage-earners, or working-men, the under strata and base of the producing classes. Yet, while thus disagreeing radically with some of Mr. Adams’s positions, I am compelled to admit the power of thought and the beautiful clearness and force of style with which, in the very chapter wherein he discusses the producers, he describes the rise of the great trading towns in Europe, with its causes and effects, and the profound influence it had on the social conditions of the time.

From many of the statements in Mr. Adams’s very interesting concluding chapter I should equally differ; and yet this chapter is one which is not merely interesting but soul-stirring, and it contains much with which most of us would heartily agree. Through the cold impartiality with which he strives to work merely as a recorder of facts, there break now and then flashes of pent-up wrath and vehement scorn for all that is mean and petty in a purely materialistic, purely capitalistic, civilization. With his scorn of what is ignoble and base in our development, his impatient contempt of the deification of the stock-market, the trading-counter, and the factory, all generous souls

must agree. When we see prominent men deprecating the assertion of national honor because it "has a bad effect upon business," or because it "impairs the value of securities"; when we see men seriously accepting Mr. Edward Atkinson's pleasant theory that patriotism is of no consequence when compared with the price of cotton sheeting or the capacity to undersell our competitors in foreign markets, it is no wonder that a man who has in him the stuff of ancestors who helped to found our Government, and helped to bring it safely through the civil war, should think blackly of the future. But Mr. Adams should remember that there always have been men of this merely huckstering type, or of other types not much higher. It is not a nice thing that Mr. Eliot, the president of one of the greatest educational institutions of the land, should reflect discredit upon the educated men of the country by his attitude on the Venezuela affair, carrying his desertion of American principles so far as to find himself left in the lurch by the very English statesman whose cause he was championing; but Mr. Adams, by turning to the "History" of the administration of Madison, by his brother, Henry Adams, would find that Mr. Eliot had plenty of intellectual ancestors among the "blue lights" federalists of that day. Timothy Pickering showed the same eager desire to stand by another country to the hurt of his own country's honor, and Timothy Pickering was a United States Senator whose conduct was far more reprehensible than that of any private individual could be. We have advanced, not retrograded, since 1812.

This applies also to what Mr. Adams says of the fall of the soldier and the rise of the usurer. He quite overstates his case in asserting that in Europe the soldier has lost his importance since 1871, and that the administration of society since then has fallen into the hands of the economic man, thereby making a change "more radical than any that happened at Rome or even at Byzantium." In the first place, a period of a quarter of a century is altogether too short to admit of such a generalization. In the next place, the facts do not support this particular generalization. The Germans are quite as military in type as ever they were, and very much more so than they were at any period during the two centuries preceding Bismarck and Moltke. Nor is it true to say that "the ruler of the French people has passed for the first time from the martial to the moneyed type." Louis XV and Louis Philippe can hardly be held to belong to any recognized martial type; and the reason of the comparative sinking of the military man in France is due not in the least to the rise of his economic fellow-

countryman, but to the rise of the other military man in Germany. Mr. Adams says that since the capitulation of Paris the soldier has tended to sink more and more, until he merely receives his orders from financiers (which term when used by Mr. Adams includes all business and working-men) with his salary, without being allowed a voice, even in the questions which involve peace and war. Now this is precisely the position which the soldier has occupied for two centuries among English-speaking races; and it is during these very centuries that the English-speaking race has produced its greatest soldiers. Marlborough and Wellington, Nelson and Farragut, Grant and Lee, exactly fill Mr. Adams's definition of the position into which soldiers have "sunk"; and the United States has just elected as President, as it so frequently has done before, a man who owes his place in politics in large part to his having done gallant service as a soldier, and who is in no sense a representative of the moneyed type.

Again, Mr. Adams gloomily remarks that "producers have become the subjects of the possessors of hoarded wealth," and that among capitalists the money-lenders form an aristocracy, while debtors are helpless and the servants of the creditors. All this is really quite unworthy of Mr. Adams, or of anyone above the intellectual level of Mr. Bryan, Mr. Henry George, or Mr. Bellamy. Any man who has had the slightest practical knowledge of legislation, whether as Congressman or as State legislator, knows that nowadays laws are passed much more often with a view to benefiting the debtors than the creditors; always excepting that very large portion of the creditor class which includes the wage-earners. "Producers"—whoever they may be—are not the subjects of "hoarded wealth," or of anyone or anything else. Capital is not absolute; and it is idle to compare the position of the capitalist nowadays with his position when his workmen were slaves and the law-makers were his creatures. The money-lender, by whom I suppose Mr. Adams means the banker, is not an aristocrat as compared to other capitalists,—at any rate in the United States. The merchant, the manufacturer, the railroad man, stand just as the banker does; and bankers vary among themselves just as any other business men do. They do not form a "class" at all; anyone who wishes to can go into the business; men fail and succeed in it just as in other businesses. As for the debtors being powerless, if Mr. Adams knows of any gentlemen who have lent money in Kansas or similar States they will speedily enlighten him on this subject, and will give him an exact idea of the extent to which the debtor is the servant of the creditor.

In those States the creditor—and especially the Eastern money-lender or “gold bug”—is the man who has lost all his money. Mr. Adams can readily find this out by the simple endeavor to persuade some “money-lender,” or other “Wall Street shark” to go into the business of lending money on Far-Western farm property. The money-lender in the most civilized portions of the United States always loses if the debtor is loser, or if the debtor is dishonest. Of course there are “sharpers” among bankers, as there are among producers. Moreover, the private, as distinguished from the corporate, debtor borrows for comparatively short periods, so that he is practically not at all affected by an appreciating currency; the rise is much too small to count in the case of the individual, though it may count in the long-term bonds of a nation or corporation. The wage of the working-man rises, while interest, which is the wage of the capitalist, sinks.

Mr. Adams's study of the rise of the usurer in India and the ruin of the martial races is very interesting; but it has not the slightest bearing upon anything which is now happening in Western civilization. The debtor, in America at least, is amply able to take care of his own interests. Our experience shows conclusively that the creditors only prosper when the debtors prosper, and the danger lies less in the accumulation of debts, than in their repudiation. Among us the communities which repudiate their debts, which inveigh loudest against their creditors, and which offer the poorest field for the operations of the honest banker (whom they likewise always call “money-lender”), are precisely those which are least prosperous and least self-respecting. There are of course individuals here and there who are unable to cope with the money-lender, and even sections of the country where this is true; but this only means that a weak or thriftless man can be robbed by a sharp money-lender just as he can be robbed by the sharp producer from whom he buys or to whom he sells. There is in certain points a very evident incompatibility of interest between the farmer who wishes to sell his product at a high rate, and the working-man who wishes to buy that product at a low rate; but the success of the capitalist, and especially of the banker, is conditioned upon the prosperity of both working-man and farmer.

When Mr. Adams speaks of the change in the relations of women and men he touches on the vital weakness of our present civilization. If we are in truth tending toward a point where the race will cease to be able to perpetuate itself, our civilization is of course a failure. No quality in a race atones for the failure to produce an abundance of

healthy children. The problem upon which Mr. Adams here touches is the most serious of all problems, for it lies at the root of, and indeed itself is, national life. But it is hard to accept seriously Mr. Adams's plea that "martial" men loved their wives more than "economic" men do, and showed their love by buying them. Of course the only reason why a woman was bought in early times was because she was looked upon like any other chattel; she was "loved" more than she is now only as a negro was "loved" more by the negro-trader in 1860 than at present. The worship of women during the Middle Ages was, in its practical effects, worship of a very queer kind. The economic man of the present day is beyond comparison gentler and more tender and more loving to women than the emotional man of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Adams closes with some really fine paragraphs, of which the general purport is, that the advent of the capitalist and the economic man, and especially the advent of the usurer, marks a condition of consolidation which means the beginning of utter decay, so that our society is now in a condition like that of the society of the later Roman Empire. He forgets, however, that there are plenty of modern states which have entirely escaped the general accelerated movement of our time. Spain on the one hand, and Russia on the other, though alike in nothing else, are alike in being entirely outside the current of modern capitalistic development. Spain never suffered from capitalists. She exterminated the economic man in the interest of the emotional and martial man. As a result she has sunk to a condition just above that of Morocco—another state, by the way, which still clings to the martial and emotional type, and is entirely free from the vices of capitalist development, and from the presence of the usurer, save as the usurer existed in the days of Isaac of York. Soldiers and artists have sunk lower in Spain than elsewhere, although they have had no competition from the economic man. Russia is in an entirely different position. Russia is eminently emotional, and her capitalists are of the most archaic type; but it is difficult to say exactly what Russia has done for art, or in what respect her soldiers are superior to other soldiers; and certainly the life of the lower classes in Russia is on the average far less happy than the life of the workingman and farmer in any English-speaking country.

Mr. Adams has shown well that the progress of civilization and centralization has depended largely upon the growing mastery of the attack over the defence; but when he says that the martial type necessarily decays as civilization progresses, he goes beyond what he can

prove. The economic man in England, Holland, and the United States has for several centuries proved a much better fighter than the martial emotionalist of the Spanish countries. It is Spain which is now decaying; not the nation with capitalists. The causes which make Russia formidable are connected with the extent of her territory and her population, for she has certainly failed so far to produce fighting men at all superior to the fighting men of the economic civilizations. In a pent-up territory she would rise less rapidly, and fall more rapidly, than they would; and her freedom from centralization and capitalization would not help her.

Moreover, instead of the mercenary or paid police growing in relative strength, as Mr. Adams says, it has everywhere shrunk during the last fifty years, when compared with the mass of armed farmers and wage-earners who make up a modern army. The capitalist can no longer, as in ages past, count upon the soldiers as being of his party; he can only count upon them when they are convinced that in fighting his battle they are fighting their own; although under modern industrial conditions this is generally the case. Again, Mr. Adams is in error in his facts, when he thinks that producers have prospered in the silver-using, as compared with the gold-using, countries. The wage-earner and small farmer of the United States, or even of Europe, stand waist high above their brothers in Mexico and the other communities that use only silver. The prosperity of the wage-earning class is more important to the state than the prosperity of any other class in the community, for it numbers within its ranks two-thirds of the people of the community. The fact that modern society rests upon the wage-earner, whereas ancient society rested upon the slave, is of such transcendent importance as to forbid any exact comparison between the two, save by way of contrast.

While there is in modern times a decrease in emotional religion, there is an immense increase in practical morality. There is a decrease of the martial type found among savages and the people of the Middle Ages, except as it still survives in the slums of great cities; but there remains a martial type infinitely more efficient than any that preceded it. There are great branches of industry which call forth in those that follow them more hardihood, manliness, and courage than any industry of ancient times. The immense masses of men connected with the railroads are continually called upon to exercise qualities of mind and body such as in antiquity no trade and no handicraft demanded. There are, it is true, influences at work to shake the vitality, courage,

and manliness of the race; but there are other influences which tell in exactly the opposite direction; and, whatever may come in the future, hitherto the last set of influences have been strongest. As yet, while men are more gentle and more honest than before, it cannot be said that they are less brave; and they are certainly more efficient as fighters. If our population decreases; if we lose the virile, manly qualities, and sink into a nation of mere hucksters, putting gain above national honor, and subordinating everything to mere ease of life; then we shall indeed reach a condition worse than that of the ancient civilizations in the years of their decay. But at present no comparison could be less apt than that of Byzantium, or Rome in its later years, with a great modern state where the thronging millions who make up the bulk of the population are wage-earners, who themselves decide their own destinies; a state which is able in time of need to put into the field armies, composed exclusively of its own citizens, more numerous than any which the world has ever before seen, and with a record of fighting in the immediate past with which there is nothing in the annals of antiquity to compare.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

DR. EGGLESTON ON AMERICAN ORIGINS.

THE appearance of the first volume of Dr. Eggleston's long-promised "History of Life in the United States"¹ has been awaited with much impatience not only by students who are acquainted with his many years of patient research, but also by the general public, which knows him both as a novelist and as a lecturer and essayist on historical topics. It is now fourteen years since Dr. Eggleston began to write his interesting articles on colonial life, and it seems as though we have been made to wait an unaccountably long time for the first permanent fruits of his toil. But, as is generally known, feeble health has hampered him and true scholarship cannot or should not be hurried; hence neither Dr. Eggleston's friends nor the public have any right to complain. What we must all do is to admire the fortitude with which he has pursued his great task. He has accomplished long journeys by sea and land and made equally tiresome excursions through folios and manuscripts that would have been worse than a waterless desert to anyone but an indomitable scholar. Fortunately he has not been so sorely tried as our two great historians Prescott and Parkman were; but he has given evidence of the same spirit of determination that carried them through their gigantic undertakings, and if we may augur from their success, he will be spared to see the completion of his own noble enterprise. The future, however, is beyond us all, and so every reader will be glad that Dr. Eggleston resolved to put forth this first instalment of his work in order, to use his own words, that when early or late the inevitable night should fall the results of his labor might not be wholly covered over by the darkness.

But it is not the spirit of determination with which our author has prosecuted his work that chiefly concerns us here; it is rather the results of that work. What position must we assign Dr. Eggleston

¹ "The Beginners of a Nation." A History of the Source and Rise of the Earliest English Settlements in America with Special Reference to the Life and Character of the People. By EDWARD EGGLESTON. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896.

among our historians, and what does his new volume stand for? Is he merely another, though a patient, gleaner in the well-threshed field of early American history, or has he simply retold in his always delightful style a story which we have heard so often that we are growing rather tired of it, or has he given us a fresh and vigorous rehandling of the familiar theme? For my own part I have no hesitation in answering that Dr. Eggleston is neither a plodding gleaner nor a merely pleasant narrator of what we all know, but a true historian, who has handled his materials in such a fresh and vigorous way as fairly to entitle him to the credit of having made a contribution of lasting value to our historical literature. This judgment will hardly be approved by any reader who is unable to rid himself of what may be called the annalistic conception of history. Such a reader will demand new facts or else old facts retailed in an orderly and exhaustive manner. Yet Dr. Eggleston could scarcely be expected to furnish any startling array of new facts that would compel a rewriting of our colonial history, and he certainly has not retailed the old facts in the orthodox way. Minute details that fill page after page of the learned compilations of his predecessors are passed over in silence or barely referred to; indeed, as an annalist Dr. Eggleston would hardly have earned his salt in a mediæval monastery. He will not earn praise from the dry-as-dust annalists and readers of annals of the present day. But he will earn the praise and gratitude of all who are interested in the development of the art of historical composition, of all who wish to see a fresh spirit and fresh methods applied to the writing of American history. He has not only made an excellent contribution to culture-history, but he has reached a vantage-ground of broad and free observation which few of his predecessors have so much as discerned, and which subsequent historians must strive to attain if they have any consideration of their fame.

Dr. Eggleston has himself described the main service he has done American history in these words of his preface which some readers may possibly strain into an apology: "The founders of the little settlements that had the unexpected fortune to expand into an empire I have not been able to treat otherwise than unreverently." Not *irreverently*—he is too true a man for that—but with absolute candor, firmness, and clear-sightedness. In other words Dr. Eggleston has shaken off and cast to the winds the cloak of provincial grandiloquence and sensitiveness that has been handed on from historian to historian of our much bepraised and defended country. He sees plainly, for ex-

ample, that our early settlers were "simply English men and women of the seventeenth century, with the faults and fanaticisms as well as the virtues of their age." Accordingly he disregards the conventional obligation to show that their intolerance and cruelty were justifiable, believing that while "this walking backwards to throw a mantle over the nakedness of ancestors may be admirable as an example of diluvian piety" it is assuredly reprehensible in the writing of history. Acting on this belief and in the spirit of kindly humor which is conspicuous in the citation just made, he has subjected our primitive annals to a rigorous analysis and has given us a sane and unbiassed account of the planting of the first English colonies. He is perfectly capable of speaking disrespectfully not merely of the equator but of the Puritan and Cavalier alike—which is but to say that he possesses what so few of our historical writers are gifted with,—a sense of humor. He has a sense of proportion as well, and so is saved from devoting tedious pages to small Indian wars and from writing a ponderous brief for or against Captain John Smith's veracity in the Pocahontas incident. Whether or not he will suffer that "penalty of humor" which Prof. Brander Matthews assures us the American people always exact from their public men who try to amuse them, or whether his omission of trivial details will be imputed to him for historical unrighteousness is beyond my ken; but he has the thanks and admiration of at least one reader.

Dr. Eggleston has, then, utterly eliminated the provincial notes and grandiloquence and sensitiveness from his pages and has so set an example for all future historians to follow. There is another provincial note common to most of our writers of history which the nature of the period he treats has necessarily banished from his book, but which he is not likely to strike in his succeeding volumes—to wit, the note of isolation. A majority of our historians write as if we formed a world to ourselves and were not in reality an extension of Europe into another continent. Hence a note of provincial isolation attaches to their works, which may be interesting enough to us but are as jejune to the foreigner as the average county history is to anyone but a native. American history from the point of view of local politics is valuable in its way to citizens of this country, but American history from the point of view of the development of democracy and of the death of feudalism through the extinction of slavery is far more vitally interesting and important to the rest of mankind. That our historians all see the necessity for taking this larger point of view is probably

true, but the fact remains that they continually lose sight of it and so impart to their works the note of isolation. Histories divided into chapters and sections according to Presidential Administrations or to sessions of Congress may be edifying to the American mind, but the authors of such works need scarcely hope to be ranked among the world's great historians.

It is a singular fact that two foreigners, to one of whom, Mr. Bryce, Dr. Eggleston dedicates his book, have managed to get a broader grasp of our political development than any American has yet done; and that of all the historians of our national career in its widest sense Mr. Henry Adams only has succeeded in thoroughly treating his chosen period from the cosmopolitan rather than from the provincial point of view. The reasons for this state of affairs are not far to seek. Until quite lately our whole civilization was quite provincial and our historians were no better in this respect than the rest of their countrymen, except when they escaped into foreign or semi-foreign fields, as Motley and Prescott, and more recently Parkman did, and they were partisan in addition owing to the sectional complications arising out of slavery. The nation at large has since partly emerged from provincialism, but our historians have had the misfortune to subject themselves to the domination of a foreign school of investigators whose methods crudely imitated have led naturally to an accentuation of the note of isolation. German methods of research applied by scholars of wide and humane culture may lead to results that are anything but provincial in character, but German methods applied indiscriminatingly by half-educated specialists will give us nothing but the most isolated and provincial history possible.

The place of the United States in the development of Western civilization is necessarily outside the vision of the investigator who is practically ignorant of the history of every other nation save perhaps that of England. One might expect provincial ideas to prevail in the work of the historical societies—although not to the usual crass extent—for such work is by its nature local in character. But one is justified in looking for broader historical work on the part of our great universities, which nevertheless seem to be doing their very best to turn out students furnished with the narrowest sort of equipment. Narrow men do narrow work, and hence it is that the monograph and the thesis flourish while the art of true historical narration either stands still or languishes. It is a significant fact that one of the few really popular and admirable historians of the present time in America, Mr.

John Fiske, got his training as a philosopher; while Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Rhodes owe nothing of their deserved success to attendance upon Germanized seminars but owe much to the training received in commercial and official life. Now Dr. Eggleston comes along to swell the ranks of our self-trained historians, and while, as has been intimated, the dependence of the colonies upon the Old World necessarily prevents his first volume from being characterized by provincial narrowness, it is safe to affirm that he will show throughout his undertaking that freedom of treatment which our more technically trained specialists seem to take particular pains to avoid.

Freedom from grandiloquence, sensitiveness, and narrowness may then be said to be the distinguishing marks of Dr. Eggleston's method of presenting the results of his labors in the field of colonial history. Yet it must after all be admitted that his work is only supplementary to that of others and that there is still room for new investigators. Dr. Eggleston really aims at being a historian of culture and so does not give us a historical narrative in the orthodox sense of inclusiveness. In other words his book is rather a commentary on early colonial history than a history of the colonies strictly speaking. He assumes a considerable amount of information on the part of his readers and indulges to a great extent in allusions, which are often apt and graceful. Not merely, for example, does he forbear to give wearisome details about the Pequot war, which is a virtuous reticence, but he refers to it only twice—once in order to throw light on the character of Roger Williams and again in order to emphasize the addiction of the Puritans to superstition. So also he introduces distinguished personages in the most off-hand manner and dismisses them as abruptly. Even Captain Miles Standish himself makes his entrance and exit in two sentences which describe how he marched to church. More important topics, such as the origin of the Virginia Company, are hardly touched upon, while certain phases of the development of Puritanism in England are discussed at considerable length. I am not sure that in these matters Dr. Eggleston's sense of proportion is always seen at its best, but the main point to be noted is that his method of treatment is consistently that of a commentator rather than that of an orderly narrator. This is furthermore plain from the fact that when it suits his purpose our author can give us an almost entire chapter of biography pure and simple, such as that on Roger Williams, which is as interesting as one could well desire. Even in the external matter of style we find the method of the commentator asserting itself, for each chapter is divided into

numerous sections, some of them only a paragraph in length, the continuous flow of the historical narrative proper being thus conspicuously absent with a resulting loss of charm. But a commentary, it is clear, can never take the place of an ordered narrative, and so there is still room for colonial historians of the ancient and time-honored type; though it cannot be too often asserted that they will do well to profit by the example of broad, free, and sane treatment that Dr. Eggleston has set them. If they cannot let a lambent humor play over their pages, they can at least avoid being at one and the same time both untrue to the facts of nature and experience and fatuously dull.

But it will be well to take a nearer view of Dr. Eggleston's volume now that we have ascertained its general character. Our historian is as sparing of dates as of unnecessary details, but we see at a glance that the three books into which his work is divided give us an account of the planting and critical years of Virginia, of the settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and of the subsequent founding of Maryland, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—that is to say the narrative covers the first half of the seventeenth century. Virginia naturally occupies the first book, and very interesting reading the three chapters make. The unreverent note is struck at the beginning in the humorous account given of the mistaken notions about America cherished by our English ancestors. Perhaps Dr. Eggleston raises too many gentle smiles over these worthy visionaries, but it is certainly refreshing to get rid of the apotheosizing methods of the normal historian. It is just as well to have Hakluyt described in such a manner as to let any reader see that in our day he would be called a "crank" about geography, and it is equally well to have the thoroughly uncritical character of the age laid bare from every point of view. The truly heroic elements in the romantic story of exploration and discovery will emerge unscathed from any process of analysis, while the glamour that leads both the historian and the sentimentalist astray can be easily dispensed with.

Glamour certainly does not hover over the pages in which Dr. Eggleston describes the planting of Jamestown, but the essential fairness of his treatment is clearly demonstrated by his handling of that crux of early Virginian history—the character and career of Captain John Smith. He gives the fairest and most luminous account of Captain Smith's really great services to the infant colony and of his high qualities as a man of action and of practical intellect that I have read anywhere, but he does not feel called upon to place implicit confidence in the boastful traveller's every statement or to vouch for the literal

trustworthiness of each detail of the Pocahontas story. He does not even think the latter topic worthy of extended treatment, and this in spite of the fact that some years ago he was unwary enough to publish a plea on Smith's behalf. Such impartiality of spirit is rare among historians and is an additional warrant of the value that may be expected to attach to Dr. Eggleston's future volumes.

This balance of temper characterizes our author throughout his rather brief chapter on the motives that led to the planting of Virginia, especially in the section relating to the Ferrars—those queer high-church promoters of a commonwealth which has ever since been noted for its low-church proclivities. It is almost needless to say that the same breadth of treatment is seen in the second book, which is devoted to Pilgrim and Puritan. Dr. Eggleston is no more capable of adding another circlet of light to the halo fast thickening around the heads of New England's worthy settlers than he is of thinking the founders of Virginia inspired sages or Captain John Smith a seventeenth-century Thucydides. He does, however, feel himself called upon to give quite an extended description, considering the scope of his volume, of the rise of Puritanism and of the evolution of Separatism. One might possibly question the necessity for the inclusion of some of these pages and sections, but one cannot possibly question their interest. Nor can one question the clearness with which Dr. Eggleston has distinguished the stages of the religious evolution he is depicting. When he comes to the actual Pilgrim migration he still gives himself considerable latitude until he gets the Fathers fairly landed at Plymouth, when he rather unceremoniously takes leave of them and posts off to Boston, thus consciously or unconsciously imitating that inexorable "tide in the affairs of men" and towns, whose workings are so plainly seen in every age and in every land. The Pilgrims of Plymouth after they have led the way to a religious haven in the New World are obviously of less importance to a culture-historian than the Puritan founders of Massachusetts Bay, hence one can hardly quarrel with Dr. Eggleston for deserting them or for not giving more attention to interesting figures like Bradford and Standish. When he handles such a character as Endicott without gloves, as he does in the chapter entitled "The Great Puritan Exodus," one feels one's self to be in the hands of a discriminating historian who has a reason for his omissions and inclusions, and one who has the same feeling in regard to the treatment of the volatile Morton and his ribald company of Merrymount. In short this whole book, from its descrip-

tion of the English exiles at Frankfort to its account of the removal of the charter from London to America is an excellent piece of historical writing, clear and bold in its outlines and carefully filled in at essential points. It reads easily, but that it was not composed easily is proved by page after page of scholarly notes, which are not allowed, however, to impede the progress of the narrative, but are gathered by themselves after each chapter as "Elucidations." The general reader will probably be content with the broad sunlight of the chapters and will leave the twinkling starlight of the notes to the professed specialist; but as the gloom of learning has a mysterious fascination about it even the airiest peruser will gaze with respect upon such fine-print evidences of exhaustive research.

The third and last book deals with the "Centrifugal Forces in Colony Planting," that is, with the founding of Maryland, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Its title is impersonal enough to satisfy a disciple of Buckle, but the dominant method of treatment employed throughout its three chapters is personal enough to satisfy a disciple of Carlyle. In other words, Dr. Eggleston's sketches of George Calvert, Roger Williams, John Cotton, and Thomas Hooker are the most striking feature of this, not the least interesting, portion of his volume. It may seem odd to make such a statement about the work of a historian of culture but I at least am compelled to make it, and I must confess that for my own part I care very little whether Dr. Eggleston has or has not adhered to the canons of his art. We naturally associate fine historical portraits with writers like Clarendon or Macaulay or Carlyle, but I am very glad to get them from anybody, and I am sure that few historians have ever sketched a character better than Dr. Eggleston has done that of Cotton. Roger Williams is, indeed, a more engaging figure than the unctuous Boston preacher, who was as near to being a prelate as a Puritan divine could be, but even Williams does not stand out more clearly than Cotton, who when living was not particularly fond of standing out clearly for anything. The formal but really virile Hooker, too, emerges plainly, although the migration that he led to Connecticut is treated with a brevity that may make the institutional historian shrug his shoulders.

It is really quite curious to see how Dr. Eggleston's training as a novelist has made him give a personal and dramatic interest to chapters which the average historian would make sufficiently orthodox and heavy. When we look for careful and methodical descriptions of odd Puritan customs and observances, we find ourselves in the midst of

a vivid description of Mrs. Hutchinson before her biassed judges or of Roger Williams fleeing from the wrath of man to the wrath of nature that he might found a State in which perfect religious toleration should for the first time take up its abode upon earth. It is true that Dr. Eggleston's method is still that of the commentator rather than that of the narrator, and that he is continually throwing light on the customs and on the characters of the men and women of the time; it is true also that he seems to have recognized the personal note of his work by his use of the word "Beginners" in his title; but I cannot help believing that throughout his task he has been continually giving his imagination play, living again with those old ancestors of ours much as he would live with the personages of a story, and that he has thus in a partly unconscious way given us a less formal contribution to culture-history strictly speaking than he at first intended. I may, indeed, be far astray in this judgment, for nothing is easier than to read into a book what its author never intended to put there and what other readers will not see there; but I am at least sure that I have been transported to the America of the seventeenth century and have mingled with its chief personages in a manner scarcely expected when I opened Dr. Eggleston's book. As I am not an annalist or an institutional historian, or indeed a specialist of any sort, but a simple student desirous of living with and understanding the men and women of the past just as I would live with and understand the characters of a great novel or poem, it is needless to say that Dr. Eggleston has agreeably disappointed me by his vivid and dramatic treatment of a theme that might have easily been rendered tedious in proportion to its instructiveness. It seems to me that he has not so much told me about the founders of America as set me down among them, although like a good Virgil he has remained by my side and given me explicit and agreeable information.

In conclusion, one cannot but speculate on how our historian will conduct his work through its succeeding stages. As the colonies increase in number and become more thickly settled and enter into complex relations among themselves and with their hereditary foes, the French; as English habits give way and a nascent Americanism of thought and action becomes dimly perceptible, the task that Dr. Eggleston has set himself will grow more and more complex and the choice of his methods of treatment more and more important. He will doubtless continue to play the commentator, but he will have to make greater calls upon the previous information of his readers.

For about a century he will probably resemble a painter who passes on to larger and larger sheets of canvas; but with the period of the French wars his difficulties will begin to culminate. He will have to bring out clearly the changing political ideals of the people at large, to trace the effects of the struggle for liberty upon their character, to show how they were modified by their newly won independence, and how each successive stage of the westward movement of population affected the older communities and the general constitution of the nation. In other words, he will be expected to describe the birth of a nationality without having unlimited recourse to the time-worn materials of political and military and diplomatic annals from which other historians can draw at pleasure. The magnitude of such an undertaking is apparent, but I believe that Dr. Eggleston is as equal to it as any historian we have had. And I fancy that he will not forbear to be personal and dramatic in his treatment of complex epochs any more than he has been in his management of a simple one.

In place of Roger Williams founding a new State, he can give us Franklin developing one already planted, and if he can sketch Franklin satisfactorily he need not despair of describing the people of whom that great man was the representative and epitome. In place of Hooker leading a congregation into the wilderness he can give us Washington on his surveying trips or on the ill-fated march with Braddock. Indeed, if his task does become more complex, it will become at the same time more intrinsically interesting. The planting of Virginia with broken-down aristocrats at whom Captain Smith railed may be more romantic but is not more absorbing to the thoughtful mind than the spectacle of Jefferson putting the axe to the tree of Virginian feudalism and at the same time sowing the seed of theoretical democracy. The explorations of the deluded navigators of the seventeenth century who sought the Pacific by voyaging up the Chickahominy river are not nearly so worthy of a historian's pen as the silent progress of the Western pioneer subduing the wilderness with his rifle and his axe.

In short, if Dr. Eggleston but keeps to the methods of treatment that lend such interest to his present volume, he is almost bound to make his readers more and more indebted to him as each successive instalment of his work is given to the world. That he may be spared to receive their thanks for his final volume will certainly be the wish of all readers of his first, who must now in any event subscribe themselves his debtors.

W. P. TRENT.

THE URGENT NEED OF A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

THE most important event in the history of modern Germany has been the foundation of the University of Berlin. The unification of the German empire was a matter of tremendous significance; the success of the German armies has widened the sphere of Teutonic influence; the recently adopted uniform code of laws marks the progress of national development; but more important as an epoch-making event has been the building of a great centre of human wisdom in Germany's chief capital. The influence of the University of Berlin not only shows itself in Germany's preëminence in scientific investigation and the wide diffusion of liberal culture, but is felt in every branch of industrial effort. There is no trade or handiwork in Germany that has not been made more effective by the practical application of investigations made in the great University. There is no line of effort in which men have not become wiser through the influence of the noble minds brought together to form this institution.

Nor is the influence of this university and its noble sister institutions confined solely or even mainly within the boundaries of Germany. The great revival of learning in the United States, which has shown itself in the growth of universities, in the rise of the spirit of investigation, and in the realization of the value of truth, can be traced in large degree to Germanic influences. These influences have not come to us through German immigration, or the presence of German scholars among us, but through the experience of American scholars in Germany. If it be true, as Mr. James Bryce says, that "of all institutions in America," the universities "have the best promise for the future," we have Germany to thank for this. It is however no abstract Germany that we may thank, but a concrete fact. It is the existence in Germany of universities, strong, effective, and free; and most notable among these is the youngest of their number, the University of Berlin.

This century has seen some epoch-making events in the history of our Republic. The war of Union, the abolition of slavery,—one and the same in essence—mark the same movement of the Republic from

mediævalism to civilization. But the great deed of the century still remains undone. Ever since the time of Washington, our law-givers have contemplated building a university at the nation's capital. They have planned a university that shall be national and American, as the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig are national and German; a university that shall be the culmination of our public-school system, and that by its vivifying influence shall quicken the pulse of every part of that system. For more than a century, wise men have kept this project in mind. For more than a century, wise men have seen the pressing need of its accomplishment. For more than a century, however, the exigencies of politics or the indifference of political managers have caused postponement of its final consideration.

Meanwhile, about the national capital, by the very necessities of the case, the basal material of a great university has been already gathered. The National Museum and the Army Medical Museum far exceed all other similar collections in America in the amount and value of the material gathered for investigation. The Library of Congress is our greatest public library; and, in the nature of things, it will always remain so. The Geological Survey, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and the biological divisions of the Department of Agriculture are constantly engaged in investigations of the highest order, conducted by men of university training, and possible to no other men. The United States Fish Commission is the source of a vast part of our knowledge of the sea and of sea life. Besides these there are many other bureaus and divisions in which scientific inquiry constitutes the daily routine. The work of these departments should be made useful, not only in its conclusions, but in its methods. A university consists of investigators teaching. All that the national capital needs to make a great university of it, is that a body of real scholars should be maintained to train other men in the work now so worthily carried on. To do this would be to bring to America, in large degree, all that American scholars now seek in the University of Berlin. Students will come wherever opportunities for investigation are given. No standards of work can be made too high; for the severest standards attract rather than repel men who are worth educating.

It should not be necessary to bring arguments to show the need of a National University in the United States. A university, we may remember, is not a school for boys and girls, where the elements of a liberal education are taught to those who have yet to enter upon the serious work of life. A university is not a school maintained for the glory or the

extension of any denominational body. In its very definition a university must be above and beyond all sectarianism. Truth is as broad as the universe; and no one can search for it between any artificial boundaries. As well ask for Presbyterian sunshine or a Baptist June as to speak of a denominational university.

It is said that in America we have already some four hundred colleges and universities, and that, therefore, we do not need any more. Quite true; we need no more like these. The splendid achievement and noble promise of our universities, to which Mr. Bryce calls attention, is not due to their number. Many of them do not show this promise. If such were to close their doors to-morrow, education would be the gainer by it. Many of the four hundred, as we well know, are not universities in fact or in spirit. Most of the work done in the best of them is that of the German gymnasium or preparatory school. The worst of them would in Germany be closed by the police. But in a certain number of the strongest and freest the genuine university spirit is found in the highest degree. For more of these good ones there is a crying demand. Their very promise is a reason why we should do everything possible to make them better. A school can rise to be a university only when its teachers are university men; when they are men trained to face directly and effectively the problems of nature and of life. To give such training is the work of the university. In an educational system each grade looks to the one next higher for help and inspiration. The place at the head of our system is now held by the universities of a foreign land.

It is not the needs of the District of Columbia which are to be met by a University of the United States. The local needs are well supplied already. It is the need of the nation. And not of the nation alone, but of the world. A great university in America would be a school for the study of civic freedom. A great university at the capital of the Republic would attract the free-minded of all the earth. It would draw men of all lands to the study of democracy. It would tend to make the workings of democracy worthy of respectful study. The New World has its lessons as well as the Old; and its material for teaching these lessons should be made equally adequate. Mould and ruin are not necessary to a university; nor are traditions and precedents essential to its effectiveness. The greatest of Europe's universities is one of her very youngest. Much of the greatness of the University of Berlin is due to her escape from the dead hands of the past. It is in this release that the great promise of the American University lies.

Oxford and Cambridge are still choked by the dust of their own traditions. Because this is so men have doubted whether England has to-day any universities at all.

The National University should not be an institution of general education, with its rules and regulations, college classes, good-fellowship, and football team. It should be the place for the training of investigators and of men of action. It should admit no student who is under age or who has not a definite purpose to accomplish. It has no time or strength to spend in laying the foundations for education. Its function lies not in the conduct of examinations, or the granting of academic degrees. It is not essential that it should give professional training of any kind, though that would be desirable. It should have the same relation to Harvard and Columbia and Johns Hopkins that Berlin University now holds. It should fill, with noble adequacy, the place which the graduate departments of our real universities partially occupy. In doing so it would furnish a stimulus which would strengthen all similar work throughout the land.

Graduate work has yet to be taken seriously by American universities. Their teachers have carried on original research, if at all, in hours stolen from their daily tasks of plodding and prodding. The graduate student has been allowed to shift for himself; and he has been encouraged to select a university not for the training it offers, but because of some bonus in the form of scholarships. The "free lunch" inducement to investigation will never build up a university. Fellowships can never take the place of men or books or apparatus in developing the university spirit. Great libraries and adequate facilities for work are costly; and no American institution has yet gathered together such essentials for university work as already exist at Washington.

If a National University is a national need, it is the duty of the people to meet and satisfy it. No other power can do it. As well ask wealthy manufacturers or wealthy churches to endow and support our supreme court of law as to endow and support our supreme university. They cannot do it; they will not do it; and, as free men, we would not have them do it if they would. As to this, Mr. John W. Hoyt—a man who for years has nobly led in the effort to establish a National University—uses these strong words:

"What should the nation undertake to accomplish? What the citizen has not done and cannot do, is our answer. The citizen may create a very worthy and quite important private institution, some of which may be named to-day, but no citizen, however great his fortune, and no single Commonwealth, much less any

sectarian organization or any combination of these, can create an institution that shall be so wholly free from bias of any and every sort ; that shall complete our public educational system ; that shall exert so nationalizing and harmonizing an influence upon all portions of our great country ; that shall be always ready to meet the demands of the Government for service in whatsoever field, and that shall at the same time secure to the United States an acknowledged ascendancy in the ever-widening field of intellectual activity."

A university bears the stamp of its origin. Whatever its origin, the university ennobles it. But a National University must spring from the people. It must be paid for by them ; and it must have its final justification in the upbuilding of the nation. Whatever institutions the people need, the people must create and control. That this can be done wisely is no matter of theory. With all their mistakes and crudities, the State universities of this country constitute the most hopeful feature in our whole educational system. Doubtless the weakness and folly of the people have affected them injuriously from time to time. This is not the point. We must think of the effect they have had in curing the people of weakness and folly. "The history of Iowa," says Dr. Angell, "is the history of her State university." The same thing is grandly and emphatically true of Dr. Angell's own State of Michigan. In its degree the history of every State is moulded by its highest institution of learning.

As I have had occasion to say once before,

"Many trials are made in popular government ; many blunders are committed before any given piece of work falls into the hands of competent men. But mistakes are a source of education. Sooner or later the right man will be found and the right management of a public institution will justify itself. What is well done can never be wholly undone. In the long run, few institutions are less subject to partisan influence than a State university. When the foul grip of the spoilsman is once unloosed, it can never be restored. In the evil days which befell the politics of Virginia, when the fair name of the State was traded upon by spoilsmen of every party, of every degree, the one thing in the State never touched by them was the honor of the university of Virginia. And amid all the scandal and disorder which followed our civil war, what finger of evil has been laid on the Smithsonian Institution or the Military Academy at West Point? On that which is intended for no venal end, the people will tolerate no venal domination. In due time the management of every public institution will be abreast of the highest popular opinion. Sooner or later the wise man leads ; for his ability to lead is at once the test and proof of his wisdom."

Some of the half-hearted friends of the National University have been fearful lest partisan influence should control it. They fear lest it should become a prey to the evils which have disgraced our Civil Service ; lest the shadow of the boss should darken the doors of the

University with the paralyzing influence which it has exerted on the employees of the Custom House. I believe this to be a groundless fear. All plans for a National University provide for a non-partisan board of control. Its *ex-officio* members are to be chosen from the ablest jurists and wisest men of science the country can claim. Such a board now controls the National Museum and the Smithsonian Institution; and no accusation of partisanship or favoritism has ever been brought against it.

A university could not be otherwise than free. Its faculty could respond only to the noblest influences. No man could receive an appointment of national prominence, in the face of glaring unfitness; and each man chosen to a position in a national faculty would feel the honor of his profession at stake in repelling all degrading influences. Even if occasionally an unwise appointment should be made, the action would correct itself. To a university, men and women go for individual help and training. A pretender in a university could not give such help. His presence is soon detected by his fellows and by his students. The latter he could not harm, for he could not retain them. By the side of his fellows he could not maintain himself. No body of men is so insusceptible to coercion or contamination as a university faculty. A scholar is a free man. He has always been so. He will always remain so. The danger, that a body of men such as constitute the university faculty of Harvard or Yale or Columbia or Princeton or Chicago or Cornell would be contaminated by Washington politics, is sheer nonsense. Such an idea has no basis in experience. It is urged only for lack of better arguments. Such opposition to the National University as has yet appeared seems to rest on distrust of democracy itself or on concealed hatred of secular education. To one or the other of these influences can be traced nearly every assault yet made on any part of the system of popular education.

The fear that the University would be contaminated by political associations is therefore groundless. But what about the hope from such associations? An educated politician may become a statesman, and we may look for tremendous results for good from the presence of trained economists and historians and jurists at the National capital. It would in itself be an influence for good legislation and good administration greater than any that we know. As President Cleveland said at Princeton University on the occasion of its sesquicentennial celebration:

“The worth of educated men in purifying and steadying popular sentiment would be more useful if it were less spasmodic and occasional. . . . Our

people readily listen to those who exhibit a real fellowship and friendly and habitual interest in all that concerns the common welfare. Such a condition of intimacy would not only improve the general political atmosphere, but would vastly increase the influence of our universities in their efforts to prevent popular delusions or correct them before they reach an acute or dangerous stage."

The scholars and investigators now maintained at Washington exert an influence far beyond that of their official position. If the Harvard faculty and its graduate students met on the Capitol hill, if their influence were in the departmental work, and their presence in social life, Washington would become a changed city. To the force of high training and academic self-devotion is to be traced the immense influence exerted in Washington by Joseph Henry, Spencer F. Baird, and Brown Goode. Of such men as these are universities made. When such men are systematically selected from our body of university professors and brought to Washington and allowed to surround themselves with like men of the next generation, we shall indeed have a national capital. By this means we shall create the best guarantee of the perpetuity of our Republic; that it shall not, like the republics of old, "go down in unreason, anarchy, and blood." In the long run, the voters of a nation must be led by its wisest men. Their wisdom must become the wisdom of the many, else the nation will perish. A university is simply a contrivance for making wisdom effective by surrounding wise men with the conditions most favorable for rendering wisdom contagious. There is no instrument of political, social, or administrative reform to be compared with the influence of a National University.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

MODERN ARCHÆOLOGY: RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE.—IV.

IN prosecuting the investigation of this subject we have now reached a point at which some account of the labors of the American School of Classical Studies is desirable. These labors mark an era in American scholarship; and the firm and rapid steps with which the members of the School progressed from one success to another entitle them to high praise. The School was founded in Athens, under the auspices of the Archæological Institute of America, in October, 1882.

It is doubtful, however, if the results would have been as satisfactory, but for the fact that the Government and the people of Greece, conscious of the duties imposed upon them by the imperishable heritage of which they are the guardians, extended to the American scholars favors that are also an earnest of indelible gratitude for American sympathy and succor during the long struggle for independence. Prof. M. L. D'Ooge, Director of the School, declares in the Seventh Annual Report that

“The school could not possibly have enjoyed the advantages with which it has been favored, without the cordial support constantly given by the Greek Government and its officials. This interest has been shown in so many ways that I cannot enumerate them all. Every possible facility has been afforded the members of the School for study and investigation in free access to the museums, in liberty to copy or reproduce any objects of special interest, in grants of permission to excavate, in free use of the libraries of the Senate and of the University, and in introductions to officials in the interior, which greatly facilitated travel and study.”

It may be stated at the outset that both the intrinsic merit of the American explorations and the special interest which they naturally possess for the American reader call for a somewhat fuller narrative than was deemed necessary in the preceding articles; while the absence of maps and plans in these pages renders a more detailed description of sites and structures inevitable. The several reports of the explorers themselves, which are scattered in various publications and are too technical for the general reader, have naturally served as the basis of these articles; but much new matter has been included.

To the Archæological Institute of America belongs the honor of having first entrusted to American scholars the exploration of a Greek site—that of Assos, in the Gulf of Adramyttium, on the south coast of the Troad. It was the first contribution of America to our knowledge of classic antiquity; and the report of Mr. Joseph Thacher Clarke, who conducted the excavations (1881–2), shows that the results obtained were of great interest. The unearthing of the theatre of Assos, more especially, was an achievement of considerable archæological importance. As, however, Asia Minor does not come within the scope of these articles, I need here but briefly state that Dr. J. R. S. Sterrett, of the University of Virginia, having joined the School at Athens in 1882, spent six weeks at Assos in deciphering the inscriptions there unearthed, and now exhibited, for the most part, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. In the following summer he again visited Asia Minor with Prof. W. M. Ramsay, who had been sent out by the (British) Asia Minor Exploration Fund. The results of his researches are recorded in two dissertations on the “Inscriptions of Assos” and the “Inscriptions of Tralles,” published in the first volume of the “Papers of the American School at Athens.” The second volume of this valuable publication is occupied exclusively by the “Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor” made by Dr. Sterrett, again in company with Prof. Ramsay, in the summer of 1884; and the third, by an account of the “Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor” (its expenses having been defrayed by the late Miss C. L. Wolfe, of New York) under Dr. W. H. Ward and Mr. Haynes, whom Dr. Sterrett accompanied in 1885. Of these two journeys, the former yielded three hundred and ninety-eight and the latter six hundred and fifty-one Greek inscriptions, almost all newly discovered and inedited. During these successive explorations Dr. Sterrett determined the sites of several ancient cities,—including that of Lystra, of the New Testament,—and gathered valuable material for the reconstruction of the map of districts in Asia Minor hitherto imperfectly known; while his labors in the field of Anatolian epigraphy—a branch of research requiring much patience and wide erudition—admittedly rank second only to those of Le Bas and Waddington. M. Waddington wrote:—“European scholars have hailed with delight the entrance of America into the old field of archæological research, and will welcome such additions to our knowledge of Asia Minor as are contained in the account of the Wolfe Expedition.”

As the first American exploration in Greece proper, we may consider the survey of the Pnyx at Athens, made in 1883 by Mr. Clarke.

That glorious hill and the remains upon it had never before been exactly measured or figured with the aid of proper instruments. Mr. Clarke's plans accompany an able dissertation on the subject, contributed to the fourth volume of the "Papers" by Mr. J. M. Crow, one of the students of the School at Athens.

But the chief mission of the School—the study of archæology as a science—could be fulfilled only by the prosecution of original and systematic excavations. Work of this description was therefore undertaken in April, 1886, at Thorikos, on the southeast coast of Attica, within easy reach of Athens, and in the immediate proximity of the famous silver mines of Laurium. The name of Thorikos is still given to a village built on the very coast, near the harbor (now Porto Mandri) of the ancient town. It is early celebrated in fable as the home of Kephalos, the lover of Prokris. In the time of Cecrops, Thorikos was one of the twelve cities of Attica, prior to the great settlement of Theseus at Athens; but later its importance seems to have diminished. It is referred to by Homer ("Hymn. Cer." 126), by Herodotus (lv. 99), by Thucydides (viii. 95), five times in Demosthenes, and elsewhere. Xenophon ("Hellenica," i. 2) states that in the twenty-third year of the Peloponnesian War (409 B.C.) the Athenians fortified the place with a wall, intended to protect the neighboring silver mines. Strabo mentions Thorikos, but gives no details; while Pausanias appears not to have visited it. It must have fallen into ruins before the first century of our era, for Mela ("De Situ Orbis," ii. 3) speaks of Thorikos and Brauronia as "*olim urbes, jam tantum nomina.*"

Coming to modern travellers, J. C. Le Roy gives, in his "*Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce*" (1758), ii. 2, an account of what he considered to have been the remains of a hexastyle Doric temple in the vicinity of Thorikos. Col. Leake ("*Topography of Athens and Duni*," ii. 70) with characteristic sureness of perception, describes it as "*a stoa in the agora (forum) of Thoricus,*" 105 feet long by 48 feet broad. Dodwell ("*Classical Tour*," i. 535) remarks that "*as the whole of the ruin has fallen, and is nearly covered with thick bushes of lentiscus, it was not possible on my visit to develop its plan without making excavations.*" Such excavations were carried out even before the publication (1819) of the "*Tour*," by a mission of the Society of Dilettanti in 1812, and the results of those researches are included in "*The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*" (1817), pp. 57–59. The highly finished and accurate drawings of this publication show that portions of sixteen columns of the *stoa* were then standing in their

original positions; but of these only a few remnants were found by the American explorers. Their attention was therefore centred on the other remains.

Dodwell speaks of the Acropolis of Thorikos, "on a pointed hill above the city," of the walls which surrounded it, the "curious and magnificent theatre," the seats of which were still preserved, and of a pointed gate of the Cyclopian or Tirynthian style in the wall of the theatre. But neither the description nor the engraving of the theatre in Dodwell is accurate. Leake ("Duni," ii. 69) gives another plan of "the singular form" of the theatre; but this also has been proved by the American excavators to be out of proportion. Wordsworth ("Athens and Attica," p. 210), after remarking that "a theatre was an appropriate edifice at Thoricus, for it was in the port of this place that Dionysus, the deity of the Athenian drama, first landed in Attica," goes on to explain, with greater accuracy than his predecessors, that "the outline of this theatre is not of a semicircular form; it is of an irregular curve, nearly resembling the fourth of an ellipse,—the longer axis commencing with the stage, and the seats beginning from the lesser axis and running in tiers rising above each other concentrically with the curve. . . . In the wall near the theatre is an old postern, surmounted by a pointed arch formed by approaching horizontal courses, in the same manner as the arches in the galleries at Tiryns. We trace the walls of the Acropolis stretching for a considerable extent over two rugged hills, which rise to the northeast of the theatre. The style and massiveness of this postern afford clear evidence of the great antiquity and local importance of Thoricus."

Referring to this noteworthy gate, J. Fergusson states, in his "History of Architecture" (1876), i. 215, that "the gateway of Thoricus shows the simplest and earliest form" of this kind of Pelasgic structure.

Subsequent travellers—Fiedler, "Reise durch Griechenland" (1841), p. 41; Vischer, "Erinnerungen aus Griechenland" (1856), p. 67—also refer to the ancient remains at Thorikos; while Bursian, "Geographie von Griechenland" (1862), i. 353, gives another outline, drawn by himself on the spot, of the *cavea* (auditorium) of the theatre, and speaks of that structure as unique, on account of its odd shape—"barocke Forme." Finally, at a meeting of the Archæological Society of Berlin, in January, 1878,

"Herr Peltz spoke of the antiquities to be seen at Thoricus, submitting a sketch of the theatre, the diameter of which was 54 metres. He explained its remarkably irregular outline, and referred to the peculiar construction of the outside wall surrounding the tiers of seats—a construction which also occurs in a square tower on the plain, and which leads to the conclusion that these structures belong to a very high antiquity. The seats, of which only a few traces are

preserved, follow the natural slope of the hill. Nothing remains of the stage structure. In the neighborhood of the theatre are scanty remains of an apparently later marble building, consisting of one corner of the foundation and four roughly dressed drums without flutings, 82 centimetres in diameter."

It will thus be seen that there were indications in abundance to guide the American excavators in this their first venture. Moreover, the remains visible above ground left no doubt as to the exact position of most of the ancient structures at Thorikos. The venture, which promised to solve some important archæological questions, had the approval of Prof. W. Dörpfeld, the Director of the German School at Athens; and permission to excavate was readily granted by the Greek Government. The work was begun under Prof. Fr. D. Allen on April 13 and continued for a week. It was resumed on May 5 and carried on till June 2 under Mr. Walter Miller. It was again taken up in November and completed early in December under Mr. Wm. L. Cushing. The preliminary and supplementary reports of the latter two scholars, enriched with plans and illustrations, are inserted in the fourth volume of the "Papers." The general aspect of the locality, immediately before the excavation, is graphically described by Mr. Cushing :—

"As one approaches the theatre from Laurium, the spot is seen, at some distance up the valley on the left, where, in the early part of this century, the British Society of Dilettanti excavated a Doric *stoa*. Here, half buried in alluvium, are numerous unfinished drums. . . . Not far from the *stoa*, on two low foot-hills, rude remains of an ancient civilization are visible—roughly hewn stone blocks, and traces of a circular wall of upright slabs. Directly from the plain, at this point, rises on the northeast a conical hill, the west slope of which is covered with a confusion of walls, mostly of rude and weak construction. The southern slope is thickly strewn with chips of white marble, which partly hide numerous graves and a plain sarcophagus. In this desolate field, at the lower edge of the hillside, stand the well-built walls of a theatre and of the watch-tower."

It was to this last-mentioned point that the American explorers directed their efforts. We have already seen that the theatre of Thorikos, though poor in appearance, had attracted the attention of all scholarly travellers by reason of the peculiar formation of its *cavea*. They had all noticed that it was not in the shape of a horseshoe, or semicircle, usual in Greek theatres, but in what may be most accurately described as the form of a sickle. No one, however, could offer any satisfactory explanation. Wordsworth (*l. c.*, p. 210, n.) refers, with some hesitation, to two plates (55 and 56) in A. L. Millin's "*Peintures de Vases Antiques*" (Paris, 1810), which are reproduced, for a similar purpose, in the notes (vol. ii. 86) of the architect Wm. Kinnard to his

edition (1825) of Stuart and Revett's "Antiquities of Athens." These two vase-paintings, which represent portions of the theatre of Bacchus at Athens in its early state, certainly present some similarity with the irregular lines of the Thorikos theatre; but they are rather the result of a faulty perspective on the part of the vase-painter than a true rendering of the aspect of the early Athenian *cavea*. No purpose could have been served by preferring an irregular form; and the only other supposition advanced was that the unsymmetrical curve at Thorikos was imposed by the natural configuration of the ground.

It was this problem that the American School was called upon to solve. The choice they made for their first venture in excavations was, therefore, in the interests of science, a happy one. The history of the Greek stage is not yet entirely elucidated and the recent discovery of the theatre at Epidauros rekindled the discussion as to the architectural economy of Greek theatres. It was thus a matter of great importance to ascertain the original arrangements in such structures as had not undergone modification during Roman times; and there was every reason to expect that the theatre of Thorikos answered to this desideratum. The "rude remnants of an ancient civilization" noticed by Mr. Cushing in its immediate vicinity, the undoubted Pelasgic gate already referred to, the style of the masonry of portions of the other structures,—all spoke of the great antiquity of the place.

But another characteristic feature of Greek architecture was at once observable. The unerring judgment and unrivalled taste of the Greeks in choosing the most appropriate and most attractive sites for their public buildings is exemplified even in this comparatively poor locality. The cone-like hill, some 146 metres high, which rises above the ancient town, forms two spurs, between which the theatre was imbedded; and the seats covering the slopes commanded the most exquisite view of the plain below, the island of Helena lying at the feet of the spectators, and Kythnos, Keos, and Seriphos dotting the blue sea beyond. In other respects, however, no efforts had been made at architectural display or decoration. The opportunities offered by the natural configuration of the hillsides were taken advantage of in the simplest manner; and in this lay the solution of the problem which had puzzled archæologists. The American excavators had hardly unearthed some of the rows of seats when it became manifest that the locality itself offered no insurmountable difficulty to the adoption, as the form of the *cavea*, of the segment of a circle normal in Greek theatres. It is true that the insufficient inclination of the

ground necessitated the construction of a massive retaining wall for the farthest rows of seats; but there was no reason why the ends of this wall were not rounded, other than a desire to save the labor and material which would have been expended in correcting the natural irregularities of the hillside on which the seats were ranged. No effort had been made to form an accurate semicircle; only a rough kind of symmetry, answering to practical requirements, was aimed at; and therefore the curve of the *cavea* was not that of a semicircle, but of an irregular ellipsis.

This view was amply confirmed by the general character, workmanship, and architectural arrangements of the structure, which all spoke of the restrained needs and poor resources of the small and rural community whom it was destined to serve. The seats, which have no stone facings, are covered with more or less rough slabs hewn from the adjoining rock; a rude, low wall divides the *cavea* from the orchestra; and this consists of a simple floor of baked earth. Moreover, in marked contrast to the vast seating capacity of most Greek theatres, not more than five thousand spectators could be here accommodated. The theatres of Argos and Chæronea only are smaller. Originally the auditorium was even more circumscribed, as an old inner retaining wall testifies. Parallel to this, and at a distance of 18 metres farther out, another and a much more substantially constructed wall was raised at some later time,—when the increase of the population demanded it,—the intervening space being filled in, and new tiers of seats carried up at the same inclination as the old.

Another peculiarity of this theatre was found to be the entire absence of a stage. Beyond a straight wall, which rises sixteen feet from the lower slope of the hill and retains the levelled mass of earth forming the platform of the orchestra, in front of the sloping tiers of seats, there is absolutely no trace of any structure answering to the stage observable in other Greek theatres. This peculiarity seems to confirm Prof. Dörpfeld's theory that prior to the time of Lycurgus, the orator (*circ.* 340 B.C.), there existed no stage, but that the orchestra was a complete circle, on which theatrical representations, more in the nature of choruses and rough performances of buffoons, were held. The old tradition must have survived in rural and poor communities, where the conventional niceties of the Greek drama were not observed, but both choruses and actors performed on the floor of the orchestra. In the Thorikos structure, therefore, we have an example—the only one so far discovered—of a primitive theatre, in

its transition from a still earlier state when the spectators assembled on the bare slope of a hillside to look down upon the performances and dances carried on on a levelled piece of ground in front of them.

On the eastern flank of the orchestra, a chamber fifty feet long, with sides ten feet high, was found cut in the native rock. It does not seem to have been in any way connected with the economy of the theatre; but the work, which reminds one of similar traces on the rocks at Athens, shows it to be a remnant of remote antiquity. At the western end of the orchestra, however, a small structure was unearthed intimately related to the origin of the Attic drama and to the early associations of Thorikos itself. It was found to be the ruin of a temple 8.70 by 6.30 metres, a portion of its stylobate being cut in the rock. The portions of the north and west walls of the cella, which still rise some feet above the ground, are the most carefully finished pieces of masonry at Thorikos, with good joints and well-squared corners. An architrave, fragments of the marble cornice, some of the roofing tiles, and the terra-cotta antefixæ show it to have been an Ionic temple *in antis*. Finally, a broken stele bearing the word ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΩΝ—the only inscription recovered during the excavations—confirms the supposition that the temple was sacred to Dionysos; while the form of the letters bears out the conjectured date of the structure. This was arrived at by another process of reasoning: A bronze coin of Athens was found in a joint of the cella wall, where it must have been deposited during the building of the temple. Now, as bronze coins were issued at Athens for the first time under the Archon Kallias (406 B.C.), but were demonetized in 394, and as they were reissued in 350–322, it is conjectured that the temple dates from this latter epoch.

The outer wall of the theatre, as well as the massive square tower near it, is in a style of masonry transitional from the polygonal to the quadrilateral—a style which cannot be strictly confined to any one period. As, however, they are very similar in construction to the walls of Æniadæ in Akarnania,—known to have been fortified by Philip,—with the restorations of Orchomenos in Bœotia, made by Philip and Alexander, and with the structures of Epaminondas at Messene and Eleutheræ, the inference is that the enlargement of the theatre took place in the early Macedonian period; whereas the inner wall, marking the original dimensions, is assignable to the latter half of the fifth century, and portions of the structure to a still more remote time.

Only a few unimportant pieces of pottery, a lion's claw and a life-size thumb in Pentelic marble, were found in the course of these exca-

vations, which were unfortunately left incomplete. Portions of the orchestra and three or four of the lower tiers of seats were alone cleared of earth. Some tentative search was made in the immediate vicinity; but the site was not systematically explored nor was it nearly exhausted. We shall see farther on that a similar error was committed in other instances,—an error which, when not imposed by lack of funds or occasioned by inexperience, is on all counts regrettable. Such incomplete explorations are not fruitful, either in personal *kudos* or in scientific reliability. This was exemplified in the case of Dr. Schliemann, when subsequent and more thorough examinations of sites which he thought he had exhausted, entirely upset the cherished theories he had founded upon insufficient data.

Thorikos presented a similar example. As we have seen above, Mr. Cushing had noticed, “not far from the *stoa*, on two low foot-hills, rude remains of an ancient civilization—roughly hewn stone blocks and traces of a circular wall of upright slabs.” Such indications were sufficient to fix the attention of experienced archæologists. Consequently the Ephoria, or Directorate, of the Greek Archæological Department decided to investigate the site thoroughly; and excavations were ordered in December, 1890, and continued in 1893–94 under Dr. Staes. On the eastern declivity of the conical hill now called Vela-touri (possibly a Greek adaptation of the Italian “Bellatore”), on the south slope of which stands the theatre, two prehistoric tombs, situated 250 metres apart, were successively opened. The position of the one farthest down the hill was well known, it having been exposed apparently to repeated attempts at violation, from the Roman times onward. The earlier riflings of tombs are determinable by the fact that their object was, not antiquarian finds, but precious objects in gold and silver. And such prehistoric royal tombs were rich in these objects. To this fact may be traced the name of “Treasuries” under which these structures were traditionally known. Where terra-cotta figurines and vases are still left in them, the pillage is traceable to Roman or Byzantine times. Now these “bee-hive” tombs—so called from their inward conformation—were exposed to view, because they were generally covered by a mound of earth; and, though of massive construction, were easily assailable. The dome-like part of the roof, which usually projects from the ground, was broken in, and access to the interior was obtained by a ladder. By the subsequent accumulation of earth, the tomb filled up; and a fresh exploration became a matter so laborious as to deter the latter-day professional poachers of antiques.

The tomb just referred to was noticeable for its peculiar formation. It is not circular but elliptic in shape; and its apex is not a conical dome, but more like a pack-saddle. It is approached by the usual *dromos*, or entrance, abutting in a great gate $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres broad, which is closed in by massive slabs. In this tomb, only fragments of Mykenæan pottery and a few leaves of gold were found. The other tomb, however, of the normal circular shape, situated farther up the slope, yielded a richer harvest. Having been entirely covered by the soil crumbling down the hill, it remained unknown until its walls were discovered in the course of these excavations. It is of majestic dimensions, 10 metres in diameter and 8 metres high, independently of the conical superstructure, which had fallen in. A dozen men had to be employed for a fortnight, before it was cleared of the earth and the huge stone blocks which encumbered it. It is approached by a *dromos* 12 metres in length, and a doorway $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres high, through which a large carriage might easily be driven. Within the circular area are three graves cut in the rock of the floor, covered with large stone slabs; while on each side of the door two other graves are built up, one of them obliquely over one of the underlying slabs. Such superincumbent tombs were now for the first time met with in a "bee-hive" structure, and, though of the Mykenæan epoch, were apparently later modes of prehistoric burial.

All these graves, with one exception, had already been rifled. Entrance had been effected as usual through the ruined dome, the doorway having been found still blocked with the three original slabs *in situ*. The ransacking must have been somewhat hurried, or the booty enormous; for, besides the terra-cotta vessels, several objects of value had been left behind, including a gold finger-ring, two fibulæ (brooches),—one formed of two gold wings and the other of amber,—jasper beads, and a quantity of gold myrtle and laurel leaves. Also a beautifully worked comb, a needle, and a quiver in ivory; a bronze mirror; two stone arrows of very fine workmanship. Certain leaden disks found in these tombs and decorated with concentric rings in colors are believed to be money; while a marble vase, filled with fragments of early poetry and the bones of animals, is supposed to contain the remains of the funeral repast. The untouched grave in the rock was next opened; but strangely enough it contained no funereal offerings. A man's skeleton, however, was found in perfect condition, and is now exhibited in the Central Museum at Athens as an extremely rare instance of such preservation of human remains of that very early time.

Some thirty metres higher up the hills, the foundations of an important building were unearthed, resting on the bed-rock and supposed to have been the palace dominating an entire city, which was gradually discovered in the immediate vicinity and which seems to have been buried by some convulsion of nature in prehistoric times. It appears to have been not Hellenic, but Mykenæan in character, judging from the fragments of pottery of the Hissarlik type. Such are briefly the results obtained by the excavations continued subsequent to the American exploration of Thorikos. They all go to confirm the great antiquity and importance of that site.

The activity of the American School, however, was not to remain long in abeyance. In the autumn of the same year, 1886, the Ephor-General of Antiquities offered to the School the privilege of excavating the theatre of Sicyon. The site was visited toward the end of February, 1887, by Prof. M. L. D'Ooge, accompanied by the Directors of the British and German Schools, Mr. Penrose and Dr. Dörpfeld, and work was begun on March 23, continuing, under Mr. W. J. McMurtry, up to May 10. It was resumed on December 5 and brought to a close in January, 1888, under the supervision of Mr. M. L. Earle; the late Prof. A. C. Merriam being at that time Director of the School. The reports of these excavations, drawn up by Messrs. McMurtry and Earle, are included in the fifth volume of the "Papers."

Sicyon, one of the earliest known cities in Greece, appears also under the name of *Ægialeia* (or *Ægiali*), indicative of its primacy on that coast; of *Telchinia*, pointing to its early proficiency in metal-work; and of *Mecon*, a name explained by the abundance and luxuriance with which the wild poppies, undisturbed by the mighty changes which have swept over the old site, continue to flourish to this day, clothing it each successive spring with a fresh robe of scarlet. Hesiod ("Theogony," 536) places here a contest between gods and men. But the name Sicyon, first mentioned in Homer ("Iliad," ii. 572), is connected with the Ionian origin of its inhabitants, who later succumbed to the Dorian conquerors of the Peloponnesus. Under successive families of Despots, the city attained to a high pitch of prosperity. It erected treasuries of its own at Olympia and Delphi, and its coins, distinguished by the device of a flying dove, were current throughout Greece. After participating in the political vicissitudes of the other Greek states, Sicyon had lost much of its former importance, when, in 303 B.C., Demetrios Polyorketes prevailed upon its inhabitants to abandon the scattered lower town, extending to the sea, and to gather on the

ancient Acropolis, which included arable lands and was well supplied with water. On the destruction of its rival, Corinth, by the Romans in 146 B.C., Sicyon secured the administration of the Isthmian games. Its renascent prosperity, however, proved short-lived. The Romans denuded it of its most valuable works of art, including its famous paintings; and what they spared was destroyed, with the greater part of the city, by a violent earthquake in the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–160). When Pausanias visited Sicyon shortly afterward, he found it almost depopulated. In that condition it must have lingered on to the sixth century of our era, at which time it is referred to as New Sicyon; probably so named ever since the concentration of Demetrius, the port being apparently the old town. Indeed Pausanias speaks of the lower city as the original *Ægialeia*. In Suidas (tenth century) the Byzantine appellation of Sicyon is given as *Hellas*, evidently in contradistinction to the numerous Slavonic settlements which had peopled the surrounding country. An insignificant village now occupies the northern extremity of the once famous Acropolis; and its modern name, *Vasilika*, the Royal, speaks of its abiding Greek traditions and of the imposing aspect of the surrounding remains of theatre and temples.

In point of fact Sicyon was at all times famous more as a centre of art than of political activity. The surpassing beauty of its site, its poetic associations, the mixture of Ionic and Doric blood in its inhabitants,—all contributed to endow it with artistic taste and talent. Tradition, therefore, made of Sicyon the birthplace of the art of painting, of which it certainly long remained the home (“*diu illa fuit patria picturæ.*” Pliny, “*Natural History,*” xxxv. 11, 40). The Sicyonian school of painting, founded by Eupompos, produced Pamphilos and Apelles. Butades, a Sicyonian, is said to have been the first to make images in clay; and the art of the statuary, introduced toward the middle of the sixth century from Crete, culminated here in the masterpieces of Lysippos. The Sicyonians were also famous for their great taste in making articles of dress,—notably a special kind of shoe.

To this day one cannot visit the site without being inspired and captivated by its grandeur and beauty. Situated some two miles inland, the plateau, on which the Acropolis stood, looks down upon a succession of terraces planted with vineyards, and sloping toward the blue waters of the Gulf of Corinth. Beyond, to the north, on the opposite coast, rise the purple-colored Parnassus, the lofty Cithæron, and Helicon with all its noble associations. To the east *Acrocorinthos*

rears its rugged head; while to the west stretches an undulating plain, proverbial for its richness. The plateau of Sicyon forms an irregular triangle, three miles in circumference at its eminence and of great natural strength. It is precipitous on all sides, and accessible from the plain only by two narrow passes. The hill is skirted at its foot by the Asopos on the east, and by the Helisson on the west; both rivers flowing toward the Gulf. The plateau itself is broken by a rocky ledge into an upper level, which stands in the rear, to the south, and forms about a fourth of the whole area: on this the new Acropolis of Demetrius was built. The lower level comprises fertile lands sufficient for the support of a considerable population. It was the site of the lower town; while a third section of the entire city was the maritime quarter on the coast. During the flourishing epoch the three settlements appear to have been connected by walls extending from the Acropolis to the sea. Of the upper city walls, built on the very edge of the hill, extensive remains may still be seen.

The description of Pausanias,—who refers to no less than fifteen temples, some of which were then already in ruins,—though in many respects detailed, does not assist much in determining the precise location of the various buildings he enumerates. An exception to this is the theatre, unmistakable remains of which were at all times visible. It is situated between the upper and lower level and is partly cut out of the ledge of rocks that separates the two. The auditorium, facing to the northeast, commands the magnificent view already described,—scenery which no modern scene-painter's brush can rival. Leake ("Travels in the Morea," iii. 357–70) computed the diameter of this theatre at 400 ft.; that of its orchestra at 100 ft.; and the length of the proscenium, the foundations of which he traced cut in the rock, at 75 ft. He thought there must have been forty rows of seats, in three divisions, separated by two *diazomata*. On the upper level of the plateau, the only remarkable feature, beyond the remains of certain foundations, is a very complete system of aqueducts, deeply cut in the rock and extending to the lower level. Here, however, may be traced, by the lines of stones still standing, the streets, which, in conformity with the rules of Vitruvius, run with precision from northeast to southwest, and from northwest to southeast. Not far from the theatre, to the northeast, brick walls, some 8 ft. high, mark the site of a Roman building, believed to have been a bath. To the west are the remains of the *stadion*, in the construction of which the declivity between the two levels was again turned to advantage. Some architectural frag-

ments are imbedded in the walls of the village church, and in it is still preserved the fine Corinthian capital noticed by Blouet in 1828.

Such was the condition of the site immediately prior to the American exploration; and it is roughly so described by earlier visitors—Spon, Pococke, Foucherot and Fauvel, by Pongueville, who thought ("Voyage dans la Grèce," iv. 10) he had identified the temples of the Dioscuri and of Fortuna Acræa, and by Leake, who gives a good plan of the locality. It is also referred to by L. Ross ("Reisen in Pelopon," 39), Ernst Curtius ("Peloponesos," ii. 482-501), Beulé ("Études sur le Peloponise," 343) and Bursian (ii. 23-32). In common with their predecessors and immediate followers, the French savants of the *Expédition Scientifique de la Morée*, who visited Sicyon in 1828, did not attempt any excavations; but they measured and illustrated in three plates (81-83, vol. iii) the remains visible above ground. The site was therefore practically a virgin one when the Americans first undertook it.

Their object was to discover the complete plan of the theatre,—one of the largest in Greece,—so as to render possible the accurate study of its structure and disposition. The declivity on which the auditorium is almost entirely excavated had enveloped the ruin in a shroud of earth, increasing in depth from one metre in front, to three metres in the rear. The deposit on the orchestra was even heavier. Some of the earlier travellers consequently believed that almost all the rows of seats had disappeared. The theatre of Sicyon, however, like that at Epidaurus, was found to be preserved comparatively unimpaired. The successive accumulations of earth had, fortunately, served as a protection provided by nature against the devastations of man. On the other hand, they rendered the work of the explorers less satisfactory, by restricting the first excavations to such parts of the structure as were indispensable to the elucidation of the plan of stage and orchestra. Of the rows of seats, the lower tiers alone were laid bare, and these only half-way round the orchestra. The two front rows were found to consist, as usual, of seats of honor, made of porous stone, many of them elaborate in execution, each having a back and arms. Five other rows are cut in the rock. Fourteen stairways, extending upward, divide the auditorium into thirteen *kerkides*, or wedge-shaped divisions. An elaborate drainage system forms a prominent feature of this theatre. The precise purpose of an imposing aqueduct, running under the orchestra and communicating with a line of earthen pipes under the stage, was not definitely settled until a third and a fourth exploration were undertaken, as we shall presently see. But the surface drainage was found to re-

semble closely the arrangement observable in the theatre at Athens. A deep stone trench runs round at the foot of the front row of seats, is bridged over by slabs opposite the stairways, and forms the boundary of the orchestra, which is here of an elliptical form. The floor is plastered over, as at Epidauros ; as are the floor and walls of a chamber discovered in the rear of the stage, and supposed to have been a bath. Three main walls, forming the foundations of the stage, were unearthed ; the one nearest the orchestra being 72 ft. in length and 3 ft. high. It is pierced by three doors, and stands on an ornamental border which extends the whole length. The marble blocks forming this border bear on the sides Greek letters, which manifestly served as masons' marks. The letters are of the ancient Attic alphabet ; but the superstructure is Roman in character. As, however, some of the blocks composing it, as well as the side-walls, are of undoubted Hellenic workmanship, it is conjectured that the stage was remodelled at some later period, the date of the theatre itself being traceable to the fifth century.

An important discovery, in connection with the history of architecture, was that of two arched passages, still in excellent preservation, which served as entrance and exit to and from the higher rows of seats. They are built without a trace of mortar or brick, and correspond to the masonry of the Hellenic walls just mentioned. They are, therefore, indisputable Greek work ; and, when considered together with a similar instance ascertained in the *Bouleutirion* (Senate House) of Olympia, they establish beyond doubt the fact that the arch was not a Roman invention, imported into Greece, but was originally used by the Greeks themselves, though only, as it would appear, in underground structures. Traces of a colonnade, adorning the front of the theatre, were also found. At this point the exploration of the theatre was discontinued for a time.

Beyond the theatre some search was made near the scattered remains of foundations, in the hope that inscriptions or other indications might determine the locality of some of the edifices mentioned by Pausanias. Nothing however was traced except a floor paved with black and white marble ; a part, apparently, of an elaborate structure. Some ancient tombs, observed on the slope of the plateau and elsewhere, were uncovered ; but it was soon evident that they had already been rifled. Among minor finds were three inscriptions of the classic, Roman, and Alexandrian times (published in the "Reports" of the excavations), some Sicyonian coins, and a few unimportant sculptured fragments. A beautiful female head was found in the possession of a peasant.

But the most valuable addition to ancient art was the discovery,

on December 10, of the head of a youth of very great beauty. It was at once sent to the Central Museum at Athens, as was also a male torso of white marble, unearthed, at a considerable distance in the orchestra, thirteen days later. When Mr. Earle returned to Athens, the Ephor, in his presence, placed on the torso the previously discovered head; and although a fragment on the left side of the throat was missing, the remaining portion of the two surfaces fitted so exactly, that the two sections formed beyond question one and the same statue. It represents a youthful male figure quite nude, except at the left arm, which is covered by a garment from the shoulder to the hip. Though not of the finest art, it is of excellent workmanship and of a good period; the pose of the head and the expression of the face being especially beautiful. It was at first believed to represent Dionysos; but, in his exhaustive account of the statue, Mr. Earle is inclined to consider it an Apollo. It may be merely an idealized portrait-statue. Though this point can never be decided with certainty, the statue is valuable as one of the few undoubted remains of the famous Sicynian School.

For four years after the first two campaigns, the further exploration of the theatre of Sicyon was postponed. Both the material clearance of the structure remained incomplete, and the scientific elucidation of important points unattempted. But the excavation of the theatre at Eretria, which the American School had meanwhile taken in hand, raised a lively discussion in regard to an underground passage there discovered; and, as a similar feature had been observed at Sicyon, it was now determined to prosecute the enquiry at the latter place. It was the late Prof. Merriam who urged the duty of solving the problem of this subterranean structure; and Dr. Waldstein, the then Director of the School, having obtained fresh authority from the Greek Government, Mr. Earle, who had superintended the work during the first two seasons at Sicyon, conducted a third exploration, extending from July 27 to August 4, 1891.

We have seen above that what was at first believed to be a great aqueduct was noticed running from under the centre of the orchestra, in the middle line of the theatre, to under the stage-structure. It was clearly connected with the surface drainage, and without doubt it carried the rain-water beyond the stage through a line of earthen pipes; but it remained uncertain whether it served as reservoir, as drain, or for some other purpose. On proceeding now to clear out the two ends of the structure, Mr. Earle discovered that it abutted, under the centre of the orchestra, in a square tank-like opening, connected

by side-gullies with the rain-water conduits. At the stage end five steps gave access from this passage to the interior of the stage; while beyond the stage-building it communicated, by a narrower tunnel cut in the rock, with one of the old waterways of the plateau. Mr. Earle's investigations, however, having been interfered with by ill-health, led to no conclusion; and the matter remained as much a mystery as ever.

The task of solving the problem was consequently entrusted to Messrs. Carleton L. Brownson and Clarence H. Young; and they continued the operations from December 23 to December 30, 1891. Mr. Brownson, who had gained valuable experience from the similar underground passage at Eretria, proceeded in a thorough and methodical manner to determine the meaning and purpose of the one at Sicyon. He uncovered it in its whole extent by removing the overlying slabs, and cleared it of the accumulated earth to the virgin soil. It thus became manifest that the *hyponomos*, as it was styled, was intended to carry off more rapidly the sudden and heavy rain-fall which poured down the auditorium into the circular conduit at the foot of the seats. The tank also received the surface drainage of the orchestra. But that was not its only purpose: the tank was mainly intended for stage effects on the orchestra, and was connected with the stage by the *hyponomos*, which served as a concealed passage-way for the actors. The greater dimensions and the more careful stone facing and flooring of the portion of the passage between the stage and the tank, as well as the steps which led from the interior of the passage into the stage-building, prove to demonstration that it was constructed with a view to such use. In treating of the excavations at Eretria we shall see that certain statements of Greek authors confirm this explanation.

But another interesting problem remained to be solved. Led by certain indications, Mr. Earle removed a portion of the later Roman wall on the stage-building and laid bare a row of porous stones in which a series of alternate large and small holes was worked at regular intervals. On visiting Sicyon, Dr. Dörpfeld had expressed the opinion that these holes served to secure the wooden *pinakes* or columns of the early Greek stage. Similar indications had been observed in the theatre of Megalopolis; and the researches of Messrs. Brownson and Young now fully confirmed that opinion.

After their first and second campaigns at Sicyon the members of the American School proceeded further afield in their Greek explorations. In my next article, I shall trace their footsteps onward.

J. GENNADIUS.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MELIORISM.

THERE has probably never been so much doubt of current beliefs and opinions as in the last quarter of the present century. The leading characteristic of the day is skepticism, much more of which is held than is expressed. Notwithstanding the interminable variety of creeds and convictions prevalent, one might infer, from reading and hearing, that there are, in the Western World particularly, but two forms of philosophy—Optimism and Pessimism. If a man takes a cheerful view of life, he is set down as an optimist; if a sombre one, as a pessimist. Optimism and Pessimism are extremes. Leibnitz, on the one hand, maintained the metaphysical doctrine, that the present universe is the best of all possible universes; Schopenhauer, on the other, maintained positively that this world is not only the worst that has ever existed, but the worst world that could exist. Probably, there are no genuine optimists or pessimists to-day,—those who believe that everything that happens is for the best, or for the worst. One position is as absurd as the other.

The ultra-orthodoxist assumes that the Divine Mind ordains and directs all things, from the highest to the lowest, on this insignificant planet,—he has no cosmic considerations,—and that, therefore, they are flawless, however viewed by mortal eye. This might be a very comfortable creed, if one could actually hold it; but nobody can—certainly not the orthodoxist himself. He is a frequent mourner over what has occurred: he would be only too happy to change what he claims to think the All-Wise and the All-Loving has decreed. He may make up for his inconsistency by accepting with entire resignation the misfortunes that have befallen his enemies. On the other hand, anyone who fancies himself a pessimist is well aware that, however wretched, he might be a hundred-fold more wretched. Human capacity for suffering being limitless, the term “pessimist” is a palpable misnomer. He might call himself a malist, a pejorist even, with some plausibility; but the use of the superlative degree is preposterous.

We very seldom hear of a meliorist,—Meliorism is, no doubt, a new word to many,—but meliorists may be found everywhere, and are

continually increasing. The philosophy, or religion, of Meliorism—the two words have, in their broad sense, substantially the same meaning—is sustained and cherished by the more intelligent, the thoughtful, in this country as well as in other enlightened lands. They may not avow it: it has no specific doctrines: it is without system or formalism of any sort. They feel it rather than advocate it. It is, in the main, purely rational, hopeful, intellectual, encouraging, entirely free from all superstition, incompatible with mere traditions or authority. The faithful and non-faithful, church communicants and secularists, may alike cleave to it, often without seeming to do so.

The philosophy of Meliorism is compounded of all philosophies from Plato's time to the present; it is an eclecticism of the best, because the most reasonable; of what has been demonstrated by experience, and justified by reflection,—a species of untechnical pantheism, in which humanity is paramount. Meliorism is, as its etymon intimates, the belief that the world is not only improvable, but steadily, though slowly, improving. If we could but measure and compute it, we should find the world is better this decade than the last; the present year than the previous one; to-day than yesterday. And this not more by the eternal law of Progress, than by the ceaseless aim and effort of Man to elevate and benefit his fellows. Meliorism is dynamic no less than ethical: it seeks to promote amendment of the social condition through intentional, deliberate calculation, and the selection of indirect agencies. Not satisfied simply to relieve suffering, it strives to introduce preventives of suffering. It is a regulating, practical principle; not in any way passive, as are the theories of Optimism and Pessimism.

In a religious sense, it openly acknowledges nothing but Law, and does not, as a rule, undertake to determine what may be behind the Law; only what is not behind it. It is perfectly willing that the power behind the Law shall be called God, Providence, the Supreme Being, the Great First Cause, or any other name. It never quarrels with nomenclature, and does not usually attempt exact, or indeed any kind of, definitions. But a meliorist may, for himself, reject, as illogical, as impossible, aught appertaining to a personal Deity. The controller of the world and the universe must be, he may hold, a principle, a spirit, a pervading influence. Many meliorists (each one may have his own belief) take this position, and contend for it stoutly; though many of them, again, forbear from putting their faith into words. Some of them are wholly naturalists; recognizing, with Feuerbach, that Nature and Man are alone apprehensible; that there is no God as

a distinct, creative being ; that what is called so is the idealized essence of Man, or the deified essence of Nature. The word "God" Feuerbach considers vague, mysterious, undetermined, incomprehensible, in fact. Nature is the sole cause of existence in Man, and Nature becomes conscious of itself only in Man. Feuerbach is said to have transformed Hegelianism into Naturalism ; which is virtually true. It is remarkable what a host of believers in Feuerbach's philosophy there are among the thoughtful, many of whom are scarcely acquainted with his name.

There are meliorists and meliorists. While many of them rarely speak of their opinions or beliefs, and seem to shrink from discussion, others enjoy it, though they seldom begin it. These are earnest, impassioned, but invariably tolerant and good-natured withal. They relish argument for argument's sake : they can take as well as give. They are exceptions to the ordinary rule, that debaters on theology lose their tempers : they cite themselves in proof. They assert that orthodoxists get angry when their declarations are disputed, but that rationalists seldom do so. They will listen amiably, with serene smiles, to the arraignment of infidels and scoffers, which they know refers to them. They hold that their amiability, instead of conciliating opponents, increases their wrath. Why, they ask, should a man, claiming to be absolutely certain of his premises, grow enraged when his conclusion is mildly questioned ? The non-disputatious, more reticent meliorist thinks that his controversial brothers do no good by their arguments ; that they might better confine themselves to practical benevolence, which they are ever ready and eager to carry out, disregarding adverse opinions—at best or worst, opinions merely. The controversial meliorists, on the other hand, maintain that opinions govern the world ; that, inasmuch as orthodoxists are constantly trying to make converts, through the pulpit, the sectarian press, and personal influence, they (who honestly and conscientiously differ from them) have an equal right to present their side of the thesis. Why, they inquire, should theology and theological views be socially received with so much lenience by rationalists, who consider those views absurd and are persuaded that they can prove them to be so ? It is, they say, making altogether too much concession to orthodoxy. The amiable, conventional folk who favor such concession, however diverse their own convictions, rarely, if ever, incline to extend the same generous indulgence to members of the agnostic class.

The aggressive meliorists, as they may be called, are particularly inimical to superstition, by which they mean whatever is not sanc-

tioned by reason. They contend that orthodoxy, as taught and understood generally, is sheer superstition; that it is but a formulated kind of fetishism, and should be exposed as pernicious, when opportunities offer. Whatever is untrue, and can be shown to be untrue, is injurious, mentally and morally; and it is the duty of the intelligent, the enlightened, to expose untruths, when speciously disguised. Superstition is based on ignorance, which is warred upon everywhere, as they conceive, except in churches, where, having gained sanctuary, it is to be allowed to remain unmolested. They have any number of pronounced radical views; some, doubtless, familiar to many, and others that are little known. Extreme as these views may seem to some persons, they are always, their holders claim, simply rationalistic and arrayed against superstition,—still the prevailing evil of the day, whether in politics, sociology, ethics, or cosmogony. Not a few of these views are reproduced in detail in this paper as those of the meliorists, who differ nearly as much in opinion and belief as in their mode of expression. Some meliorists who are the least communicative are the most radical in thought. They all agree, however, in respect of humanitarianism; joining hands and hearts as regards acts of benevolence and charity. One of their mottoes is, "Believe what you choose: do what you ought."

The German scholars and philosophers, especially since Kant and Mendelssohn (Moses), have made such exhaustive studies of theology and Biblical history, and have published so many volumes thereon, that their ideas and conclusions have, in a measure, become part of the stock of common knowledge, and of the mental atmosphere of the period. Not a few, like Schleiermacher, Strauss, Paulus, Bauer (Bruno), were theologians, and for years maintained their orthodoxy. Even Hegel never withdrew his nominal allegiance to Christianity; the right wing, as it is called, of his admiring adherents declaring that his views and those of orthodoxy were harmonious. Nevertheless German scholars have riddled Revelation; have completely overthrown all claim of the Scriptures to be regarded as the Word of God, and have subverted every dogma of what pretends to be the old Christianity. Hegel was really a pantheist, as most of his countrymen, outside of ecclesiasticism, are pantheists. Indeed, most contemporaneous thinkers at home and abroad are, too, including the bulk of meliorists; albeit they may not avow the fact, and some of them may be ignorant of it. It seems strange, inexplicable, perhaps, that any intelligent man should not know what his theological or religious belief

is. But this condition is very common. It is, in truth, the rule rather than the exception. The belief of many men—that of the intellectual especially—changes with their feelings, with their moods, with their environment. They believe differently at ten o'clock in the morning from what they believe at two in the afternoon; differently then from what they will the next morning. Few men, whether orthodox or heterodox, are quite willing, and these seldom like, to tell their belief, even if they know it. It is generally considered impertinent, a sign of ill breeding, to ask any questions on the subject; and those questioned think themselves privileged to decline to answer.

Theological terms, too, are little understood. It might be supposed that Pantheism would be definite enough. But those who have been called Pantheists, as their printed writings have clearly indicated, have denied the charge as if it were discreditable. No wonder. Have not professed Christians pronounced pantheism, which is a prevalent belief among the most intellectual and scholarly, the worst form of atheism? Has not Spinoza, the leading pantheist of the seventeenth century, been called the God-intoxicated man, as well as the most dangerous, the most destructive of infidels? He says that the love of God extinguishes all other desires; that virtue is the knowledge and power of God in the human soul. The ethical principles in which his philosophy results were put forward by him as identical with those of Christianity. Goethe, ranked by all the Germans, and by a multitude of others, as the wisest of mortals, believed in Spinoza, and said that his works afforded him the greatest consolation. Emerson and Carlyle, who were very fond of talking of "being resolved into the Infinite," were pantheistic, in effect, like the majority of their guild. Many meliorists, as has been said, are essentially pantheists, who hold that everything is part of God; that human beings, in dying, return to the God-head as the eternal principle, and are thus assured of immortality. The average orthodoxist cannot accept, cannot comprehend this. He demands a personal Deity, a reflection of himself; so that, instead of God making him, he makes God, after his own image. He must have, also, a conscious existence beyond the grave; cannot be content with reunion with the Primal Cause. Such abstractions are not for him, are not suited to his understanding.

Thus, it is plain why most meliorists are outside the evangelical pale, and why they are not approved generally by church communicants, many as there are of these included in the broader, more rational, more philosophic creed.

No philosophy of Meliorism has been framed or even outlined: it is too broad, too elastic, too informal to be defined: it is all the better that it has not been. One of the few melioristic philosophers, so designated, was George Eliot, who is said to have invented the term for herself. She was constantly called a pessimist, or an infidel, neither of which has any significance, as commonly used. She did not believe the world all good or all evil, but an admixture of both. She was cheered by the conviction that it was gradually mending; not from any supernal cause, but from human efforts in behalf of humanity. The mass of meliorists are in accord with her, though many may take more into account the ever-operating law of Progress. As has been intimated, meliorists in general are completely rationalistic and practical. They look to secular, not to celestial, agencies for the government and regulation of this planet. And yet not a few of their number, as has been said, are outwardly orthodox, are even ministers of the Gospel,—excellent men, but not sound in what is ranked as sound theology.

Many ministers and theologians in America, as well as in Germany and other progressive countries, do not hold the tenets of their creed, while mute as to their dissent. Why should they not be mute? They are not sure, nor can anybody be sure, of what has not been experienced; and they may think, as many do, that some degree of supernatural belief is better than no belief. To speak of their doubts might unsettle others; and it is pleasant to cherish a comforting faith while one may. The New Criticism, as it is named, has created a revolution in Biblicism. The old religion is very unlike the new; and advanced thinkers have accepted the new. The present attitude of many of these is indifference to supernaturalism, about which nothing can be known. The ancient idea, that a man cannot be actually good, unless he admits the truth of religion (meaning theology), has long been abandoned. The modern opinion is, that he is neither better nor worse for such admission. Goodness depends entirely on what we do, or desire to do. We should be judged by our intention rather than by our accomplishment.

The meliorist is apt to be practical, to count deed far above creed, though, in many cases, not objecting to creed, if it does not affect conduct. At the same time, he, being usually a man of culture and studious habits, has investigated most subjects of importance, real or supposed; among others theology,—especially the doctrines it has inculcated. We owe to him deliverance from many superstitions,

which are always mischievous, to say the least. His cardinal conviction,—proved by history, records, and observation,—that the world is improving, even if gradually, is not in conformity with common understanding of the Bible, which seems to represent Man as inherently wicked, fallen, and unregenerate. The exact contrary is true. Man is naturally inclined to be good; and would remain so, measurably, but for bad influences and unfavorable surroundings. As to his fallen, unregenerate state,—that is a metaphysical fiction, expanded by the patristic writers, and made necessary for the sustainment of the Garden of Eden story, long since explained as an oriental fable.

The Bible is now accepted by most scholars as history and literature merely; but the early criticisms upon its incongruities and impossibilities were, in all likelihood, made by meliorists, not then so named. Meliorists regard courage, as Plato regards it, as one of the chief virtues, and deprecate, again with Plato, the fear of death. The Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church particularly, and theologians in general, have had the effect of elevating fear into a supreme moral excellence. Fear of death they always insist on as most exemplary. "Be mindful of death"; "Prepare for death"; "In the midst of life, we are in death," are among their innumerable mortuary presentments. They have rung all sorts of changes on the topic; and if they have not made it an overwhelming terror, it is not from any lack of diligence and energy on their part. "Fear the wrath of an angry God" is a familiar phrase, which fully comports with the spirit of the Old Testament, and tends to render the very idea of Deity repulsive. If God were an All-Wise, All-Perfect being, could He, asks the meliorist, be angry or wrathful? "Fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" is another Biblical announcement. We are continually hearing, even to this day, of God-fearing men; as if fearing God were a transcendent merit. Why should man fear God, if He be a loving, beneficent being, as is claimed? "We should fear Him because we love Him," has been theologically explained as, "We should fear to do wrong." We cannot love what we fear: fear and hate are as cause and effect. Fear is a miserable, cowardly, slavish passion. We should do our utmost to cure ourselves of it—it is natural to most of us—instead of cultivating it as a specific virtue.

Despite the efforts of theologians for ages, and of most clergymen until within the last thirty or forty years, to make death a bugbear, it has lost, if it ever had them, all its manufactured terrors. Physicians, hospital nurses, persons generally who have had abundant and constant

experience of scenes of death, tell us that death is not dreaded by the dying. These frequently want to live for their families, their friends, or for particular work which they are anxious to accomplish. But they seldom have apprehensions beyond the grave, which the patristic fathers were so lugubriously eloquent upon for centuries.

The dying are concerned with the things of this world, not with the shadows of the next. As death draws near to us, it ceases to have any of the formidable look it has worn at a distance. The painful accompaniments of the sick-chamber—the solemn hush, the sad faces of friends, the weeping eyes of women, the pitiful expression of children—are unavoidably distressing to see. But the prospect of the grave is not disturbing: it conveys to the weary mind only a sense of relief and rest. Very few persons, however unpleasant the concomitants of an exit from this earth, are frightened at the thought of being dead. How many of us think again and again, during life, of the comfort of being entirely out of life, of an end of it forever! Many of us are so tired of it that we want no more; we experience satisfaction—even joy, often—that our departure is at hand.

The majority of us relish life, while we are young, strong, healthful; in comfortable circumstances; our plans, our purposes unfulfilled. But when our youth has passed; when our future is behind us; when we have achieved failure, as the bulk of us do, the savor of the world is lost. Life is not precious in and of itself. It may be a burthen too heavy to be borne, as is evinced by the poor wretches who daily cast it off. It cannot be judged externally: only he to whom it belongs can appraise it. To call it a boon, as is the orthodox fashion, and to assume that anyone who is born should be eternally indebted to a Divine Power for his birth, is not reasonable. We are born and we die by a natural law, independent of our will, without our assent. Life is very frequently a bane: many, if not most, of us would not have accepted it, had we been consulted; presuming that we could have had any preconception of what it would prove. Why should we be grateful for something that is forced upon us, that frequently becomes a curse? Talk of the fear of death! We should have much more fear of life, if, before entering the world, we could have any presentiment of its cares, its disappointments, its sorrows, its sufferings. With such pre-knowledge, who would have had courage enough to venture on so terrible an uncertainty? And yet we must regard life, forsooth, as a precious gift, though it is neither a gift nor precious! How grossly incongruous are many evangelical doctrines!

Meliorists often ask for light on what is constantly spoken of as "our responsibility to Almighty God." Supposing, they say, that He is directly our Maker, we have never asked Him to make us, and may never have enjoyed our making. He is the creator of the universe and every form of existence. We are insignificant worms,—which surely we must be, compared with His omniscience and omnipotence. He is as much above and beyond us as we are above and beyond the invisible animalcules in a drop of water. They can have no more conception of us than we can have of Him. We are absolutely incomprehensible to the minor entities. They can no more be responsible to us—so immeasurable, so inconceivable is the distance between them and ourselves—than we can be responsible to Almighty God. If there were any responsibility, it would be on the other side. Having created us, as the Scriptures read, entirely for His own glory,—we having no will or voice in the event,—He should be accountable to us in every particular; not we to Him. Such accountability is more than impossible: it is unthinkable. But, rationalistically, there is not, and cannot be, responsibility on either side. The human being, who may be, as the adjective is applied, divine as well, is responsible to himself and to his fellows; perhaps, to his own ideal; but there the responsibility ends. Theological notions on the subject are but nebulous metaphysics, not worthy of serious consideration.

Were Meliorism a system, it would be somewhat akin to Hegel's "Philosophy of Nature," divested of its abstractions and subtleties. But Meliorism is concrete, intelligible, for the most part, secular. Its adherents, if they may be so named, might be ranged, like the French Chamber, and the disciples of Hegel divided into three wings. The right wing is composed of the nominally orthodox; the central wing, of those who act but do not discuss; and the left wing, of those who are hostile to whatever they think is tinctured with superstition, and who have a weakness for debate. The three wings, however, are united in love of and sympathy with humanity, in doing good under all circumstances, in practical Christianity. Much as they differ in some points of belief, they are without any abject fear of the known or the unknown. They are convinced that the eternal tendency—call it what one may—is to betterment, and that most of the betterment depends upon ourselves. The God in whom they all repose faith is within; is the subjective essence.

JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.

INTERCOLLEGIATE DEBATING.

IN the past two or three years a wonderful revival of interest has taken place throughout the colleges of this country in public speaking and discussion. In the East, where the lack of interest had been particularly marked, this revival has been most evident; but it has also extended to the South and West. Two reasons, in the main, account for it. The repeated attacks which have been made on athletics have stimulated in college men a desire for ideals of a somewhat different character. And, on the other hand, a new kind of literary activity has arisen, which, possessing some of the best elements of sport, and at the same time enlisting the good-will of those who were most strenuous in their opposition to the prominence of athletics, has taken firm hold on undergraduate life: I mean, of course, intercollegiate debating.

The origin of intercollegiate debating is not difficult to trace. It arose in a natural reaction against the lax condition of the literary societies, and against the lack of genuine interest in any form of public speaking which for many years existed at Harvard and Yale, and, in fact, at almost all Eastern colleges. Many of the debating societies were old and well established; but the prominent place which they occupied during the early and middle years of the century was, as a rule, no longer theirs, and they were wholly out of sympathy with the new ideals of the modern college world. At the same time there were those who felt that such societies still had a definite and exceedingly valuable part to perform in college and university life and education, and who sought by various means to win back for them their former prestige and efficiency. No feasible plan for stimulating a revival of interest was, however, hit upon until the years 1889 and 1890, when some members of the Harvard Union, who entered college with the classes of 1892 and 1893 and who had had some experience in joint debates between preparatory schools in the vicinity of Boston, proposed to that society to hold debates with other colleges. For two years these men were voted down with considerable ridicule. In 1891, however, one of their number, Mr. F. W. Dallinger, now a senator in the Massachusetts legislature, took occasion, in replying to a letter from the

Secretary of the Yale Union, to set forth the advantages of a series of debates between Yale and Harvard. Nothing came of this proposal that year; but the following autumn, Yale sent a challenge for a joint discussion, and the opponents of the scheme in the Harvard Union having been graduated or won over, the proposal was at once accepted. Representatives of the two colleges met at Springfield and arranged for two debates, the first to take place at Cambridge on January 14, 1892.

On this day, therefore, Harvard and Yale met on the platform in the first of the modern intercollegiate debates. The question was, "*Resolved*, That a young man casting his first ballot in 1892 should vote for the nominees of the Democratic party." Yale had the affirmative. The late ex-Governor William E. Russell, of Massachusetts, acted as the presiding officer. Though, in accordance with the agreement, there were no judges, and consequently no formal decision was given as to which side proved itself superior in the contest, the meeting was very satisfactory; the audience was large, representative, and enthusiastic, and the debating creditable.

The second, the return debate, which was held at New Haven on March 25 following, had a still greater success. Dr. Chauncey M. Depew presided, and on the platform were many distinguished alumni of Yale. After the debate a new and interesting feature was added. The meeting was given a distinctly social turn by a banquet provided by the Yale literary societies in honor of the speakers. At the banquet Mr. Depew was toast-master, Prof. Hart, of Cambridge, responded for Harvard, and President Dwight for Yale. Other speakers were Prof. Hadley, the Hon. Francis Wayland, and Judge Howland of New York. Both by their presence and by what they said, these men emphasized the dignity and importance of the contests.

From 1893 to the present time the history of debating has been chiefly that of expansion. In the spring of that year, Yale received a challenge from the Whig and Cliosophic Societies of Princeton, and debated in Princeton on March 15. The next year Princeton made overtures to Harvard and Yale for permanent admission to their league. These were not acted upon immediately, but the following autumn Princeton was admitted, and the present triangular league established. In 1894-95 also, dual leagues were established between the University of Pennsylvania and Cornell and between Leland Stanford Jr. University and the University of California; and the University of Michigan debated with the University of Wisconsin and Northwestern University. Last year, Michigan debated with North-

western University and with the University of Chicago, Boston University debated with Wesleyan University and with Bates College, and Williams and Dartmouth had their first meeting. Columbia also had completed all arrangements to debate with the University of Chicago when the latter college withdrew.

The mechanics of the debates—I speak now of the Harvard-Yale-Princeton league, for it is on this that the other leagues have for the most part been formed—are fortunately simple; and there has been little friction. Still, as from time to time questions have arisen that caused delay and considerable correspondence, it was thought best last year to get a definite statement from the colleges on several points. For this purpose, a conference, composed of a graduate and an undergraduate representative from each of the three colleges, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, was held at New Haven last May, and though the meeting had no final jurisdiction, much good was accomplished. It was then decided that, in the future, the debates should consist of three speeches of twelve minutes on each side and three speeches in rebuttal of five minutes on each side. The subject for the debate must be submitted by the home college at least seven weeks before the meeting is to take place; and the choice of sides, which is always the privilege of the visiting college, must be made within two weeks after the subject has been received. The list of judges, which is to contain the name of no graduate of either institution contesting, must be submitted by the home college at least six weeks before the debate, and must be returned by the visiting college, with any objection noted, within one week. The judges so chosen must decide upon the merits of the debate without regard to the merits of the question.

Formal rules, however, give one but little idea of what the debating activity of a college is under the present system of intercollegiate contests. It begins with the opening of the autumn term. The first matter to demand attention is usually the selection of a question. This task, which is by no means an easy one, falls to a joint committee of the debating societies of the college; or to a central organization, if there be one. Under the present system, in which the opposing college has the choice of sides, the first concern in selecting a question is that it shall have two equal, or nearly equal, sides. The question must also have an interest for the public, and it must be worth discussing. Such at least seem to have been the principles underlying the selection of topics in the past. Last year, for example, when the currency and the Venezuelan boundary dispute were the chief subjects

of political interest, Harvard and Princeton debated the retiring of the greenbacks, and Harvard and Yale an international board of arbitration. Princeton and Yale discussed a topic of perhaps less immediate interest, but by no means an unimportant one,—referendum of State legislation. In preceding years, immigration, railroad pooling, protection and free trade, the annexation of Canada, party allegiance in politics, the Cabinet in Congress, labor organizations, and a property qualification for municipal suffrage have all been debated.

When the question has been selected and the sides chosen, the next step is the preliminary debate. In different colleges somewhat different methods are employed. At Yale and Princeton,—and this is the most common method,—each society, at a debate within its own hall, selects two or three men; a week or so later these men meet the representatives of the other societies at a debate at which the final selection is made by members of the faculty acting as judges. At Harvard, however, until the present year, a different method has been pursued. An open meeting has been held at which any member of the University could make a five-minute speech on the topic of the final debate; and on the basis of these speeches the men were chosen. To this plan, even in Cambridge, much objection has been made; and this year Harvard's representatives will be chosen in two preliminary contests, the first consisting of short speeches, open to all members of the University, and the second of a more formal debate between the ten or twelve men who have acquitted themselves most satisfactorily in the first. Judges, however, should not, and seldom do, base their decision entirely on the speeches of the preliminary debates; they usually take into consideration who the men are, how much experience in speaking they have had, how they stand in their courses, and, finally, their capacity for hard work. With these points and the speeches in mind, they select three regular debaters and one alternate speaker, and to these men the hard work, as well as the honor, falls.

On the day after the final preliminary contest the hard work begins. The debaters set about reading at once. They find little use in talking. From his preliminary work each man has derived a different idea as to how the question should be treated; and it is beyond his power to bring the others to his position. So the first thing is to get a common ground, and this can be had only by hard reading. Usually a bibliography of books, pamphlets, and articles is prepared, and divided among the debaters. Each man is instructed to look into everything on his list, to read what is pertinent, and to take notes and report to

the others all that has especial value. When this has been done, the general outlines of the question begin to be discussed. Next comes the making of the brief—in which each debater, since he may have to defend an attack on any part of it, must have a share—and the partition of the subject. The first part of the debate is usually given to a man who has a clear head for exposition and is a graceful speaker; he must get the question before the audience clearly and in such a way as to win their sympathy. To the second speaker is given the brunt of the argumentation; he presents the argument so far as time permits him. The last speech always goes to the best man, the most facile in rebuttal: he takes up that part of the argument which the second speaker has failed to touch upon, and in general strengthens the case wherever he can. After the divisions have been made, each man turns to the preparation of his own particular part. He determines the points he will bring up, the evidence he will introduce under each, and the order. He may write his speech out, and learn portions of it, or the brief may be the final form; this will depend on his method as a speaker. When the parts have been put into some kind of shape, a week or ten days before the contest, by far the most exhilarating part of the preparation begins,—the practice debates. Old debaters, graduate students, all men, in fact, who have any knowledge of the topic, and who are willing, are called in to speak against the contestants. Meetings are held every day, different assignments being made, although the old debaters are usually on hand each afternoon. The contestants speak in the order they are to have at the debate; while the outsiders take the place of the visiting team, and try to present such arguments as they will offer. There is also constant criticism by all present of the most unsparing kind. The least mis-statement, the slightest tendency to be dry or verbose or to miss a point, is caught up, and the attention of the speaker called to it. This is exasperating at first, almost discouraging; but it is salutary discipline. For, as a result, when the men go on to the platform for the debate, their knowledge of the question and the best way to state it is well-nigh perfect. They are masters of themselves and of their whole line of proof.

That the value of this training can be seriously doubted is difficult to understand. The merits of the debate itself—the give and take, the sharpening of wits, the demand for cool heads and keen minds—have long been appreciated. Intercollegiate debate, since it calls for these qualities in simply a greater degree, is only the more admirable. At no other time in his college course does a man have the oppor-

tunity to work up a question so thoroughly and consistently. Not only must a great mass of facts and material be collected by the debater, but he must react on them in an original way. The power of selection and judgment is constantly called into service; how much to take and what to leave is an ever-perplexing problem. Of still greater value is the sense of responsibility engendered. On the debaters rests the making of the case, and to them the college looks. The practice in speaking, too, is excellent. As a rule the ideas of the college student are not set much store by; but on this one occasion, before an intelligent audience, and before a distinguished body of judges, he is expected to give, and he will be listened to while he does give, his most matured ideas. This, in addition to the practice of the trial debates, where a man speaks daily on a question which has his whole heart and soul, gives the student a grasp, a power, a capacity, which he does not acquire otherwise.

Perhaps as good a way as any to bring out the peculiar value of the training of the debates is by contrasting with it the methods of that other form of college speaking once so popular, and still in great favor in the South and West,—the oration. Suppose the same topic—for example, the recognition of Cuban belligerency—be chosen by a contestant in an oratorical contest and as the subject for an intercollegiate debate. The orator, since he must thrill his hearers, must bring out dramatic situations and effects. He dwells on the inhumanities of the present war, of which he gives two or three specific instances of a particularly glowing type; he dilates on the nearness of Cuba to our coasts, and insists that the brotherhood of man ought to bridge such a chasm; he shows that Cuba is fighting for liberty; he draws a parallel with our war for independence, for the success of which the aid of another nation was so essential; and he ends with a strong peroration on the mission of America in the Western world. He says nothing about belligerency; and he would think himself very foolish to clog his discourse with anything like evidence. How different is the method of the debater! Recognizing at the outset that he must grapple with his topic closely, and knowing that belligerency is a question of international law, he turns at once to Wheaton or Hall to find on what ground the recognition of belligerency rests. Then, by most painstaking research, he tries to ascertain the precise state of affairs in Cuba, and whether the conditions fulfil the requirements. Failing in this, or wishing to strengthen his case, he may have recourse to the same point of view as the orator, that of common humanity; but his treatment

would be very different. He would endeavor to show how, in a general way, moral principles may, and sometimes should, outweigh legal precedents; citing perhaps in support of this proposition the Fugitive Slave Law. Then he would try to show that the condition in Cuba presents a moral situation which demands interference, in spite of any obligation to Spain or the rest of the world; to prove that the United States could interfere effectually,—that is, without making bad worse; and that interference would not involve annexation at a future time. But without pursuing the subject further, it may be left to the reader to decide which kind of training is best for the future editor or legislator. One thing only may be said: When a student has thus come to see the need of finding reasons for his ideas, of thinking long and laboriously before he begins to speak, it is not at all probable that in after life, when confronted with the same kind of questions, he will adopt different methods.

As is the case with most of the undertakings with which college men have to do, the system of intercollegiate debating is not wholly perfect. In particular, two faults have arisen against which a word of caution is necessary. The first of these is what is commonly known as faculty coaching. In the past year or two a tendency has developed, and it is to be feared that it is on the increase, for members of faculties to have an active part in the preparation of the debates. No college, it may be said at once, is alone at fault; the evil probably exists, to some extent, in all. But beyond any doubt it ought to be put an end to. If it continues, and members of the faculties submit to such procedure, the debates will degenerate into contests between the two boards of instruction, in which the speakers will be well-trained mouthpieces. Some kinds of assistance from faculties—suggestions about books, for instance—are unquestionably allowable; but when it comes to having any part whatsoever in the making of the speeches, the danger-line is passed. Those who are in charge of debating affairs in colleges, will, it is to be hoped, see this, and recognize the necessity of a decided stand on the right side.

The other danger, to which I wish simply to refer, is one still more indigenous to college affairs: the tendency to over-do. Not content with "Varsity" debates, in the past two years Harvard and Yale have held freshman contests, and at the present time even preparatory schools are arranging debating leagues and associations. Of course, it must be admitted that this question is one on which sensible men may differ; and yet the arguments against the further extension of the

system seem reasonably definitive. Freshmen—still more sub-freshmen—are incompetent to debate. The freshman has had none of the training essential for a debater; he has had no instruction in history, politics, or economics, no training in argumentation. He is a novice in knowledge and in skill, wholly unequal to the strain of prolonged and systematic thought on difficult subjects. To be sure, it may be said in reply to this argument that the freshman intercollegiate debates, particularly the last one, have been creditable affairs. But this seeming success really proves nothing at all; it simply shows that a freshman can learn to shoot well when he is properly loaded.

That these evils, however, will stay or even moderate the interest in intercollegiate debating cannot for a moment be admitted. The interest is too deep, too widespread. A victory in debate nowadays is received with little less enthusiasm than a victory on the field; and to the successful contestants is given academic distinction as gratifying as that accorded prominent writers or athletes. The West too, as well as the East, is awakened. Leland Stanford Jr. University and the University of California have annual debates, as well as Harvard and Yale; and during the present winter, between Boston and Berkeley scores of such meetings between colleges will be held. In no form of college activity is there more genuine enthusiasm, or a more auspicious outlook for a future of great usefulness.

RALPH CURTIS RINGWALT.

The Forum

FEBRUARY, 1897.

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION.

I AM asked to write something on "The Future of the Democratic Organization." The task is difficult, because dealing in *futures*, whether in business or in politics, is always largely a matter of venture and uncertainty. Burke once wrote "You can never plan the future by the past," but on the other hand Patrick Henry in his famous speech before the Virginia Convention in 1775 said "I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past." Accepting Henry's counsel as the better guide, and also recalling Byron's assertion that "The best of prophets of the future is the past," we may somewhat foretell the possibilities of a great political party by a fair and just consideration of its previous history.

The Democratic party is of ancient and honorable origin. Founded by Jefferson nearly a century ago, it is the oldest political organization in existence in the United States to-day, having survived all other parties including the Federal, Whig, American, and Greenback parties, its only contemporaries now being the Republican party of scarcely forty years' growth, and the Populist party of very recent inception.

The Democratic creed was enunciated in Jefferson's first inaugural address, wherein he laid down certain fundamental principles of government—sixteen in all—the maintenance of which he deemed essential for the well-being of the country. That address is worthy of careful study by every student of American political history, and it may safely be asserted that the administrative policies therein proclaimed are as necessary to-day to our national prosperity and happiness

Copyright, 1896, by The Forum Publishing Company.

Permission to re-publish articles is reserved.

as when they were first promulgated. A steady and consistent adherence to them kept the Democratic party in power, under the leadership of wise and conservative statesmen, almost continuously from 1801 to 1860, when unfortunately the counsels of extremists prevailed and the party foolishly cut loose from its former safe moorings, setting aside or ignoring—temporarily at least—the sixteen great national principles under which it had so uniformly triumphed, and accepting in their stead a single issue, largely sectional in its character, thereby dividing and defeating the party, precipitating a civil war, and depriving the Democracy of national power for twenty-four years thereafter.

The unwisdom of risking a campaign on a single issue at the instance of those who sought to perpetuate slavery—a system condemned by the popular judgment of the country and by the moral sentiment of the world—seems now so clear that the folly and shortsightedness which urged and insisted upon it can scarcely be realized. Mr. Lincoln was a minority President, and a united Democracy could have prevented his election; but arrogant leaders, not appreciating the dangers which a division involved, bent upon factional control rather than party unity, seeking selfish and sectional advantages rather than subserving patriotic interests, rejecting the prudent counsels of true and tried friends, madly rushed into a contest in which defeat was inevitable. But until the madness of 1860 the party had administered the government, during its long control, with much success and popular satisfaction. The achievements of Democratic statesmen had been continually adding lustre to our history: their efforts had been successful in enlarging our national domain—making all the additions thereto which have been really valuable: their successful and patriotic policies had been in the line of sacredly preserving the public credit, of sustaining the national honor, and guarding our national safety by the promulgation and maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine—first declared by a Democratic President; conducting successfully two foreign wars during which the personal liberties of our citizens were not infringed nor our finances disturbed by the issue of legal-tender paper money, while the glory of the country was visibly enhanced; favoring hard money—money of full intrinsic value—the money of the Constitution; respecting and guarding the reserved powers of the States; defending popular rights as no other party ever did or has since done, and always endeavoring to restrict the use of the vast taxing powers of the government to public purposes exclusively.

So long as this remains a free country not governed by royal fami-

lies, but by the people themselves through the instrumentalities of political parties, there will always be at least two leading political organizations, and one of them must necessarily be a party devoted to such salutary principles and benign policies as I have mentioned, which are deemed essential to our national welfare. That party may not always be dominant in public affairs, but it surely will not become extinct. Reverses are as natural in politics as are periods of depression in business, while occasional hard times are incident to the best as well as the poorest governed countries.

The fact should not be overlooked that with the exception of the reverses which were traceable to the follies of 1860, from which the Democratic party did not recover until 1876, it has never lost a Presidential election twice in succession. Reasoning from this circumstance, as well as because of the inherent fickleness which seems to characterize popular action in political matters, we may fairly conclude that the next President of the United States to be elected in 1900 will be a Democrat. This conclusion is reached upon the assumption—which may reasonably be entertained—that a policy of pacification, rather than of antagonism, shall be adopted by party managers toward all factions, that a spirit of charity shall prevail among those honestly holding diverse views upon some few issues while agreeing in the main on many others, and above all that there shall be a steadfast adherence to well-settled Democratic usages and principles—untinctured with populism—and that recent mistakes in that regard shall be avoided.

It has been demonstrated many times that there is a large class of conservative people in this country, not avowed "independents" so called, but people who while nominally belonging to some political party are disposed to regard political ties very lightly, voting first with one party and then with the other, or sometimes not voting at all, and who really constitute the balance of power, and virtually control by their action or non-action the political destinies of the nation. They are electors of intelligence, usually men of property, strictly conscientious, opponents of radicalism in every form, patriotic in their purposes, and sincerely desirous of good government under whatsoever party it may best be secured. They think for themselves and act for themselves quite regardless of political influences. Whichever political party disgusts, offends, or frightens this class of electors, greatly imperils its chances of success. The political barometer is largely affected by the conclusions which they may reach. It is the general conviction that the course pursued by the Chicago Convention not

only offended thousands of veteran Democrats who had grown gray in the service of the party, but was especially obnoxious to this class of thoughtful and intelligent citizens. Fair-minded Democrats who had learned to respect the time-honored usages of the party were astonished at the revolutionary proceedings of that body in arbitrarily and unnecessarily rejecting, contrary to every Democratic precedent, the selection of the National Committee for Temporary Chairman; and were grieved as well as indignant when, for the selfish purpose of securing a two-thirds vote, the majority, egged on by impetuous and misguided counsels, invaded the domain and prerogatives of the sovereign State of Michigan, and, flagrantly trampling upon State rights, assumed to decide that which its own State Convention had exclusive jurisdiction to determine.

Bad as was this beginning, the subsequent procedure was still worse. While Democratic usages were ignored at the outset, there soon followed the repudiation of old and well established Democratic principles, and the substitution of new and dangerous populist doctrines in their stead. There naturally could be but one result to such a suicidal course, which every man of intelligence could easily foresee.

The wisdom of making the silver question practically the sole or paramount issue in the recent campaign was seriously doubted by many influential Democrats who were solicitous for the party's future welfare. "It is the part of a wise man . . . not to venture all his eggs in one basket." To exchange Jefferson's sixteen Democratic principles for one populist principle was not regarded as the part of prudence. To risk everything upon a single issue—and that one of questionable propriety—seemed to be unnecessarily imperilling the fortunes of a great political party.

But even if it was desirable that the free coinage of silver should be the sole or principal issue,—an issue about which honest men may well differ,—the platform declaring for such coinage should have been carefully drawn, its provisions therefor should have been surrounded with every appropriate safeguard, and it should have avoided troublesome details which needlessly invited criticism. The issue should have been presented in such form as to satisfy or at least pacify conservative men and not frighten them. When the real question involved was whether silver should be coined at all (other than for subsidiary purposes), it was the height of folly to declare for such coinage at a precise ratio. A general declaration in favor of the remonetization of silver, accompanied by a strong pledge for the maintenance of its parity

with gold by the exercise of all the powers of the government to that end, and as a precautionary feature limiting the application of such silver coinage to debts thereafter contracted, would have better answered the charge of repudiation and dishonesty, and disarmed much opposition to the proposed change in our monetary system.

The prevalent suspicion that a safe system of bimetallism was not intended, but that silver monometallism was really desired,—especially in view of the fact that a precise ratio was fixed so disproportionate to the commercial ratio existing between the two metals, and aggravated by the absence of a promise of any effort to secure and maintain a parity,—should have impelled the Convention to explicitly declare, not for any specified ratio, but for whatever ratio would surely and safely maintain such parity. That was clearly the path of prudence, duty, and patriotism,—but unfortunately it was not pursued. There are those who think it would have been still better not to have declared at all in favor of the experiment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, alone and without the coöperation of other great countries, but that a safer, and more judicious course, under existing conditions, would have been the approval in general terms of international bimetallism, and there stopped. It is true that such a moderate plank would not have satisfied the Populists—with whom a coalition was even then contemplated,—but on the other hand it might have preserved Democratic unity for the future and prevented the Indianapolis bolt.

But if a mistake was made in the form in which the silver question was presented to the country, it was supplemented and augmented by some of the other provisions of the platform which were equally if not still more objectionable. A radical change in the nation's monetary standard, such as was proposed, was itself sufficient to alarm the country without adding any other offensive provisions, or provisions of doubtful expediency, or especially those of a revolutionary and unprecedented character.

Had reasonable judgment been exercised there ought to have been no difficulty in making the residue of the platform, aside from the silver plank, entirely acceptable to every Democrat and to all conservative citizens; but instead thereof passion, prejudice, selfishness, sectionalism, and emotionalism seemed to rule the hour, while so many undemocratic, crude, and unsafe provisions were recklessly incorporated therein that the people became frightened and hundreds of thousands of electors who otherwise would have supported the ticket were needlessly alienated.

These unwise provisions, which, more than the silver question, tended to ensure defeat, deserve some consideration :

First. *The Income Tax.* This tax had never before been approved in a Democratic platform and had never been tolerated by the country, except as a temporary expedient in time of war. Yet this platform proposed to fasten it upon the nation in a time of profound peace as a part of its permanent fiscal policy. It is an unjust, inquisitorial, and sectional tax. It is a tax upon thrift, industry, and brains, and not upon wealth *per se*. It is a *direct* tax, and when not levied upon the States according to their population, as required by the Constitution, cannot be levied at all. It was regarded in many quarters as an indefensible measure of confiscation, pressed by the improvident or impecunious States, as against the thrifty, progressive, and wealthy ones. It was urged by every political adventurer, ignoramus, and demagogue in the country. The demand therefor was part and parcel of the same unseemly clamor concerning the alleged interests of "the masses against the classes" of which so much was heard in the recent campaign. The sectional character of the tax, and the motives for its adoption evidenced by the concerted and selfish struggle for its revival, are apparent when it is stated that the records in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue of the United States show that while the whole amount of the tax as returned to that Department under the recent law from all the States was \$15,943,746.69 there was returned from the States which voted for the Democratic-Populistic candidates in the late election only the sum of \$1,880,201.38. New York's share of the burden was twice as much as all these Democratic-Populistic States,—being one quarter of the whole tax, the exact amount being \$3,784,489.04. Yet there are those who affect to be surprised that the people of New York did not hasten to support this platform with zeal and enthusiasm, instead of rejecting it by more than a quarter of a million majority.

Second. *The attack on the Supreme Court.* The platform criticizes the decision of that Court declaring the Income Tax law unconstitutional. If that were all it does, the plank might be overlooked or excused as simply a matter of bad taste, foolish and unnecessary, but unimportant. But it goes further and instead of acquiescing in the decision, it declares it to be "the duty of Congress to use all the Constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come from its reversal by the Court as it may hereafter be constituted," to effect the imposition of an income tax. What does this extraordinary

provision mean? What power has Congress under the Constitution over the Supreme Court, which it is thus declared to be its "duty" to exercise? Its power may be regarded as almost absolute—especially if it desires to arbitrarily or recklessly use or abuse it. While it cannot abolish the Court itself, it can *reorganize* it by act of Congress and thereby change its *personnel*—perhaps its whole complexion. Congress can increase or possibly diminish the number of Judges: it can make "regulations" concerning the Court's appellate jurisdiction largely restricting and hampering its usefulness and virtually destroying its efficacy. A reckless Congress and a corrupt, ambitious, or unscrupulous President can "pack" the Court and force an acceptable decision. In truth the scheme thus approved contemplated the reorganization of the Supreme Court, by some of the methods permitted, to the end that a Court should be obtained which would surely sustain the coveted income tax. Indeed this programme was unblushingly avowed and defended by some of those most zealous in urging the adoption of this plank. A more dangerous or revolutionary procedure was never before outlined by a political party, and it is no wonder that it startled the Judiciary and bar of the country, and aroused intense opposition almost everywhere. It is a fact not generally known and perhaps for the first time here stated that the platform upon this subject as originally prepared and presented to the sub-committee on Resolutions at Chicago by the majority thereof, simply proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for or permitting an income tax. Such a provision, while of course objectionable in itself, and also because it foolishly assumed an untimely and unwise issue, was nevertheless an orderly and legitimate method of securing the relief sought: but upon discussion it was rejected by the majority as too moderate or as otherwise undesirable, and the hazardous provision before mentioned was substituted in its stead, and the Democratic party thereby committed to a policy of virtual destruction, usurpation, and revolution.

Third. *Legal-tender paper money.* The plank which refers to paper money is somewhat ambiguous and was apparently so intended. The clause "we demand that all paper money which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States," assumes that such money is hereafter to be issued and may properly be issued. There is an implied recognition of the propriety of issuing more legal-tender paper money. That claim or admission may be satisfactory to Populists who believe in *fiat* money, but can hardly be

acceptable to Democrats who have heretofore always favored hard money,—coined money,—money of intrinsic value. The true Democratic theory is that Congress has no Constitutional power to issue any more legal-tender paper money, and should not issue any whatever: but this plank proceeds upon a different theory—a directly opposite theory. It ignores the fact—or it was seemingly framed in ignorance of the fact—that national-bank notes are not legal tender and never have been, and that they are not *money* in the proper sense of that term, and no person is obliged to accept them as such. It antagonized national banks under a false idea of their true functions, and created a deceptive and shallow issue, inviting additional opposition. A demand for the substantial abolition or vital impairment of national banks, coupled with the nomination for Vice-President of a national-bank official, was an exhibition of stupidity and inconsistency which added grotesqueness to the campaign.

Fourth. *Repudiation and an assault upon our National Credit.* The declaration that “We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace” was vicious as well as unfortunate. It was an attack upon the national credit. It was wholly an unnecessary financial issue, entirely foreign to the silver question proper, which should not have been encumbered with it. It antagonized *all* bonds of the United States, as of course none but interest-bearing bonds were ever contemplated. It opposed their issuance for any purpose whatever, and whether issued by the President or by Congress. Even the Populist platform was not so radical, as it excepted “bonds issued by specific act of Congress.” Of course this plank was utterly indefensible, and it recklessly placed the Democratic party in a false and humiliating position demanding explanation and apology. It was adopted with full knowledge of the embarrassing financial situation of the government. What was that status? The party had enacted a tariff bill (largely through the influence of the ultra friends of silver who would not listen to conservative counsels) which failed to furnish adequate revenues for the support of the nation, and the government found itself without sufficient coin with which to redeem its greenback currency upon presentation; and the two houses of Congress being unable to agree upon a new tariff measure providing for additional revenue, the government was compelled to issue bonds to procure the necessary coin for redemption purposes, and by means of such redemption process was enabled to secure sufficient moneys for the payment of its ordinary running expenses. Under such circumstances

there was no other alternative except the issuing of bonds, as every intelligent man knows ; and if such dead-lock shall continue there will still be no other alternative in the future.

To oppose the issuing of bonds under such circumstances—which was the only feasible method of protecting the credit of the nation, of preventing repudiation, and of honorably meeting its outstanding obligations and paying its routine expenditures—was regarded by the public as not only criminal folly, but little less than treason itself. The people were readily made to believe that such opposition was only another means or plan of undermining and destroying the government, and of accomplishing by ballots what bullets had failed to do. What loyal Democrat—a follower of Douglas, McClellan, Hancock, and Tilden—could conscientiously defend and vindicate such an infamous and unfortunate plank ?

Fifth. *Federal authority in States.* It was at least unwise to raise an issue as to the extent to which the Federal government may interfere in local affairs in States even for the avowed purpose of the enforcement of Federal laws. The Chicago riots or labor troubles, largely local in their character, should not have been either directly or indirectly dragged into a national contest, either for the commendation or condemnation of the Federal administration or the State administration of Illinois. That conflict at the time was perhaps much misunderstood and confused in the public mind, and it was the height of political madness to expect to elucidate it in a brief national campaign, where much pre-existing prejudice, bitterness, and misrepresentation had to be explained away and overcome. No political party can afford to be placed in a false position upon the questions of the enforcement of law and order, the suppression of violence, and the due maintenance of the proper authority of the general government against domestic resistance—which appeal so strongly to the American heart and conscience—but this vague, unfortunate, and ill-advised plank—under the peculiar circumstances existing—gave the opposition an advantage which they readily utilized, and thereby added to the burdens of an already overburdened and severely handicapped party. No pretext or excuse should have been afforded the Republicans for making against the Democracy the cruel charge of countenancing anarchism and lawlessness.

Sixth. *Life tenure in the Public Service.* This plank as reported from the sub-committee on Resolutions, as presented and read in the Convention, as discussed by those who debated the platform, as adopted by the Convention itself, and as published in all the newspapers at the

time, was as follows—"We are opposed to life tenure in the public service." There is no evidence that it was ever duly or lawfully changed. Shortly before the election however it appeared in the "Democratic Campaign Book," prepared by Hon. Benton McMillan of Tennessee and promulgated under the authority of the National Committee, with the words "except as provided in the Constitution" added thereto. When, where, how, and why these words were interpolated does not appear.

This much is clear—the plank in its original form had never been recognized as Democratic doctrine. No previous platform in the whole history of the party had ever sanctioned such a position. Life tenure for our Federal Judges had been established in the Constitution by our patriotic forefathers, and there never was any demand for a change—at least none on the part of Democrats. It was an undesirable and troublesome issue to champion, with no intelligent public sentiment in its support. Neither do the disputed or additional words, which seem to have been added without the authority of the Convention, make the plank acceptable, but rather make it ridiculous. When it is remembered that there are no civil officials in the public service absolutely possessing a life tenure excepting Judicial officers provided for in the Constitution, the declaration of opposition to all life tenures "except as provided in the Constitution" becomes palpably absurd, as well as displays a lamentable lack of information.

If—as has been intimated—this provision was intended as an attack on the existing civil service laws, its crudity and semi-falsity are apparent when it is understood that every official under such laws may be removed at the pleasure of the appointing power, while appointments only are restricted to those upon the certified eligible lists. If it was deemed desirable or advisable to antagonize the whole civil service system—a proposition of questionable propriety—some more appropriate words should have been chosen to express such purpose. A wise political party will avoid entangling phrases and complicated situations which tend to forfeit public confidence and respect.

There are other features of this platform which are more or less offensive and objectionable, but space forbids any special reference to them. It is sufficient to conclude this line of thought by saying that it has been fairly demonstrated that, even aside from the silver issue, victory was well-nigh impossible on the lines marked out by the Chicago platform. The evidences are numerous that hundreds of thou-

sands of Democrats to whom that platform was distasteful, nevertheless supported the ticket upon grounds of regularity, expediency, or other tenable grounds satisfactory to themselves and their consciences, but who do not desire the experiment repeated or their loyalty again so severely and unnecessarily tested. They were willing to pardon or excuse the errors of their party in one campaign, but they will not tolerate them in another.

The mistakes of the recent contest must not be repeated; the objectionable features of the platform must be abandoned, or there must be a material modification of its essential provisions; conservatism must replace radicalism; the selfish interests of sectionalism must give way to the best interests of the whole country; conciliation must prevail instead of ostracism; a broad and liberal policy in party management must be adopted; there must be greater freedom of opinions tolerated and sincere efforts made to harmonize and adjust honest differences; unholy alliances with Populists must be avoided; and above all, there must be a return to the fundamental principles of the party from which temporarily it has so materially departed;—these are the essential requirements by which success becomes possible in the future.

The fact should not be misunderstood that the Indianapolis movement was far more formidable and important than the aggregate vote for Palmer and Buckner would indicate. Some portion of the immense popular majority for McKinley is properly accounted for by the large support which he received from the gold element who refused to "fire in the air," but, embracing the tactics of practical politics, placed their votes "where they would do the most good," as they alleged. But it is evident that a still larger support was received from Democrats who sympathized with the Indianapolis movement until its Convention unexpectedly favored the policy of gold monometallism—antagonizing the policy of bimetallism, even though secured through international agreement—and then who actively or passively supported the Republican ticket, being unable to approve the Populistic doctrines incorporated in the Chicago platform. Neither should the political observer fail to note that when the votes of the Populists and the votes of the silver Republicans (who will still be Populists and Republicans hereafter) are deducted from the total vote of the Democratic-Populist combine, it will appear how greatly the strict Democratic strength has shrunk since 1892. Temporary alliances on a single issue, with elements which are hostile on all other questions, usually add little or no permanent strength to a great political party, and they are some-

times positively demoralizing. Temporary expedients are as dangerous in politics as in business.

It was to be regretted that the most questionable and mischievous provisions of the Chicago platform seemed to meet with much favor at the hands of a motley crowd of Populists, silver Republicans, single-tax men, old greenbackers, professional labor agitators, socialists, and Adullamites generally, whose noisy and unintelligent championship of the Democratic cause, and especially their extreme utterances of every character, alarmed many influential and thoughtful men and hastened their repudiation of the ticket. It looked at one time as though this combination of mischief-makers and malcontents proposed to take possession of the Democratic party, dictate its policies, and control its actions; and in some of the States this disaster was prevented only by the vigorous and patriotic efforts of level-headed Democratic leaders who remained true to the old faith and did not propose to surrender the old Democratic ship or permit it to be scuttled by irresponsible and fanatical "one idea" pirates.

If success is to crown the future efforts of the party, certain agrarian and socialistic tendencies developed in the recent campaign, for which the Democracy were ostensibly responsible, must be promptly checked. The party must disavow the numerous paternalistic doctrines which were promulgated under its auspices, or successive defeats will surely follow. It is neither good politics nor is it honest to teach the people to expect the government to provide a living for them; nor to lead them to believe that all the ills to which the body-politic is naturally subject can be cured by legislation; nor to attack vested rights, to indiscriminately assail the possessors of property, to denounce wealth and exalt poverty, to inspire disrespect for courts, to rail at those in authority, to openly or covertly resist established laws, to oppose or regard as "wrongs" and "oppressions" the necessary regulations ordained for the control of public affairs; nor to encourage a warfare upon chartered capital and fixed incomes, nor to array classes against classes, and endeavor to sow the seeds of discontent everywhere. Honest agitation for the correction of governmental abuses is legitimate and deserves encouragement, but agitation for the mere sake of agitation may become mischievous and dangerous.

The Democratic party—to its great credit—has ever been the consistent and courageous defender of popular rights, the champion of labor, the protector of the weak, the friend of the poor, and the enemy of plutocracy; but its course has always been reasonable, fair, and judi-

cious. It cannot now consent to become the asylum for all the demagogues and charlatans in the country, who, while ostentatiously proclaiming their desire to subserve the public good, are really furthering schemes of ambition or private gain or endeavoring to undermine the government and to pull down the pillars of society.

The Democratic party to succeed must deserve success. It cannot be permitted to degenerate into a mere "silver" party; it has other missions than to promote the interests of silver mine-owners exclusively; its policies must be national in their character, and patriotic and disinterested enough to include the promotion of the prosperity and welfare of the whole country; and its lines must be broad enough to embrace within its membership those of every nationality, creed, color, occupation, and profession. If political clubs are desirable as auxiliaries to the regular organization, they should be *Democratic* clubs, and not "silver" clubs, "gold" clubs, "tariff-reform" clubs, "workingmen's" clubs, "bankers'" clubs, "German" clubs, or "Irish" clubs. Such divisions, discriminations, and distinctions should have no place in American politics.

The mission of the Democratic party has not yet been fulfilled. Its existence is as necessary to-day as at any period of its long and eventful history. No single issue gave it birth, and the death of any one issue cannot destroy it. It rendered valuable services to the Republic even during our civil war in upholding the Constitutional rights of citizens—which domestic strife could not extinguish;—in protecting personal liberty, in preventing needless arbitrary arrests, in maintaining freedom of speech, in guarding the liberty of the press, in defending the writ of *habeas corpus*, and in resisting usurpations of every description incident to a period of fierce and bloody conflict. An honest and patriotic opposition party was necessary to check and prevent excesses on the part of the party in power, and its usefulness was also manifested in confining the war to its legitimate and proper object—to wit, the restoration of the Union. It made no protest, although during the contest when the issue was doubtful and while hundreds of thousands of loyal Democrats were to the front gallantly fighting the battles of their country, President Lincoln removed all the Democratic officials throughout the North and put Republicans in their places. Democratic patriotism was also severely tested when after the war a Democratic President, honestly and fairly elected, was deliberately counted out, and the party submitted to the outrage rather than plunge the country into another civil strife.

The valuable services rendered by the Democratic party to the country during all of the reconstruction period and subsequently thereto, cannot be overestimated, and were especially exhibited in opposing a military despotism which was at times sought to be substituted for civil authority ; in resisting irresponsible carpet-bag governments in the Southern States ; in defeating the partisan impeachment of President Johnson, and thereby saving the country from a dangerous and pernicious precedent ; in antagonizing the maintenance of an immense standing army in time of peace ; in preventing the enactment of iniquitous Force bills ; in exposing and repudiating the fallacious greenback heresy ; in reducing public expenditures to the lowest limits consistent with the actual needs of the government ; in checking the accumulation of a vast surplus in the Treasury unnecessarily collected from the taxpayers of the country ; and in always insisting that public taxation shall be limited to public purposes.

If I were asked to briefly define in general terms a vital difference between the Democratic and Republican parties, I should answer that the former believes in a strict construction of the Federal Constitution, while the latter advocates a loose construction. These two different theories or methods of construction had their inception in Washington's cabinet, and were represented respectively by Jefferson on one side and Hamilton on the other, and such conflicting theories have been contending against each other for mastery from that day to this.

While the Democratic party has made mistakes—and what party has not?—it has as a general rule entertained better notions of government and advocated more correct principles than has any of its adversaries. It has occasionally fallen into evil hands, but has quickly recovered itself. It has accomplished much good for the country, and is capable of accomplishing more.

Its administrations of the national as well as the State governments have been characterized by greater economy than those of its opponents. This is but natural, because the membership of the Republican party is more largely composed of the wealthy classes than is the Democratic party, the latter being predominantly the poor man's party, and the former being more accustomed than the latter to liberality in personal affairs, more easily incurs prodigal or extravagant public expenditures. But whatever may be the true reason, the fact exists that superior economy is practiced by the Democracy and the figures corroborate that view. The ordinary expenditures of the government during each year of Mr. Harrison's Administration exceeded those of

any year of Mr. Cleveland's first Administration by many millions of dollars, while during Mr. Cleveland's second or present Administration such expenditures have been reduced each and every year as follows :

Fiscal year ending June 30th.	Reductions from previous year.
1893-4.....	\$15,952,674.66
1894-5.....	\$11,329,981.54
1895-6.....	\$ 4,015,852.21

In the State of New York under Democratic rule from 1883 to 1894 (both inclusive) the State taxes were greatly minimized, reaching at one period the lowest amount in thirty-four years, while upon the advent of the Republican party to power in 1895 the taxes were immediately increased \$4,457,154.04 in one year, and during the second or last year they still largely exceeded any year of Democratic rule.

What has been true of the State is also true of municipalities. Republican control in New York city, in Brooklyn, and in Albany county brought increased taxation to each locality. The tax rate in other places tells the same story.

It is peculiarly the province of the Democratic party to earnestly oppose the false theories of protection—"protection for protection's sake alone"—which has become the corner-stone of the Republican faith. Upon this issue the Democratic party is substantially united. With one accord it opposes a policy which seeks to use the power of taxation for the accomplishment of private purposes—for the building up of individual fortunes—and for the distribution of legislative advantages to favored interests. It doubts the Constitutional as well as the moral authority of Congress to take money out of one man's pocket, in the form of tariff taxes, to aid another man's business. It demands equal taxation, honest taxation, and public taxation. It insists that tariff taxation shall be for revenue, and not for any private purpose. It interposes no objection to the incidental advantages or benefits which any particular person may derive from the imposition of tariff duties,—levied for the principal, direct, and honest purposes of revenue,—but it insists that revenue must be the true object and not the incident of all tariff taxation.

Protection is only a species of paternalism, and should not be encouraged. It tends to build up large monopolies, to create odious trusts and syndicates, to breed corruption, to embarrass legitimate business, and to interfere with the natural laws of trade. Its constant importunities demoralize Congress: its selfish efforts largely control

our elections: and its malign influence impairs the independence of our public men. A learned writer has pertinently said, "Protection and corruption have gone, and can hardly fail to go, hand in hand."

The country was never in greater need of the Democratic party than now. Its services are especially demanded in preventing, if possible, the foisting of a high protective tariff upon the nation. Already the air is filled with the clamor of the expectant recipients of legislative favors demanding an extra session of Congress in order that the distribution and scramble may immediately begin without waiting for the regular session in December next, and Republican leaders seem disposed to yield to the pressure, although there is to-day (January 1, 1897) a surplus of \$127,615,461.42 in the Treasury (in addition to the gold reserve of \$100,000,000), which is sufficient to liquidate the comparatively small annual deficit in revenues for at least two years to come. Yet in spite of these facts the business interests of the country are to be disturbed the greater part of the coming summer by an extra session, by continued tariff discussion, and by the enactment of a radical high tariff measure—not for the legitimate purpose of increasing revenues, but for the selfish purpose of increasing taxes, of preventing importations, of destroying competition, of raising prices to consumers, and of enriching a favored few to whom the Republican party is indebted for obligations assumed and important partisan services rendered in the recent campaign.

It is not probable that the people will approve this mistaken programme, and it is not unlikely that the false steps about to be taken by the Republican party—against the advice of some of its ablest and most discreet statesmen—may furnish the desired opportunity of the Democracy to return to power again.

It is quite clear that the people will not sanction radicalism in either direction in tariff legislation. The Wilson bill, unfortunately, was deemed extreme in one direction, producing deficiencies instead of adequate revenues, thereby incurring popular disapproval: but will not a high protective tariff measure, with all its accompanying enormities, be a mistake in the opposite direction and soon overwhelm its authors in the popular reaction which is sure to follow its enactment? History sometimes repeats itself. It is impossible for the Republicans, with their well-known environments, tendencies, and temptations, to pass a moderate and acceptable tariff bill. They have aroused as well as endorsed the spirit of paternalism and they are now unable to resist its inexorable demands.

Prof. Goldwin Smith in a recent and very able article in *THE FORUM*¹ appropriately speaks of the inconsistency of Republican attacks upon the theories of Populism, as follows:

“It seems to be truly said also that the paternalism involved in Protection has had its effect in breeding among Populists and socialists a tendency to invoke state aid contrary to the fundamental idea of the American Commonwealth. A manufacturing company which is receiving a dividend of 10 per cent demands, and uses its influence in Congress to obtain, state protection against free competition. How can its members consistently preach individual independence to the Populist who wants the state to provide him with a market for his grain, or to a socialistic mechanic who wants the state to assure him a full wage for a reduced day's work? That the state can create prosperity by legislation, is the fallacy against which, when it appears in the guise of socialism or Populism, Protectionist capital fights, but upon which its own theory is in fact built.”

This similarity in the doctrines of Protection and Populism may account for the fact that while Republicans in New York during the recent campaign with assumed patriotic fervor were vigorously denouncing Populists as dangerous to the country, their associates in the South and West, seemingly with their approval, were forming combinations with Populists, whenever any political advantage was to be gained. The Republican National Committee has been engaged in endeavoring to elect a Silver-Republican United States Senator from North Carolina through a Republican-Populist combine. It seems, from a Republican point of view, that Populism is dangerous only when it coalesces with the Democracy.

But opposition to both Populism and Protection is not the only duty which the Democratic party owes to the country and to itself. It must actively continue its championship of religious liberty—guaranteed to all the people under our Federal Constitution—but sought to be undermined and restricted in numerous ways by various bigoted elements in society, largely identified with other political organizations. Naturalized and native born citizens are not only entitled to the equal protection of our laws, but to equal opportunities in their aspirations for political honors, and any attempted proscription on account of nationality or creed is un-American in spirit and the exhibition of a narrowness and bigotry which should not be fostered or cultivated upon our soil.

Democracy must also resist the crusades of fanaticism in whatever form they may be attempted, whether openly in the shape of unreasonable sumptuary legislation unnecessarily prescribing what men shall

¹ “The Brewing of the Storm,” December, 1896.

eat, and drink, and wear, or under the disguise of guarding the morals of communities, through unjust sabbatarian laws, needlessly interfering with the harmless recreations, habits, and customs of the people. There is a wide field of usefulness open to the Democratic party in its more vigorous advocacy of the growing issue of "Personal Liberty."

Finally permit me to suggest at this time of Democratic despondency, that the needs of the hour are the revival of party pride, a firm and unyielding adherence to conceded right principles, the prompt abandonment of unsafe and untenable positions, more aggressiveness in the promulgation of party doctrines, more frequent consultations among leaders, the sinking of personal ambitions, complete separation from Populism, more candor and less demagogism in argument, increased activity, higher standards, and greater unity.

It may be asked—what of the future of the Indianapolis organization, styled the *National* Democratic party? I am not in its councils, and cannot therefore outline its intentions. It originated as a protest against the errors and false doctrines of the Chicago Convention, and if they shall be continued and persisted in, its existence is liable to be prolonged, increasing in strength and influence, becoming not only a factor in future political contests, but possibly a controlling and successful power. Its platform of principles was admirable in many respects, but its action on the financial question was a disappointment to many who hoped that it would adhere to the safe and conservative position assumed in the minority report of the Committee on Resolutions at Chicago, instead of turning a complete somersault on the coinage question and declaring in favor of a single gold standard as the permanent policy of the government. This unexpected action may have strengthened it in some quarters, but lost it much popular support among the Democratic masses.

If, guided by wise counsels, the regular organization shall avoid the mistakes of 1896, upon which I have commented,—a course which millions of Democrats sincerely hope may be pursued,—the Indianapolis organization will naturally speedily dissolve, and a united Democratic front may again be presented to the common enemy, in the last Presidential contest of the nineteenth century.

DAVID BENNETT HILL.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF CUBA.

It is my purpose in this paper briefly to review the present state of the Cuban revolution, its probabilities of success, the advantages of an early termination of the war and the evils of its protraction, the economic condition of the island, and its natural resources. Furthermore, I shall inquire whether or not it is to the interest of the United States, politically and economically, that Spanish despotism should disappear from the island with as little delay as possible, and that Cuba should become an independent state.

In performing this work I shall not allow my patriotic or partisan feelings to color my views or to bias my judgment. My object is to supply information, not to mislead; and I shall state the facts, fairly and impartially, as they are known to me.

To those who have devoted any attention to the course of events in Cuba, the following facts cannot be unknown: First, that the revolutionary forces now hold the same extent of territory which they held one year ago; namely, the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe, Santa Clara, and Pinar del Rio,—with the exception of the ports of entry and some of the larger towns of the interior, which yet remain in the possession of Spain,—while the provinces of Matanzas and Havana now, as then, are overrun by the forces of the republic. Second, that the Cubans have, lately, laid siege and captured the town of Guaimaro, one of the strongholds of the Spaniards, and a point of strategical importance in the province of Puerto Principe. Third, that during the last twelve months several shipments of arms, ammunition, medicines, and other supplies have been successfully landed and delivered to the Cuban army. Fourth, that the Spaniards have withdrawn their garrisons from the small interior towns.

To those who are more familiar with the subject it is well known that, during the past twelve months, the civil administration of the republic has been organized in the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe, and, to a great extent, in that of Santa Clara; that sundry provisional civil and fiscal laws have been enacted;—among them, one regulating marriages and another dealing with the assessment and col-

lection of taxes ; that justice is administered by the prefects acting as civil magistrates ; that a mail service within the territory of the republic has been established and operates without interruption, postage stamps having been in use for the last seven months ; that four newspapers are printed and circulate throughout the country ; that primary schools have been opened in the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe ; that the arms and ammunition sent to Cuba represent several thousand rifles, several million cartridges, and some pieces of light artillery ; that the organization and discipline of the army have greatly improved,—several thousand men having been added to its numbers,—and its effective strength increased considerably ; that hundreds of men of political, social, and financial importance, who, a year ago,—undecided as to the course they should follow,—were yet living in the large cities held by the Spaniards, have, during the last six months, either joined the forces of the revolution in the field or removed to foreign countries, where they have openly declared their allegiance to the republic,—scores of them having established their temporary residence in the city of New York ; and that the enthusiasm of the Cuban patriots grows daily in intensity, their confidence in the final success of the revolution being unshaken.

A fair estimation of the above-stated facts fully warrants the conclusion that the Cuban revolution has not only held its ground, but that it has made considerable advance. Two years of active service means a great deal for an army composed of newly enlisted men, undisciplined and unaccustomed to military life. In that period the raw recruit becomes almost the trained veteran, and the inexperienced officer the expert commander. Lawyers, physicians, and other professional men, who, when they joined the army, were incompetent to command a squad of fifty men, ten or twelve months later showed their ability to handle successfully a full battalion, to face an equal force of Spanish regulars, and to come out of the engagement victorious.

Trivial incidents, otherwise scarcely deserving of attention, in the Cuban war assume so much importance that they must be taken into account when estimating the effective military power of the revolutionists. For instance, the receipt by an army of five or six pieces of light field artillery may appear, and usually is, a trifling matter ; yet, so soon as the Cuban forces were put in possession of them, it was clearly seen how much they had added to their strength, for by means of them the Spanish garrisons were compelled to evacuate the small towns of the interior. The explanation of the event is found in

the topography of the island,—especially that of the eastern and central parts,—in the lack of good or even of merely passable roads, and in other physical features. Those garrisons had to be provided for from the large cities; and, in order to facilitate the transportation of supplies, the Spaniards had converted the stone houses along the roads into forts, at convenient distances from each other. By this means they kept open their line of communication and protected their convoys from ambushes and surprises; but these defences, impregnable except at a great sacrifice of life so long as the Cubans had only rifles with which to attack them, became worthless as soon as they were able to assail them with a small piece of artillery. Without these improvised forts, the Spanish convoys would seldom have reached their destination; and so, on the abandonment of the forts, it became necessary to withdraw the garrisons from the inland towns. As this event occurred some five months ago, at a time when Spain had already more than 200,000 soldiers in the island, it shows the extent to which the effective power of the Cuban army has increased.

On the other hand, the regular and uninterrupted publication of four newspapers seems to indicate that there are parts of the island undisturbed by the Spanish troops and permanently held by the Cubans; as it is not to be supposed that the publishers wander to and fro in the woods with their typographical materials. Moreover, the fact that school books have been written and printed, that schools have been opened, that a mail service has been organized, and that postage stamps are in use may be accepted as conclusive evidence that there does exist a government other than a purely military one, that its jurisdiction extends over a considerable territory, that its mandate is obeyed, and that it is performing the ordinary functions of civil government. It is true the republic does not hold any seaport. But it is equally true that more than one hundred and sixty seaports are open to it; for there are more than two hundred ports and sheltered landings in Cuba, and the Spaniards hold only some forty of them. That the Cubans freely use the others is proved by the fact that, since the beginning of the war, they have successfully and without any trouble landed on the island more than thirty shipments of arms, ammunition, and other supplies; but, being at present unprovided with heavy artillery, the attempt to hold any one of them permanently would be vain and useless.

Let us now glance at the other side. Although the Spaniards have had in the island an army exceeding 200,000 men, they have been unable, as already stated, to retain all the territory which they held one

year ago. They have expended millions of dollars in constructing two military "trochas" or lines of forts across the island for the purpose of dividing and isolating the various divisions of the Cuban army, and the "trochas" have failed utterly to serve their destined purpose, the Cubans crossing and recrossing them whenever necessary or convenient. The Spanish concentrated an army of over 70,000 men in and about Havana; nevertheless the flying columns of the Cubans overrun the province, hover within sight of the capital, have successfully attacked and entered Guanabacoa,—a town on the other side of the bay of Havana,—and have raided several other places near.

The treasury of Spain is empty. The one hundred and forty or fifty million dollars which she raised on so-called Cuban bonds at the beginning of the war were soon dissipated. Last November she attempted to negotiate in London a loan of £4,000,000 and failed utterly. She then resorted to a national patriotic loan of eighty millions, and it was officially announced that it had been over-subscribed; but those who are familiar with Spanish methods and with the financial condition of the Spanish people do not hesitate to affirm that if the treasury received from that operation twenty or twenty-five millions in cash it did exceedingly well. Supposing, however, that the loan was really subscribed and paid in in full, as Spain had to make two heavy payments already over-due, there would be left, after deducting expenses and exchange, a balance of only about forty millions; and as the monthly war expenditure exceeds ten million dollars, and the pay of the army was two or three months in arrear, little of the money can now remain. The great display of satisfaction and the noise made by the Spanish Government in connection with that loan were intended to impress foreign bankers with the idea that there is yet a great deal of wealth in Spain; but the real condition of things in the Peninsula is well known in all the money centres of Europe, and all applications by Spain for loans will be entirely unsuccessful. What is she then to do in order to obtain means wherewith to carry on the war? Her people are already taxed to the last extremity; for the last twenty years her budget has shown a large annual deficit; Cuba yields no revenue, and Spain will have to provide the interest on the so-called Cuban bonds; the revenue previously derived from the Philippine Islands must have greatly diminished in consequence of the war in progress there, and this again is a further cause of expenditure. Merely to maintain affairs on their present footing for twelve months longer, at least two hundred million dollars will be required. Where

and how will Spain get them? The rich Spaniards residing in the island of Cuba who might offer some assistance are discouraged, and will withhold it. They have lost faith in the ability of Spain to overcome the revolution, although they do not dare publicly to declare it; and, fully realizing that the continuation of Spanish rule in Cuba threatens them with financial ruin, they view with pleasure the advances made by the insurgents.

Limited space forbids the presentation of many other facts, but those already offered clearly show that the condition of Spain is very critical; that, both materially and morally, she is weaker than a year ago; and that, therefore, her chances of success have greatly diminished, while those of the revolutionists,—independently of the positive advance which they have made in power and effectiveness,—have increased in proportion.

But, although, as it seems to me, there is no ground for doubt as to the final issue of the revolution, it is difficult to foresee how soon its success will be an accomplished fact. Spain, though unable to gain any advantage over the Cuban patriots, can prolong the struggle for some time; and it is possible that, even when fully convinced of the futility of her efforts, she may still choose to do so, impelled by that idiotic obstinacy of which her history presents so many instances. For her, of course, the consequences will be most disastrous; but they will also be very injurious for Cuba. Until the war is brought to an end, and Spain withdraws her forces from the island, the Cubans, for their own protection, must enforce their order forbidding the raising of any crop; and therefore the whole industry of the country will remain utterly paralyzed. Again, the necessities of war may compel the destruction of many buildings and of machinery which so far have escaped unharmed; while those which may remain, uncared for and neglected, will suffer great deterioration. The protraction of the war for several years will thus mean the complete devastation of the island. The Cubans are fully aware of this, and, I must add, are fully prepared to accomplish it in order to bring about the expulsion of the Spanish.

On the other hand, an early termination of the war would stop the destruction of property; would arrest the dispersion of the population, and bring back to their homes those who have been compelled to abandon them; would prevent the development among the people of those habits of idleness and lawlessness which are, generally, one of the sad consequences of long-continued civil strife; and would facilitate the work of reconstruction.

But, whether the war ends within a few months or is prolonged for several years, the situation in Cuba, financially considered, will be most disastrous. Of course, the longer the struggle the greater will be the calamity; but the most serious harm is already done. Indeed, to a considerable extent, it was done even before the revolution broke out: it was the work of Spanish taxation and of Spanish official blackmailing. For several years previous to 1895 most of the planters were actually paying the taxes and the blackmail—for the two things always went together in Cuba—not out of their yearly net income, but out of their capital. Such was the case with all those who had no ready money of their own—about 90 per cent of the whole class—and had to depend upon the merchant for advances wherewith to carry on the operations of their estates. Money was worth, on an average, 18 per cent per annum. Those who enjoyed the best credit could not obtain it under 12 per cent; while not a few had to pay for it even 36 per cent. All the merchants and money-lenders, with very few exceptions, were Spaniards. The planters, to the extent of about 90 per cent, were Cubans. It has been estimated that, in order to meet the fiscal demands made upon them, the planters of Cuba, during the last twenty years, have been drawing upon their previously accumulated capital to the extent of six or eight million dollars annually. Part of the sugar crop of 1894-95 was not taken in because the planters could not obtain the necessary money to pay the wages of their laborers; and at least one-third of that of 1895-96 would have remained ungathered for a similar reason, even if the Government of the republic had not forbidden the grinding of the sugar-cane. The planters had been reduced to such a condition by the rapacity of their rulers that bankruptcy was almost universal among them. The importance, therefore, from an economic point of view, of an early termination of the war lies principally in this; that the forces of the country could at once be turned to productive labor more readily and efficiently than if the war should be protracted and habits detrimental to industrial life acquired.

In an island so richly endowed by nature as Cuba is, economic recuperation can be effected very rapidly. A moderately efficient public administration, whose fiscal exactions shall deprive the producer of only what is usually contributed by him in civilized nations for the purposes of government, would at once ensure the well-being and prosperity of the people.

Let me point out a few of the important natural advantages pos-

sessed by Cuba. At the head of these stand the climate, the soil, and the geographical position. In regard to the first, as erroneous notions prevail among foreigners who have not visited the island, especially respecting its heat and salubrity, a few facts will not be amiss. The average temperature at Havana during July and August, the hottest months, is 82° Fahr., and the extremes are 88° and 76° . In the coolest months, December and January, the average is 72° , the maximum 78° , and the minimum 58° . Outside the city it is lower. It varies very little from these figures either in the central or in the eastern parts of the island, except in some localities,—as in and about the cities of Santiago and Bayamo, in the province of Santiago, where the temperature rises four or five degrees more. In the higher sections of the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe it is lower. Excepting a few places where malarial fevers are common, the climate is very healthy. In the country districts of the eastern and central parts of the island, it is both very pleasant and salubrious. Yellow fever is unknown there, as well as in all places a few miles from the seacoast. If it prevails in some of the principal seaports, it is mainly, if not altogether, due to the utter lack of sanitary conditions. This is especially the case in Havana. A very small expenditure of money, however, would accomplish for Havana what General Butler did for New Orleans,—then a worse pest-hole than the capital of Cuba.

The island contains 35,000,000 acres of land, of which barely 2,000,000 are under cultivation, 7,000,000 are either barren or of inferior quality, 17,000,000 are virgin forests, and 9,000,000 are natural pastures. The fertility and peculiarities of the Cuban soil are well known; and it may be confidently asserted that in this respect Cuba stands unequalled. Some of her products, such as tobacco, are unrivalled; while the sugar-cane yields there a larger percentage of saccharine matter than elsewhere. Some forty species of valuable woods abound in her forests; among them being fustic, *lignum vitæ*, ebony, cedar, and mahogany. Only the mere borders of the forests, those nearest the seacoast, have been made to yield their riches. The rest remain untouched; because there are no roads. There is no capital; the expenses of transportation are exorbitant; and the complicated, vexatious, and costly government regulations impede and kill all enterprise.

With the exception of the sugar-cane—and we have already seen the financial condition of the planters—everything is cultivated in the most primitive manner. Under Spanish rule there is no incentive to,

or opportunity for, any other kind of agriculture, as the tiller of the land is deprived of so great a share of his profits by fiscal exactions that he has nothing left for improvements. Moreover, by following the most primitive system he finds himself better off in the end.

All garden vegetables that can be raised in the United States find also a very propitious soil in Cuba; and some of them are of a very superior quality. This industry, however, owing to the causes which obstruct and paralyze all enterprises in the island, was so utterly neglected until lately, that potatoes and onions were largely imported from North America and even from Spain. Under moderately favorable circumstances, it may be carried on very extensively and profitably, the large cities on the Atlantic coast of the United States offering, during the winter months, a large and ready market, at exceedingly good prices, for any supplies that may be brought to them.

Many exquisite fruits are grown in Cuba, of which only three, bananas, pineapples, and oranges, are brought to this country. Yet all can be produced in large quantities at an insignificant cost; and when known in the United States they would have a large and profitable sale.

The mineral wealth of the province of Santiago is considerable. Over forty groups of iron-mines have been explored; and three hundred and fifty claims were filed before the outbreak of the revolution. The ore is very rich, and the quality of the metal equal to the best produced in Sweden. Two American companies which a few years ago established works there have obtained exceedingly satisfactory results. In the same province there are large deposits of manganese ore, scarcely yet touched. There are also some rich copper-mines.

The land in the eastern part of the island is very well adapted for the cultivation of coffee; and years ago numerous coffee plantations flourished there. Through one of those changes, however, brought about by the meddlesome and stupid interference of the Government, the industry ceased to develop and decayed, some of the fields having been even destroyed in order to make room for the sugar-cane. Yet, under normal conditions, capital employed in raising the latter will not yield as large returns as when applied to other branches of agriculture—which have been entirely neglected,—or to mining,—which has never been attempted with native capital.

The advantage to the island of its proximity to the large markets of consumption of the United States can hardly be over-estimated. It enhances to an incalculable degree the value of everything that Cuba contains or can produce.

There is a matter directly bearing upon the future prosperity of Cuba under a republican government which I wish especially to notice, because the Spaniards have taken great pains to misrepresent it, in order to mislead foreigners and to divert their sympathies from the struggling patriots. I refer to the character of the Cubans. They are represented by the Spaniards as much given to idleness, as turbulent, thriftless, and vicious, and as requiring a government with an iron hand in order to keep them peaceful. I shall not characterize this assertion. I will simply remark that it is absolutely contradicted and belied by every page of the history of Cuba, and by the record of every one of the fifty thousand Cubans who, during the last twenty-five years, have been living abroad. Some thirty thousand have become resident in the United States; and their peaceable conduct, industry, morality, and thriftiness are facts of public notoriety. It is contradicted and belied by the fact that the whole production of Cuba is agricultural, and that not a single Spaniard has ever handled a spade or a hoe, or in any way cultivated the land; the 160,000 of them being all, directly or indirectly, engaged in trade and commerce or living by irregular means at the expense of the country. Who but Cubans, and Cubans exclusively, raised the crops and cattle annually worth one hundred and twenty-five or thirty million dollars which enabled the Government, the official blackmailers, and the Spanish monopolists to squeeze out of the island fifty or fifty-five million dollars? Under favorable circumstances, the annual production of that mass of wealth by a population not exceeding 1,400,000 souls would be a creditable performance: under the great disadvantages which oppressed and afflicted the people of Cuba, it was a remarkable tribute to their activity and diligence.

The Government did everything it could to block enterprise, to hamper industry, to discourage thrift, and to promote idleness and vice. The Cuban labored and toiled the whole year, produced a great deal of wealth, and at the end of the year found himself as poor as he was at the beginning. If he wanted to open a road through his land, he could not proceed to do so before obtaining permission from the Government, and twelve months might elapse before this was granted. He must begin by presenting a memorial to the *alcalde* of the district, to be by him endorsed and forwarded to the *alcalde* of the town; from the town it was sent to the capital of the province, thence to Havana, and from Havana to Madrid; to return, if it returned at all, by the same route. But the memorial would not move

from one office to another, either in going or in returning, unless at each stage the officials were paid an illegal gratuity not infrequently out of all proportion to the importance of the matter. Gambling was authorized and promoted by the Government in various ways. The bi-monthly Havana lottery, which yielded annually three or four millions of dollars, cost the country four or five; and had a most demoralizing influence on the lower classes of the people.

In spite of so many obstacles and disadvantages, it can be shown that not a single improvement has been made on the island, which was not initiated and carried through by the Cubans. As regards their being turbulent, it suffices to say that had they really been so, the flag of Spain would many years ago have ceased to wave over the Morro of Havana. Their previous industry and perseverance under so many trying circumstances are an earnest of their future conduct under a free government of their own; when labor shall not be deprived of its just compensation, nor enterprise of its due reward. The activity, diligence, and thrift of the Cubans will certainly be an important factor in inspiring confidence abroad in the future of the island, and in attracting to it the capital which will ensure the development of the country and the well-being and prosperity of its people.

I shall now endeavor briefly to inquire whether or not it is in the interest of the United States that Cuba should become an independent state. In doing so I shall entirely omit all considerations of a purely moral and humane character; not because I do not attach any importance to them,—especially in the present case,—but because I wish to show that, independently of all those motives of action which “practical” men sometimes characterize as emotionalism or sentimentality, there are ample grounds and abundant inducements of a tangible and positive nature to move the United States to assume such an attitude as will result in the withdrawal of Spain and the independence of Cuba.

Spanish domination in Cuba, or the attempt at domination, will be a perpetual source of annoyance, of irritation, and of danger to the United States. Of danger, in so far as it may, at any time, give rise to international complications of a nature which it is not possible to foresee. At the present day, and under present circumstances, there is not the slightest probability—whatever some subsidized newspapers of the Old World may say—that any European nation would lend its support to Spain; and the most serious consequence of a determined and effective policy on the part of the United States, in order finally to dispose of the Cuban difficulty, would be the semblance, or

perhaps the reality, of a war with Spain, either of which would be a matter of small importance. Yet, conditions may change in the course of years: they might change at a critical moment; and what now does not appear even as a possibility might then become an accomplished fact. Would it not be prudent and wise, therefore, to improve the present favorable opportunity and decide once and for ever a question, which, like *Banquo's* ghost, will not and never will down until it is properly and legitimately settled?

It is idle to expect that Spain will be able to suppress the present revolution. It is yet more idle to hope that any compromise can be effected between the Spanish Government and the Cubans. There was a period in Cuban history, a long one indeed, when a compromise was possible, and the Cubans exerted themselves to the utmost in order to reach it; but that period is past and gone, never to return. Now, there are only two issues: incessant war or independence. But let us suppose, against all probability, that Spain will be able to crush the revolution. Does anyone think that it can be accomplished in a short time? Spanish official announcements of a speedy termination of the war are nothing but empty Castilian bombast. What do the facts tell us? Even granting that henceforth everything should go against the Cubans and in favor of Spain, years will elapse before the former will be exhausted and the struggle will come to an end. The rebellion of 1868 continued for ten years. The Cubans then never had more than ten thousand men under arms—less than one-fourth of what they have at present. They had no permanent sources of revenue; and when the funds which were collected at the beginning of the war had been expended, they were left without pecuniary means wherewith to supply themselves with arms and ammunition. Now, they have the regular contributions of the thousands of their countrymen living in foreign countries; who faithfully pay their monthly quota into the treasury of the clubs to which they belong, to be by these latter paid into the treasury of the Cuban Delegation in New York. The amount is not large; but it has paid for 90 per cent of the thousands of rifles and millions of cartridges sent to Cuba since the beginning of the revolution.

During the previous war the Cubans neglected to provide themselves with cattle and to raise vegetables for the supply of the army. This time, one of their first measures was to drive all the cattle into the mountains,—where they can be cared for and are beyond the reach of the enemy,—and to establish various zones of agriculture in which some three thousand men are engaged in farming. They have thus

assured their supply of arms and ammunition and their supply of food. During the rebellion of 1868-78, the war was confined, almost entirely, to the provinces of Santiago and Puerto Principe; no property was destroyed in those of Santa Clara, Matanzas, Havana, and Pinar del Rio, and agriculture suffered no interruption in them; and Spain was able to force from the island a revenue larger than in time of peace. Then, the rebellion had its origin in the upper classes, the lower ones scarcely realizing its meaning; and slavery was a great obstacle in various ways. Now, the uprising proceeded from the common people, and the upper classes joined them when they became convinced of the universality and strength of the movement.

If the Cubans, by any chance, are driven from the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, and the western part of Santa Clara, they have the means to withstand the power of Spain for many years in the provinces of Santiago, Puerto Principe, and the eastern part of Santa Clara; a territory which represents more than five-eighths of the area of the island, and from which they can continue to raid the other provinces and to prevent the in-gathering of the crops. To set fire to the largest cane-field nothing more is necessary than a match, half a pint of kerosene, and a live snake; and the latter harmless creatures—for none of the Cuban species is poisonous—abound throughout the island. Indeed I have no doubt that the Cubans can hold out in those provinces long enough entirely to exhaust the power of Spain. But should they finally desist, it would be merely a suspension of hostilities until the next generation grows up. Should they be exterminated,—as Spain wills and threatens but is powerless to effect,—she must keep the island wholly unpeopled; for there are no worse rebels against her rule than the immediate offspring of the Spaniards. So long as Spain has a foothold on the island, Cuba will be a running sore in the side of the United States. The only way to heal it is by complete cauterization; which, in the case under consideration, means the utter separation of Spain from the country. This alone will relieve the United States from any further care and annoyance,—care and annoyance which it would be unjust to charge to the Cubans, for it is not their fault. They are human beings; they are crushed by oppression and galled by tyranny; and they rise in self-defence. Not they, but those who goad them to rebellion, should be blamed.

But if, from a political point of view, it is to the interest of the United States that Spain should withdraw from Cuba, from an economic standpoint it is still more so.

There are some \$60,000,000 (some estimate the amount at \$70,000,000) of American capital now in jeopardy in Cuba. Of it some \$30,000,000 are invested in sugar estates, some \$20,000,000 in mortgages on various kinds of property, and the balance represents debts due by Cuban planters and merchants to bankers, merchants, and manufacturers of the United States. So long as the war continues that mass of capital will remain entirely unproductive; while if it is much prolonged it may be utterly lost.

Some persons think that Spain is responsible for the losses that may occur, and that she will accept the claims that may be made on that account. I shall not discuss this point,—a very debatable one indeed,—and I will grant both that she is responsible and that she will accept the claims. How many years will elapse before the liquidation is completed? How many more before Spain is finally brought to recognize the amount demanded? Spanish diplomacy knows only one thing; but that one it knows thoroughly. It knows how to procrastinate, and is always eminently successful. Years and years will roll by before an acknowledgment of the claims is obtained from Spain. And then, where is the money to come from? The payment of the Mora claim, amounting to only \$1,500,000, was delayed for years; and it would have never been made if the so-called Cuban bonds had not produced the money. Now, there are no more and there can be no more of them.

However, let us suppose that little or no American property is destroyed in Cuba, and that Spain in the course of years succeeds in subduing the Cuban patriots. What will be the fate of that property under Spanish rule?

We have already seen that previous to the war the taxes were so heavy that the country was unable to bear them. Will they be lighter after peace is restored? In the first place, Spain never abolishes a tax. To do so is against her traditional policy: her history proves it. In the second place, two items alone of the future permanent expenditure will amount to a larger sum than that of the whole budget before the rebellion. The item for interest on the debt which Spain had imposed upon the island was then \$12,000,000; and as the debt has already doubled, and before the war ends will be more than doubled, the interest on it will rise to at least \$25,000,000 per annum. Before the rebellion, the cost of the army and navy was \$7,000,000; but as Spain will be compelled to keep in the island a much larger army, the future cost will be at least \$10,000,000. Add to these two

items the others of the budget, which I shall leave as before, and a grand total is reached of \$42,000,000, or \$16,000,000 more than the amount of taxes collected in 1894, and \$12,000,000 more than the sum expended. That Spain will force that revenue from the island so long as there is anything to extract it from, no one who knows Spain entertains the least doubt; and such a proceeding will result in the confiscation of whatever capital remains in Cuba. Such will be the fate of American property under Spanish rule.

Under the republic, on the other hand, as there is no public debt, —for the so-called Cuban bonds are an obligation incurred by Spain and Cuba is in no way responsible for it,—there will be no interest to pay; and a budget of some \$7,000,000, or \$8,000,000 will fully provide for all the current ordinary wants of the government and for purposes of national interest, which though always neglected by Spain are necessary for the material development of the country.

Again, the commerce of the United States with the island, which sometimes has risen to about \$100,000,000 a year, will be exposed to perpetual fluctuations and losses so long as Spain is allowed to remain in Cuba. During the last two years it has dwindled down to almost nothing; and it will suffer a greater reduction if the war continues. Under the republic, the perturbing causes having disappeared, it will flow on uninterruptedly, and will reach a magnitude never yet attained. Cuba will not then have to go to Spain annually for \$30,000,000 or \$35,000,000 of merchandise which she can obtain much cheaper in the United States, and which she had to order from the Peninsula because the customs tariff favored the Spanish producer to the extent of 250 to 2,000 per cent. Indeed, I shall be very much mistaken if, within a few years after Cuba becomes independent, her commerce with the United States does not rise to twice the figure it reached before the war.

The space at my command does not allow me to enter into further details; but such facts as I have presented prove, I believe, that there are ample tangible, positive, and practical reasons for the United States to adopt such a policy as will bring about the immediate withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, and the independence of her people from a mother country which has grievously abused her trust and inflicted upon them every possible evil. For the protection as well as for the advantage and convenience of the United States, the Cuban question should be dealt with at once, effectively, and definitively.

FIDEL G. PIERRA.

EVILS TO BE REMEDIED IN OUR CONSULAR SERVICE.

INCREDIBLE as it may seem, the consular service of the United States has, since 1789,—when the first consul was commissioned,—down to the present day, received such scant recognition from the legislative branch of the Federal Government that, in this period of one hundred and eight years, but one general act (that of 1856) looking to its improvement has been passed. Presidents, Secretaries of State, and committees of both Houses have, time and again, urged on Congress the necessity of making changes in the mode of appointing and compensating our consular officers, and have called its attention to the impossibility of securing efficient officers without permanency of tenure; but all to no avail.

The act of 1856 provided for a corps of "Consular Pupils," not to exceed twenty-five in number, from which it was intended consuls should be drawn. But in the following year the provision was repealed; and it was not until 1864 that Congress created the present corps of "Consular Clerks," thirteen in number, to be appointed after examination, and to be assigned to such consulates and with such duties as the President might direct. No clerk so appointed was to be removed from office except for cause stated in writing and submitted to Congress.

In the thirty-two years since the corps of consular clerks was created, and during which sixty-four clerks have been appointed to it, only eight have been promoted to consulships; and of these, one was refused confirmation by the Senate, and another lost his office on a change of administration. At the present time no consular clerk will accept a consulate; preferring to remain with a meagre salary of \$1,200 a year (to which, possibly, the consul under whom he is serving may add a portion of the unofficial fees collected by him) rather than take the chance of being dropped altogether from the service within a year or so to make room for another man. And so we now have men who have been consular clerks at a salary of \$1,200 for twenty years and more, who refuse promotion, who object to frequent transfers to other posts,—on the very reasonable plea of expense,—in whom all ambition to rise is extinct, and who seek only to be undis-

turbed,—a condition of things certainly never dreamt of by the creators of the corps.

With the exception, then, of the creation of this corps of consular clerks, Congress has done practically nothing to correct the evils of our system, of which it has been reminded at every session. Each year, in the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill, some change has perhaps been made in the salary of a consular officer in whom an influential member was personally interested, or whose inadequate salary the Department of State had strenuously urged should be increased; a consulate has perhaps been raised to a consulate-general; a feed office made a salaried one; but the general needs of the service have never been considered. The one great object of Congress has been, that our consular service should not cost the country anything and that it should be “a paying concern”; to obtain which laudable end, consuls have been allowed to remain underpaid and to collect, often in violation of statutes and regulations, fees to eke out their meagre salaries.

The evils complained of in 1833 by Secretary of State Livingston, by Secretary of State Buchanan in 1846, in the reports of the committees of both Houses of Congress in 1855 during the ridiculously short debate on the “Bill to Remodel the Diplomatic and Consular Systems of the United States,” by Consul Bigelow in 1864, by Inspector Keim in 1871 and 1873, by Secretary of State Frelinghuysen in 1884, by Eugene Schuyler in his “American Diplomacy,” and by any number of writers since that time,—most of whom have been in the diplomatic or consular services,—are still uncorrected, and bid fair to remain so; notwithstanding the efforts of some earnest Members of the Senate and the House, who have introduced bills for the reform or reorganization of the consular service, the general provisions of which all must heartily commend.

The arguments adduced by some of these writers appear to me so conclusive, that it is simply inconceivable that they should not have opened the eyes of the most prejudiced person to the absolute and urgent necessity of legislative action to assist the Executive in raising the efficiency of the consular corps. Some of these arguments I shall quote; noting only that the two greatest burdens under which the consular service has had to labor since it was first created, and which have always tended to demoralize it and keep down its efficiency, are connected with the method of appointment and the scale and mode of compensation,—both easily remedied, one would think.

John Bigelow, consul at Paris, in his report on our consular ser-

vice, addressed to the Secretary of State February 28, 1864, says :—

“The practical results of our system, which in this respect has no parallel under any other government, are :

1. That we are obliged to select for consular posts men without the proper training and qualifications.

2. We are obliged to select men who have no intention of making a career in the consular service. Consequently they have no great inducement to qualify themselves properly for a post, which they can hope to hold only for a brief term, by the acquisition of knowledge of little or no use to them in any other profession.

3. The fact that our consuls are so transitory deprives them of their proper influence in the consular body, as well as in most political and social circles where it is the interest of the Government that they should circulate.

4. Such frequent changes prevent anything like uniformity or regularity in the conduct of consular business, which results in a serious prejudice to commerce and a grave inconvenience to the Department.

5. With each change of administration, the Government is exposed to lose the benefit of whatever knowledge and influence its agents have acquired during their terms of service, and thus, most of the time, is served by raw and, therefore, to a considerable extent, by incompetent officers.

There is no other country in the world where the tenure of the consular office is dependent upon the permanence of the home Administration. Nor can the practice be defended by any consideration whatever which looks to its usefulness and efficiency.

I am unwilling to believe that under a Government like ours which, theoretically at least, and I think practically, possesses in a larger degree than any other the means of detecting and improving opportunities for reform, anything that is essentially unreasonable and degrading to the Federal Administration is incurable ; and that this particular vice will not prove incurable when its proportions come to be properly appreciated may be inferred from the experience of the military and naval services which, though deriving authority through precisely the same channels, have never been cursed with the political distemper which sweeps over the nation and ravages all the civil departments of the public service at the commencement of every new administration. It is not because the presidential candidate has not the same faculty of pledging colonelcies and major-generalships as consulates and missions that the distinction has been made ; but because everyone comprehends the impossibility of having an army and navy on such terms, while the importance of an efficient consular and diplomatic corps is only beginning to be realized by the nation.”

Senator Patterson, of New Hampshire, speaking, in 1868, to the Senate upon a bill for a graded system resting upon competitive examination for our consular service, advanced much the same argument. He said :—

“Under our present system, consular and diplomatic agents are selected without regard to their qualifications. As a rule, these appointments are bestowed as a reward or inducement to political service, rather than to secure, in the interests of trade and diplomacy, the best ability which the country affords.

Not one-tenth of the whole number of appointees are conversant with the language, geography, laws, political economy, or material resources of the countries to which they are accredited. . . . The tenure of office, too, is so brief and uncertain that there can be but little *esprit de corps* in the service. Continuance is necessary to usefulness in office under our present system of appointments. . . . The system is radically defective. Neither the people nor the Government can afford to dispense with the qualifications essential to the best service in this department. . . . We do no wrong to the community when we avail ourselves of the best ability to do our work ; and there is no reason why Government should not be allowed to follow the same dictate of common sense in the selection of its agents. At least it should be permitted to employ a system of appointments which will tend to elevate and improve, and not one which tends to degrade and demoralize the service."

With these two quotations I will pass to the question of compensation, which is an equally, if not more, serious evil ; prefacing my remarks on the subject by a short explanation of the nature of consular officers' compensation. There are two classes of officers in the consular service of the United States ; the one paid fixed salaries appropriated annually by Congress, the other compensated by fees. The latter are allowed to retain up to \$2,500 a year, all the official fees, —a few of which are fixed by law, but by far the greater part being authorized by the President,—paid to them for services to American vessels and seamen. Besides this allowance, any unofficial fees—to which the only limit prescribed is, that they shall always be "reasonable" and agreed upon between the consul and the party paying them—belong to these officers, as they do also to salaried consuls.

Early in the century the evil of allowing consular officers to collect fees was urged upon the consideration of Congress ; but it was not until the general act of 1856 that even a partial remedy was found. This act was supposed to have corrected the evils resulting from consuls deriving all their compensation from fees ; but in 1871, Inspector of Consulates, De B. Keim, in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury said :—

"The act of 1856 was doubtless designed to correct the most conspicuous of the abuses which prevailed . . . the evils prior to that date may have been mitigated, or may have suffered temporary abatement . . . they were certainly not eradicated ; and these abuses . . . have been perpetuated in most cases by each succeeding officer."

Again, in 1879, General Julius Stahel, then Consul at Hiogo (Japan), wrote to the Department of State :—

"The permission granted to consular officers of receiving unofficial fees for notarial acts, etc., is liable to abuse, and is the root of many evils and irregularities

. . . I suggest that the permission to charge unofficial fees be withdrawn, and that all fees received by consular officers, for whatsoever service rendered, be considered as official, and so accounted for. . . . In this way one of the greatest evils of our service would be remedied, and dignity added to the representation of the United States in foreign countries."

Secretary Frelinghuysen, in his report of 1884 on the consular service, said :—

"In the opinion of the Department, the present system of compensation by fees, either official or unofficial, should be abolished. Whatever money comes into the consul's hands should be turned into the Treasury of the United States, and he should depend for his support entirely upon the salary allowed by Congress."

In 1885, writing on the same subject to the Department, General John S. Mosby, Consul at Hongkong, expressed himself even more emphatically :—

"Consular fees should, in my opinion, be altogether abolished. . . . The best way to secure honesty in the public service is to make it impossible for officers to be dishonest. I can see no sound reason for sending consuls abroad to collect revenue for the Government. You might as well send the navy to do it."

Perry Belmont, who has been in our diplomatic service, wrote in *THE FORUM* for January, 1888, that :—

"The injurious effects of the system of compensating consular officers by fees cannot be doubted. . . . The practice puts a premium on dishonesty, both on the part of the exporter and the consular representative."

And both Eugene Schuyler and Albert Washburn—men whose opinions deserve our careful consideration and demand our respect—speak of the system as "deleterious," "debauching in its influence," and "vicious."

As bearing directly on the fee question, I must refer in some detail to "Consular Agents." These officers, whose number is unlimited, are appointed by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the consuls, whose agents they are, and to whom they are directly responsible. They reside at various localities within the respective consular districts, where certain duties are performed by them for which they collect fees. Out of these fees they may retain a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars a year, unless they have agreed with the consul—as is often the case—to accept less, and the consul may receive an aggregate sum of one thousand dollars a year from his agents; all fees in excess of this are supposed to be accounted for to the Treasury. Did the consuls themselves perform these duties, the fees collected

would have to be turned into the Treasury ; hence their desire to have as many agents under them as possible, even though they be only a mile away from their office doors.

Mr. Keim in 1873 said of these consular agencies: "The practice often resorted to by consuls, in driving business from their own offices to their agencies, is also a common abuse"; and what was said then holds good at the present day. But, besides this already grave objection to the agencies, a not less serious one lies in the fact that these officers—most, if not all, of whom are engaged in trade—are enabled to undersell on the American markets their local competitors, owing to the unfair advantage they derive in certifying their competitors' invoices of goods destined for the United States (although the regulations hold these invoices to be confidential documents). The officers thus ascertain the exact prices at which the goods are being disposed of, and can underbid.

The objections to consular agents apply with nearly equal force to another class of consular officers, known as "Commercial Agents." So far as this Government is concerned, these officers are "full, principal, and permanent consular officers," with exactly the same powers and duties as consuls. They are, strangely enough, appointed by the President without the advice and consent of the Senate, and are compensated by official fees not to exceed \$2,500 a year. Their number is unlimited; and it is thus possible to appoint one wherever it is perceived that the amount of business is sufficiently large to insure him a fair compensation,—to the detriment, of course, of the nearest consul, who probably had, until then, a consular agency at the locality, from which he was deriving considerable profit.

The rank of commercial agent is not, however, recognized by many foreign powers as that of a full consular officer; and in their relations with the local authorities these officers do not always receive the same consideration as would a consul or even a vice-consul, but are treated only as agents of the Government for the collection of information bearing on trade and commerce. In the opinion of Mr. Frelinghuysen, in the report quoted from above, they "are unnecessary, except in a few countries where the number of consuls is limited by the foreign Government, and yet where consular representatives of some kind are required in excess of the number of consuls permitted . . . but the agents should all be salaried." Other writers on the subject have advocated the suppression of these offices, but to no avail,—there are nearly as many to-day as there were ten years ago.

Briefly then, the principal evils of our consular system have been :

1. Imperfect mode of selection of consular officers.
2. No permanency of tenure.
3. Inadequate compensation ; resulting in (a) the exaction of excessive fees and (b) the creation of consular agencies to increase salary.
4. Excessive number of feed consulates and commercial agencies.
5. Imperfect enforcement of regulations, especially as regards amounts of fees and their collection.

In the light of past experience we have little ground for hoping that the legislative branch of the Government will soon take more interest in this subject than it has in the past. Congressional action in the premises being therefore, to my mind, a very remote though devoutly to be sought for contingency, the question arises, " What can the executive branch of the Government do to correct the evils complained of, and to promote, under existing laws, the efficiency of the consular corps? "

1. It can adopt a fixed mode of admission and promotion.
2. It can prescribe (with the exception of certain fees fixed by law) the fees to be collected by consuls.
3. It can regulate the number of feed consulates and of commercial and consular agencies.

There is, as I have shown, unanimity of opinion as to the evils to be remedied. In view then of the above-mentioned powers now vested in the Executive,—which are sufficient, to my mind, to minimize, if not absolutely to end them,—we may confidently expect that the consular service will, within a comparatively short time, reach a high degree of efficiency if the reforms recently instituted are given the trial to which they are, in fairness, entitled.

The most important step taken during the last twenty years toward raising the efficiency of the personnel of the consular service was the Executive Order of September 20, 1895, by which the President directed that thereafter :

"any vacancy in a consulate or commercial agency with an annual salary or compensation from official fees of not more than \$2,500 nor less than \$1,000 should be filled by transfer or promotion from some other position under the Department of State of a character tending to qualify the incumbent for the position to be filled ; by the appointment of a person not under the Department of State, but having previously served thereunder to its satisfaction in a capacity tending to qualify him for the position to be filled ; or by the appointment of a person who, having been selected by the President for examination, is found, upon such examination, to be qualified for the position,"

Under this Order an Examination Board was organized by the Secretary of State, consisting of three members: they are at present the Assistant Secretary of State, a Judge of the U. S. Court of Claims (who had formerly been Assistant Secretary of State), and the Chief of the Consular Bureau. Since its creation this Board has examined thirteen persons for appointment, eight of whom it reported were well qualified to fill the posts they sought to obtain, and five of whom were found unfit for appointment. In the case of one applicant designated for examination to fill a small consulate at \$1,000 salary, the Board reported that he was too valuable a man to relegate to such a place, and suggested that he be appointed to a more important one. The President adopted the recommendation of the Board, and appointed the applicant to an important consulate in Central America.

Though the Executive Order of September 20, 1895, excluded from examination certain classes of consular officers whose salaries were either superior to \$2,500 or less than \$1,000, its spirit has been strictly adhered to, in their cases, as is shown by the following:

Exclusive of the eight appointments above referred to, twenty-five have been made since January 1, 1896. Of these, sixteen were in the nature of promotion of subordinate officers or transfers; four were of persons having previously served in the consular service; three were to posts the salaries of which were superior to \$2,500 (Apia, Ch'ung-k'ing, and Havana), for which persons well qualified by a knowledge of the countries, languages, and the peculiar conditions there to be met were chosen; and four were to positions with a compensation from official fees of less than \$1,000, where competent American citizens having resided in the country and familiar with languages spoken therein were given the positions in lieu of aliens who had previously held them. In one case, the appointment was made to fill a vacancy created by the removal of an inefficient consul.

Another defect, to which many writers on the subject of our consular service have called attention, is the absence of any adequate system of inspection of our consular establishments, by means of which irregularities could be detected and remedied, a uniform method of business enforced, useless consulates or agencies closed, and the standing of the various consular officers among the people with whom they were living ascertained. An inspection of our consulates was made in 1869 by De B. Keim, and another partial one by the Rev. John P. Newman in 1873. But the first, though thorough, bore little fruit; and the latter failed absolutely of practical results, presumably from lack of knowl-

edge of consular affairs on the part of the worthy inspector. Though year after year Congress was asked for funds to enable the Secretary of State to make another inspection, it was only in 1896 that a sum of \$10,000 was put at his disposal for this purpose.

In May, 1896, the Chief of the Consular Bureau of the Department of State began the inspection of our consulates; visiting Havana, Mexico, Canada, Great Britain and Ireland, and the continent, in the order named, with directions to proceed afterward to Asia. Another inspector has lately been chosen in the person of one of our secretaries of legation to a South American republic, and has been ordered to inspect the consulates of Central and South America; while still another officer has been sent to perform the same duty in the West Indies. The beneficial result of this careful inspection by thoroughly qualified men is already appreciable. Orders have issued from the Department by which shippers have been relieved of the payment of fees amounting to not less than \$50,000 a year; several consuls, found unworthy of their trust, have been removed from office; numbers of useless consular agencies have been closed; various minor irregularities—nearly all bearing on the subject of fees—have been corrected; and the recurrence of similar faults made more difficult, if not impossible.¹

The Executive, it has been said, has power to regulate the number of feed consulates, commercial and consular agencies, many of which I have shown to be unnecessary, and should, on the ground of the general objections applying to all feed offices, be abolished. Within the last two years, eight feed consulates have been made salaried ones; and, from seventy-seven in 1888, the total number of these offices has been reduced to sixty-one. Nine feed commercial agencies have in the same period been made salaried consulates; and the total number of such agencies has been reduced to thirty, as compared with thirty-four in 1888. The number of consular agencies has remained, I regret to say, practically the same during the last ten years; being in 1888 four hundred and forty-seven and in 1896 four hundred and fifty-eight. But I venture to affirm that at least a hundred of these might be closed without in any way affecting our commercial interests or causing any inconvenience to American citizens or shippers, and the commercial agencies might be reduced to one-half their present number, or even wholly abolished, with equal advantage.

Finally, the Executive should, I submit, order that only such fees be collected as are borne on the statute-books and cannot be prohibited

¹ See Report of the Secretary of State to the President, 1896, pp. 30, 31.

without the action of Congress; all other services of consular officers acting in their official or notarial capacity to be performed free of any charge whatsoever. The objection made by many persons to this measure is, that the compensation of consuls would be so reduced that good men would be driven from the service. I venture to affirm, after a somewhat extended knowledge of the consular service and its personnel, that such would not be the case, and that the efficiency of the service would not be impaired in the least. Undoubtedly a number of middle-aged men, who have sought in the service relaxation or a means to better their condition, would resign; but this would be a distinct gain, not a loss, as it would enable the President to promote deserving subordinates willing and desirous of making a career of the service. It would close, it is true, all consular agencies. But, as I have already said, in my opinion nearly all these offices are useless; for shippers are not required to appear in person before the consuls for the certification of their invoices, but can do so through their agents at the places where the consuls reside, without incurring any delay in their shipments, and with very little, if any, extra expense.

Where consulates, in addition to those now in existence, are found to be imperatively required, they should be estimated for in the annual estimates of the Department of State submitted to Congress; and it is my belief that \$50,000 a year would be ample for all such new offices as would be found necessary, after the closing of all feed ones now in existence.

Even these important changes do not exhaust the power of the Executive branch of the Government under existing laws; but to bring about any permanent amelioration a fixed policy must be adopted extending beyond the lifetime of any one administration. It is not claimed that the methods inaugurated by Secretary Olney are the best conceivable; but, it may be said of them what he himself says of his scheme of consular examinations, "it may surely be claimed for it that it will be at least a step in the right direction, and a step to be judged of not by the advance it itself makes, but by the advance it may rightly be expected to inevitably lead to."

I see no necessity to amend materially the Executive Order of September 20, 1895, if it be understood that consular offices with salaries of more than \$2,500 are exclusively reserved for persons who have served to the satisfaction of the Department of State in less important posts.

The system of non-competitive examination has much in my eyes

to commend it; as no form of purely competitive examination can bring out all the peculiar qualifications necessary in good consular officers. As Mr. Albert Washburn remarks, "Tact, discretion, sound judgment, and good manners cannot be scientifically measured by any scale of percentages"; and I am distinctly in favor of giving to the Secretary of State and to the Board of Consular Examiners much more latitude in choosing consular officers than they could possibly have if a purely competitive system of examinations were adopted.

The reforms which I have suggested as being within the power of the Executive to bring about need not, in fact should not, be carried out suddenly, but gradually, and might advantageously be made to extend over four or even eight years; but, that they should be introduced and consistently followed out to their natural and logical conclusion, there can be no doubt. They embody the experience of more than half a century, and have been persistently called for by those best qualified to speak on the subject. It makes little difference whether the first step in the way which we know to be the right one be taken at the beginning or the end of an administration: the essential thing is not to stop the advance; not to retard, in expectation of some possible, vaguely promised action of Congress, the movement to raise the standard of efficiency in our consular service.

Furthermore, the course which it is suggested should be followed by the Executive in no way interferes with future Congressional action. It leaves it open to the legislative branch of the Government to do its share in the work of reorganization, without the slightest apprehension that any steps taken by it, however radical they may be, can substantially alter or annul the reforms instituted; for Congress must follow the same lines as the Executive. Furthermore, I believe that the work of Congress will be greatly simplified by such a course as that now suggested; which may, I hope, result in hastening the time when that body will pass the necessary legislation to complete the reform.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter into a lengthy discussion of all the minor defects in our present consular system; they are too well known to everyone to require examination here; and most of them will disappear if the Department of State is constantly supplied with means to inspect all offices where irregularities are apprehended to exist. I am concerned only with the principal evils; and I have pointed out what I conceive to be an easy method of remedying or at least minimizing their pernicious effects.

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL.

LADIES' CLUBS IN LONDON.

MAN has often been called a "clubbable animal,"—a modern adaptation, doubtless, of a remark of Aristotle's. Whether "man" in this sense includes woman, as "person" is said to do, is a point that might give the learned some cause for discussion; but, leaving the vague realms of theory for the plain domain of fact, it is certain that within the last few years London women have become distinctly clubbable, and that the lament about the careless husband who forsakes his family for his club is growing less loud in the land since the wife is able to retaliate, if she pleases, by resorting to her own.

The rise of ladies' clubs in England is a fact that the social historian cannot afford to overlook; for it is a sign of the times. The division of labor between the two sexes is no longer summed up by Kingsley's line,

"Men must work, and women must weep,"

since women work too nowadays, and hence have less time and occasion for weeping. Then the old-fashioned pleading, "Poor dear! he works so hard all day, he must have some amusement in the evening," is gradually disappearing before the consciousness that women too have a right to a little fun when their day's work is over. So the British matron and the English girl have started clubs for themselves; and London is growing full of them.

Far be it from me, however, to suggest that fun and frivolity are the keynotes of these institutions. They have various aims to suit various needs; and as the modern Englishwoman is inclined, on the whole, to be serious, she is apt to combine an aim and a mission with her amusement. As a result, many of the ladies' clubs have what might be described as an Object with a capital O, which justifies the members in their own eyes in partaking of their comforts and advantages.

In the first rank of these comes the Pioneer Club, which, though by no means one of the oldest, since it has but recently celebrated its fourth birthday, has "given to talk," as the French say, more than

any other. The founder and president of this club is Mrs. Massingberd, who has attained a well-earned celebrity for her zeal and devotion in the great cause of temperance. The daughter and heiress of Mr. Massingberd of Gunby Hall, Lincolnshire, whose family boasts a long and romantic history, she was brought by her marriage with Mr. Edward Langton—a disciple of John Stuart Mill—into contact with some of the leaders of modern thought, and was thereby initiated into altruistic teaching and advanced views on the position of women and on the responsibilities of wealth and intellect. Mrs. Massingberd was led thus to throw herself with zeal into many great causes; and in 1882, while residing at Bournemouth, she took up the question of total abstinence, and started a public-house and social club for men and women on temperance lines. Some time after this, when she inherited the Gunby estate—which carries with it manorial rights—and in consequence resumed her father's name, she closed the Massingberd Arms and reopened it as a temperance house; a bold step, as all who are acquainted with English country inns will admit. She also abolished the drinking customary at the rent-audit,—when it is usual to give the tenant-farmers a dinner on the occasion of paying their rents,—and instead gave each tenant a present; reducing the rents of those who were too poor to pay.

Mrs. Massingberd felt certain that there were in the country many other thinking women like herself; and she believed that some form of union between these might have valuable results, and go far to help forward the great ends that all of them held dear. She therefore decided to start, at her own expense, a club for cultivated women, where they might constantly meet, cement their interests, and try to influence public opinion in the light of the views of advanced women: for this purpose Mrs. Massingberd took premises in Regent Street. After a time increasing numbers necessitated the removal of the club, which now owns an elegantly appointed house in Bruton Street, Berkeley Square, once the residence of Lord Hastings, and not far from Lord Rosebery's mansion.

The Pioneer is what is commonly known as a proprietary club, *i. e.*, one where the whole financial responsibility is undertaken by one person, and the members have only to pay their subscriptions and observe the rules. This was the best way to serve Mrs. Massingberd's purpose; for the Pioneer Club thus becomes, in a way, the reflection of her own mind,—the means by which the ideas that originated in her brain may be diffused over a wider circle. The name is borrowed

from Walt Whitman; and on the entrance-porch we meet his words:

“We the route for travel clearing,
Pioneers, oh Pioneers,
All the hands of comrades clasping,
Pioneers, oh Pioneers.”

The appropriate badge of the club is a silver axe brooch; and the democratic idea, which, in spite of the presidency, is meant to pervade the whole, is exemplified by giving each member a number, which she is expected to use instead of her name. The Pioneers are to work for progress of all kinds, to hew down with their axes the jungle-growth of prejudice and caste feeling; and in so doing they must be guided by their own sense of right and not by Mrs. Grundy's, as is shown by the second motto, on the stained glass over the arch that divides the outer and the inner halls—

“They say. What say they? Let them say.”

This does not however exhaust Pioneer ethics; for the two following quotations are inscribed in the drawing-room: “Love thyself last.” “In great things unity, in small things liberty, in all things charity.”

The Pioneer Club is in no way prevented by its serious aim from giving due importance to comfort and elegance. On the ground-floor are the president's private sitting-room and the dining-room, where the debate-night dinner takes place once a week,—an important social event. Lunch and light refreshments may be had every day; but under no circumstances may any form of alcoholic drink be served. No matter what a member's own views on the question of temperance may be, in the character of club member she is bound to be an abstainer. On the first-floor are the drawing-rooms, daintily decorated with gold-colored damask and ivory-hued woodwork. From the walls portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Napoleon, Walt Whitman, and Lady Henry Somerset look down in the character of presiding saints; but these are thrown into the shade by a large canvas hanging over the mantel in the back drawing-room. It represents a beautiful woman reclining among clouds, while a fairer, younger form soars away into the heavens, and is popularly known as, “The Birth of the Pioneer,” though the artist christened it, “The Birth of a Planet.” Upstairs are four bedrooms for the use of members; but no one may keep a room for longer than a fortnight.

The club thus furnishes a comfortable lounge for those ladies who

can afford to pay the three-guinea entrance-fee and a subscription of similar amount, and who find it pleasant to have a central place in London, where they may rest after shopping and concerts, meet their friends, read the papers, and, if so disposed, indulge in a quiet cigarette in the smoking-room. The qualification for membership certainly requires that the candidate "shall take a personal interest in one or more of the various movements for women's social, educational, and political advancement"; but there are few women in London who could not be classified under one or other of these headings. It would not, however, be worthy of its name were it not something more than a place of social gathering. The club has a real record of work to show. It has enabled like-minded women to join together in doing various charitable works. A small hospital, a home for little girls, a temperance hotel, a coffee-tavern club for working-men and women, a mission-room,—are all indirect results of the club, which has also started an Anti-Vaccination Society, and even a Ladies' Tailoring Association, in which latter—the sad truth must be confessed—the work is done by men!

Probably the most characteristic feature of the Pioneer is the Thursday-evening debate, where the subjects that are most engaging the thought of the day are brought forward for discussion. The club is catholic in its interests, and listens to all sides. On one occasion it invited Tom Mann to speak on the Independent Labor party, and listened with patience to his denunciations of Liberals and Conservatives alike and his explanation of the motives which make "independent labor" so thoroughly disloyal an ally. On another it listened to a prolonged attack from a not very modern-minded clergyman on the organization of charities, with an eloquent plea for indiscriminate almsgiving and the bestowal of half-crowns on the undeserving. It has sat out discussions on The Navy League, Wagner's Music, and Theosophy; but it is really in its element when women's questions are to the fore. The franchise and the equality of the sexes will always call forth an animated debate; and there is a tendency to make almost every subject lead up to the New Woman,—her rights, duties, and responsibilities. An excellent peg on which to hang such theories was furnished by the question, "Is modern fiction a faithful picture of modern life?"; the negative side being supported by Annie Swan, one of our most prolific writers of simple stories, and the affirmative, by Mrs. Henry Norman, of "Gallia" fame. One of the speakers made an earnest plea to her sisters to take an interest in something besides housekeeping and babies, if only for the sake of these very objects themselves. "We

want," said she, "a household where the children are educated but not spoiled, where the husband is attended to but not made a fool of." The standard of eloquence naturally varies on different occasions; but, to the credit of the Pioneers be it said, they know good speaking and they try to encourage it. One of the best debaters holds classes for beginners, at which the timid are encouraged to endure the sound of their own voices; a practice the more valuable on account of the absolute neglect of speaking in English schools.

Since the advanced woman reigns supreme, it is a matter of course that Sarah Grand is a member; also Mona Caird, author of the great discovery that marriage is a failure, Mrs. Wynnford Phillips, the charming apostle of women's rights, and Marie Corelli, who boasts the "largest circulation" of all our novelists. The Pioneers have the privilege of numbering among their ranks Lady Henry Somerset, whose name is honored on both sides of the Atlantic for her wholehearted advocacy of every great movement and her earnest labors on behalf of the suffering and oppressed. Naturally enough the club also attracts within its charmed circle the faddist and the devotee of the 'ism; but it is good for them to rub shoulders with the woman of wider aims as well as with the ordinary "average person," of whom there is a good sprinkling on the members' roll.

From the Pioneer, with its elegant surroundings and comfort, to the New Somerville Club, in Oxford Street, seems a step down in the social scale; but historically this should have first claimed our attention, since its start was made as early as 1881. The original aim of the Somerville Club was a democratic one: the subscription—five shillings—was to be within the reach of all; and rich and poor, the idle woman and the hard worker in shop or school, were to meet here on the assumption that the bond of womanhood was stronger to unite than the prejudices of caste and fortune to sever. But alas for such lofty theories based on a five-shilling subscription! The scheme was too ideal to work. The club struggled on for seven years in uncomfortable premises in Mortimer Street; and at last the conviction was forced on the committee that something must be done. That "something" took the form of a complete reorganization of the club with an increased subscription of ten shillings,—afterwards raised to twelve shillings and sixpence,—and better premises. These were chosen over an aerated-bread shop in Oxford Street; thus solving the difficult problem of economical catering, and bringing the club near to the haunts of fashionable ladies. Not that it is or ever will be the smart

woman's club. It is useful but not elegant; the approach—through a narrow passage and up a back staircase—is against it; the rooms do not even boast a cheap prettiness. But, though outward show is disregarded, the members cannot complain of any lack of intellectual fare.

From the beginning the Somerville had a twofold aim: (1) to encourage in women an interest in political and social problems; and (2) to afford opportunities for rest, light refreshment, and social intercourse and recreation;—the latter being made expressly subordinate to the former. The prospectus stated that the club was founded “for the purpose of affording to women interested in political and social questions some central place of meeting, where opportunity will be afforded for serious discussion and the interchange of opinions and information,” the qualification for membership being “interest in social and political questions.” Among the original members are the names of many ladies well known in the world of intellect and social reform, *e. g.*, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Mme. Bodichon, Miss Frances Power Cobbe, Miss Octavia Hill, and others, who adopted it as a “cause” from philanthropic motives.

Like the Pioneer, the Somerville holds frequent debates and an occasional social evening. The discussion is less formal and the speaking less good than may be heard in Bruton Street; but now and then the committee is fortunate enough to get some good speaker from outside to attend and open a debate. The strong point of the Somerville is the reading-room, where a large and varied assortment of papers is provided, and ladies who are fond of periodical literature may easily recoup themselves for their small subscription by reading the papers in comfort. The chief use of the club is probably as a parlor and reading-room for the many women whose means only allow them the use of a single room, and who are glad to find rest and social intercourse here away from their dreary lodgings,—an admirable end, as all who know anything of the underpaid workers of London must admit. An attempt is now being made to introduce new features in the shape of billiard- and smoking-rooms,—or rather room; for want of space will necessitate the combination of the two in the upstairs apartment hitherto sacred to silence and lunches. Whether these changes will really prove for the advantage of a club of this character seems by no means certain; but it is not for us to prophesy. In spite of financial difficulties the Somerville has the credit of being a self-supporting club. The members make the rules, elect the committee, and have the right of objecting to undesirable candidates for election.

While the Pioneer and the Somerville avowedly aim at widening the lives of women, the University Club for Ladies contents itself with a much simpler object, *i. e.*, to provide a central meeting-place in London for ladies who have enjoyed the benefit of a university course. It seems at first sight a little surprising that after three or four years at college the alumna's idea of a club should be merely a place for tea and talk, without the slightest attempt to force one of her own fads on an unwilling neighbor, or to take up a friend's "cause" instead of her own. But this would be a hasty judgment, formed only by those who were not aware of the existence of the Women's University Settlement, the University Association of Women Teachers, the Inter-University debates, besides the dinner and tennis associations of the individual colleges, and the many educational societies in which university women play a more or less prominent part. When this is borne in mind, it is no longer surprising that the college woman's idea of a club is a place where she can rest from her labors.

The present premises of the club are in Maddox Street, just out of Bond Street, the favorite quarter for ladies' clubs; but high rents and the low subscription of a guinea necessitate a limitation of space. The visitor who calls for the first time at No. 47 Maddox Street is surprised to find the ground-floor occupied by a large tailor's shop, not in any way suggestive of feminine influence; but the milliner on the first-floor gives a fresh aspect to affairs, and may, perhaps, have reflected, in choosing her quarters, that the open door of her shop was likely to prove a snare to the club lady as she walks past on the way to her own domain on the second- and third-floors. Just past the shop is a door labelled, "University Club for Ladies"; and, after passing through, one reads the notice, "Please beware of steps immediately outside this door,"—a not unnecessary caution. But, once past the stairs and through the door, the most fastidious cannot but be pleased with the dainty appearance of the little club premises. The front room, whose large bow-window admits of a peep into the joys of Bond Street, is the general club- and reading-room. It is comfortably, though simply, furnished; a feature being the number of tiny tables meant to serve as nuclei for different tea-parties; while, in winter-time, the pretty fireplace forms a pleasant centre for chat. Here are the papers and magazines, chosen by the members by vote once a year. "Mind" and others of the more serious reviews suggest the learned title of the club; but there are concessions to weaker spirits in the way of lighter magazines and even an occasional society paper. The

back drawing-room is meant for rest and letter-writing : a comfortable sofa invites the weary ; and here are also two writing-tables supplied with the club writing-paper and other requisites. Passing through, we reach the little dressing-room, provided with hot and cold water, mirrors, etc., and a large bath for the use of the one visitor the club can accommodate. Upstairs are dining-room, guest's bedroom, house-keeper's room, and kitchen. Lunch is provided in the middle of the day ; dinners are supplied by arrangement ; tea, coffee, and other light refreshments are served at any time in any of the rooms. Tea is undoubtedly the English college woman's beverage ; but there is no embargo on stronger drink, and wine may always be had on the premises. Indeed any regulation against it would be an unfair limitation of the rights of members, since it is to them the club belongs : they elect the committee, ballot for new members, attend general meetings, and generally carry on the whole business in a democratic spirit.

In view of the necessity of establishing smoking-rooms in some ladies' clubs, it is worth noting that no such want has ever been experienced here. Gentlemen visitors are rigidly excluded from the club premises ; not from any hatred of the sex, but through want of space. When the membership has increased sufficiently to allow of removal to a larger building, it will be possible to have a visitors' room, where members may receive guests without disturbing the quiet and comfort of others. Small as are the present premises they are a distinct advance on those in Bond Street, where the club originally opened ; and even those tiny rooms were welcomed as a long-desired realization of a scheme first mooted in 1882. For nearly four years an association to promote the establishment of the club struggled on ; gradually adding to its numbers, until at last it was resolved into the club itself.

The club does not limit its membership to graduates, but admits also lecturers and students who have been in residence a certain time at one of the colleges, as well as undergraduates of any university who have passed the next examination after matriculation. This enables ladies to join before the completion of their course, and helps to maintain interest and sympathy between past and present. The University Club has witnessed many a pleasant and unexpected meeting between college acquaintances who had not seen each other for years, and who had much to tell of experiences, professional and private, since those happy days. College news is quickly circulated here, the latest university triumphs and announcements of tennis

matches find their place on the notice-board, and college societies make it their place of meeting. Hence the little Maddox Street rooms are links between the present and the past: the happy mother to whom her college days are a pleasant dream of the past; the busy lecturer or high-school teacher; the eager philanthropist and the journalist; the factory inspector and the successful doctor;—all these have a stake in the club and a feeling of filial affection reflected from their old love for *Alma Mater*. The University Club supplies too real a need to be in any doubt of a successful future.

After teaching, it is probably literary work that supports the greater number of our educated women; and though the woman journalist and lady novelist can find a welcome at one or other of the clubs already described, it is not surprising that they should prefer to have a domain of their own, where their special needs and convenience may be considered. The journalist, like Dr. Johnson, naturally desires to take a walk down Fleet Street, since this is the centre of the newspaper world. The Writers' Club—where, be it understood, "writer" is a strictly feminine term—therefore turns its back on the frivolities of Bond Street and Piccadilly, and has found a home in Norfolk Street, Strand, not far from the spot where Temple Bar once stood, and where the much-abused griffin disports himself in front of the new Law Courts. Hastings House, where the club is located, is a high red-brick building, crammed full of offices, and suggestive of stern business. The Writers' has to content itself with a humble domain in the basement; for rents are enormous in this busy quarter of the town, and authors are not exactly a wealthy race. The subscription and entrance-fee are one guinea each; and the condition of membership is that the applicant must have done at least one piece of work that has been published and paid for,—a rough-and-ready test, which would have excluded the author of "*Sordello*," but doubtless serves a useful end in keeping out the literary amateur and the vain woman who offers to do work for nothing if only her name may appear at the foot. It is distinctly a club for workers; and a little writing-room, well supplied with directories and books of reference, and where silence is enjoined, enables members to write reports and paragraphs without unnecessary delay, and to hand copy in at the office in time for the next day's issue. And the rest and lunch, or refreshing cup of tea count for something, too, to those who are not overstrong and who find the struggle for existence press hardly.

But the club is not only for the young beginner; it includes in its

membership the distinguished as well as the unknown. Edna Lyall, Mme. Adam, Mrs. J. R. Green, Lady Jeune, the Duchess of Sutherland, and Mrs. Hodgson Burnett are among the vice-presidents. Mrs. Humphry Ward is a member, and has served her annual term of office as chairman of committee; while the Princess Christian is perpetual president. Once a week the Writers' doffs its aspect of serious work, and puts on gay attire in the shape of tea-cups and cakes. Every Friday afternoon there is a "house tea," to which members may invite their friends of both sexes; and there is usually some distinguished literary guest who is to be specially honored on the occasion. Members take it in turn to play the part of hostess, making themselves responsible for the refreshments and the general conduct of the reception. A Writers' Club Friday Afternoon is a function that should not be missed by visitors to London with literary tastes; for they may at least catch sight of a few lions in the crush, and get a general impression of the journalistic ladies of the British metropolis. Talk seems apt to turn on publishers; remarks on checks, royalties, second editions, interviews, and "your first success" come floating past one in the quiet corner, where after many efforts you have found a seat. And, after all, why not? "Shop" is as good a subject as shopping; and there may be some useful outcome of it. Those who know the club best maintain that it has been of real use to many of its members, in bringing them into relation with others able to help them by advice or even in more practical ways. This is good news, since women are often blamed for not holding together; and everything that tends to promote loyalty and comradeship among them must be beneficial.

It would, however, give a very wrong impression of feminine clubdom to suggest that this happy domain belongs only to the professional or philanthropic lady. Doubtless these led the way; but why should the fashionable society woman be left behind? For her the Green Park Club offers a charming resting-place, with its elegant appointments, walls hung with dainty tapestry, and furniture covered with choicest brocade. The subdued light, the artistic *ensemble*, the limitation of membership to ladies eligible for presentation at court,—all are suggestive of a world of comfort and wealth, *le monde où l'on s'amuse*. Musical and other entertainments take place here once a fortnight during the season, and are admirably organized by the proprietors, who conduct the management of the club, taking all responsibility off the members' hands, and leaving them only the comforts of this luxurious

resort. The Alexandria Club in Grosvenor Street, which also makes the court qualification a condition of membership, is conducted on the same lines.

After these two specially select institutions there are several others which, though less ambitious and luxurious, offer very comfortable resting-places to ladies during intervals of shopping or sight-seeing, with even the convenience of a bedroom during a short stay in the metropolis. One of these is the Victoria, in Victoria Street, which distinctly states that it is "solely intended as a luxurious *pied-à-terre* for ladies requiring such in town, and has no political, educational, or other views or object." Another is the County Club, which, starting humbly as a tea and shopping club, now boasts elegant quarters in Hanover Square and a membership of a thousand; proving plainly enough by this quiet success that it met the proverbial "long-felt want." Ladies who do not desire an exclusively feminine domain may join the Albemarle, or one of the other few mixed clubs; but these are apt to be more expensive than those that cater only for the less hungry sex. In any case, the number of feminine clubs is increasing so fast that the clubless woman will soon be a rarity.

The tendency in London just now is to make life easier for women, by ladies' chambers, ladies' clubs, omnibuses whose steps a woman can climb, and restaurants which she may enter unprotected. None too soon have these things come about; and there is little doubt of their permanency. The modern woman, though she has been known to be unwilling, at a college debate, to pronounce herself better than her grandmother, need not hesitate at any rate to admit that she is a great deal more comfortable.

ALICE ZIMMERN.

THE RESULTS OF CARDINAL SATOLLI'S MISSION.

THE request that has come to me, to prepare an article for THE FORUM on the results of Cardinal Satolli's mission, was probably prompted by the remembrance of an article of mine in THE FORUM for September, 1893,¹ to which this might be considered a sequel. The need of a delegate of the Pope for the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and the beneficent results to be expected from the mission of Monsignor Satolli, as shown in the former article, have been demonstrated and made good by the event.

Until recent years, the Catholic Church in this country was governed by what might be called, without invidiousness, a benevolent paternal despotism. While the bishop was reasonably sure of a fixity of life-tenure, everything else depended upon his will, subject only to very general laws of the Church, and with little or no regard to the body of jurisprudence and procedure known as the Canon Law. In fact, in view of the supposed missionary stage of the existence of the Church in America, it was not uncommonly thought that the Canon Law had nothing to do with us.

Too often there was neglect of duty, remissness in remedying evils; at times unnecessary burdens were laid upon the people, and harsh treatment was awarded to priests; and for all these grievances there was little or no redress. Remonstrances were readily construed into disrespect; and individuals felt that they could complain only at their peril. The only chances of redress for these evils lay in a recourse to Rome; and, in view of the distance, the difference of language, the long delays, the great expense and difficulty in producing witnesses and documents, there was, for the great majority of the aggrieved, no redress at all.

True, the Holy See, conscious of a grave defect and desiring to remedy it, ordered the establishment of judicial commissions, and dictated appropriate legislation through the Councils of Baltimore; but too many of the bishops—bred, as they were, in the old school—failed to imbibe the spirit of the new legislation, and very often disregarded

¹ "The Vatican and the United States," vol. xvi, p. 11.

even the letter of it. In regard to one matter, reaching to the very root of ecclesiastical life, there was felt to be a great need of change. From the earlier missionary days of the Church in this country the bishops were elected by a sort of close corporation of the bishops of the province, with no reference to clergy or people; so that it sometimes happened that men unacquainted with the conditions of a diocese, and unknown or unacceptable to it, were appointed,—not infrequently to the grave detriment of religion, and disaffection of clergy and people. The Holy See endeavored to provide some remedy by requiring that there should be in each diocese a small number of the clergy who should have the right to propose three names for the bishopric. But this remedy has not proved to be very effectual; since the smallness of the number of these privileged clergymen, and the fact that they are appointees of the bishop, make them anything but fairly representative of the body of the clergy. Besides, the bishops exercise the right of revising the list presented by the priests, and of making out a list of their own. The action of the bishops is secret, and is submitted only to the Holy See, which makes the final selection. Quite frequently the choice of the privileged clergymen has been overruled, and sometimes with the unfortunate consequences already referred to.

It is a matter of Catholic dogma that the successor of St. Peter inherits from him the office of bishop of the whole flock; so that the local bishops and clergy are as truly sheep of his fold as are the laity represented by the lambs in the great commission given to Peter by our Lord. It is, therefore, but in keeping with a necessary characteristic of his high office that the Supreme Bishop should be solicitous for the welfare of every portion of the flock, eager to do whatever is best for its interests and to hasten the gathering into it of those who are still without; and that he should be grieved at the frequent miscarriage of his apostolic wishes and expectations. Of paramount importance in this matter is the wise choice of bishops. Since the Holy See, in view of the supposed missionary stage of the Church here, has not seen its way clear to broaden the electorate, as in Ireland, so as to include all the rectors of churches, the next best thing, obviously, is that the Holy Father should have, outside the bishops of the province and the limited number of privileged priests, some other regular source of accurate and unprejudiced information.

Again, the Catholic Church in the United States has a delicate and difficult mission, of a kind and a degree scarcely to be found elsewhere,—a mission the success of which cannot fail to be of the greatest

advantage to the Republic itself. I know that nothing can be farther from the mind of the Catholic Church than the idea of national churches in antagonism to the Divine plan of unity and world-wide catholicity. Yet it is true that the Church Universal and the Holy See do, as a matter of good sense, good policy, and, I might say, of necessity, recognize subordinate units; witness the stated meetings of the bishops of all Germany in national religious conference near the tomb of their Apostle at Fulda, the regular meetings of the bishops of Ireland at Maynooth, the famous national synod of Thurles in Ireland, with its ecclesiastical legislation for the whole nation; and witness, most notable of all, our own Councils of Baltimore, which, subject to the revision of the Pope, have, by his authority, legislated for the Catholic Church in the whole of the United States.

The Holy See has gone far in its recognition of the necessity of dealing with the Church in various countries with special regard to differences of language, customs, and other conditions; and especially with regard to the points of contact with the civil government. Such points of contact are found in church building, church properties, church educational and charitable work, and the exemption of the clergy from military conscription. The Church has made treaties or concordats with one or another civil government for the regulation of such affairs throughout the whole country subject to that civil government, and has allowed the government to propose names for bishoprics.

The Catholic Church in America has not merely the mission to look after the spiritual welfare of Catholic immigrants who may come hither from Europe or elsewhere, but, in addition to this great work, she has the mission to promote the spiritual interests of those of her children who are natives of the country; and these are the great majority. Most of them, it is true, are the children or grandchildren of immigrants; but very many of them also are descendants of the early settlers of Maryland, Kentucky, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Louisiana, and other States and Territories. A greater mission than all these is incumbent upon the Catholic Church in America; and the more truly her heart and mind are quickened by the Catholic spirit, the more will she feel the exceeding sacredness and importance of it. If she be truly Catholic, she must be all aflame with the desire to bring all the people of this great American nation to the knowledge of those truths and to the receiving of those means of grace which she believes she has received from the mind and heart of Christ,—which truths and graces she believes to be for the healing of the nations, for the stability of peace

and order, and for the solution of great social questions, which are in their last analysis moral and therefore religious questions.

Surely it is fair to say that, like the Apostle of the Gentiles, the Church must desire to be "all things to all men . . . to win all men to Christ." The Apostle felt a civic pride in asserting, "I am a Roman citizen," and in adding, "I was born so."

What a wondrous work toward the salvation of man, the assertion of human dignity, the abolition of slavery, the elevation of woman, and the eventual civilization and unification of the whole world was done by those old Apostles who Christianized the Roman Empire and the territories adjacent to it! Yet all these territories, with their populations, have dwindled, to our modern view, since, thanks to Columbus and his lesser imitators, the earth has been unveiled to us in its true proportions. There now exist several empires far surpassing the Roman Empire in extent of territory; while in population they equal it, like the Russian, or, like the Chinese and the British, far surpass it. Our own Republic also bids fair soon to outstrip it. It is already evident that America, with its rapid growth and general diffusion of education, the lofty principles which dominate its institutions and the spirit of its people, is destined to lead in the world-wide expansion of the English-speaking race,—an expansion that will carry our language, our jurisprudence, and liberty, with law and order, to all the ends of the earth. Wise men are beginning to see that the "federation of the world" and "the parliament of man," which are the poet's expression of the hopes engendered by the prophecies of Isaiah and by the promises of Christ, are to be brought about by the English-speaking peoples. Surely the language of the parliament of man shall not be any one of the direct descendants of the ancient Roman speech; nor shall it be the comparatively unmixed language of the Slav or the Teuton; but it shall be none other than this English speech of ours.

The Catholic Church, therefore, by winning the American people—the great majority of whom to-day are non-Catholics—to the high Christian life and practice, which her teachings and the graces of which she is the minister give her a unique power to do, would be making the greatest stride toward the salvation of the world. Previous Pontiffs, like Pius IX and Gregory XVI, saw something of this, and gave some expression to what they saw; but the present illustrious Pontiff, gifted with great perspicacity,—the times being now riper,—has seen it with a clearer vision, and, with a happy inspiration, has determined to do by his Apostolic authority what such conditions and such brill-

iant promise seem to demand of him. His first great act for the accomplishment of this purpose was a creative act that is destined to be historic, because that one act created a permanent institution and with it a new order of things. That act was the establishment of a permanent Apostolic Delegation to the Church of the United States. The Pope, in appointing Monsignor Francesco Satolli to be the first Delegate, showed his high sense of the importance of the office, and the nearness of the work to his own heart. At the same time he conferred peculiar honor upon the man he chose,—the honor of being the first Delegate and, in some sense, the founder of the Delegation.

The Pope had known and had shown esteem and affection for Satolli from the days of the latter's boyhood in his native diocese of Perugia, over which the Pope had been bishop for more than thirty years. He had known him both as student and as teacher of literature, philosophy, and theology; he had promoted him to positions of honor and trust; and, when Cardinal Pecci of Perugia became Pope Leo XIII, he called Satolli to Rome to fill the position of professor of theology of St. Thomas Aquinas in the schools of the Propaganda. The Pope had commended to the whole Catholic world the philosophy and theological system of St. Thomas as a powerful remedy against the crude philosophy, the half-thinking and false thinking, that are at the bottom of the atheism, agnosticism, and infidelity of the age. It appeared as though the Pope chose Satolli for the chair of so important a school in order to introduce him from such a point of vantage as an exponent of his own mind. During his professorship Satolli published several learned volumes, was appointed president of the Ecclesiastical Academy, and consecrated Archbishop. In 1889, he was sent by the Pope to the United States, as his Representative at the Centennial celebration of the American Hierarchy in Baltimore and at the inauguration of the Catholic University in Washington. At last, in the autumn of 1892, the Holy Father sent Archbishop Satolli again to this country, as Commissioner to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and with a temporary and tentative commission as Apostolic Delegate to prepare for the announcement and establishment of a permanent Delegation.

No such birth of a new order of things can be expected to take place without pain and travail. At a meeting of the archbishops, at which Satolli announced the beneficent designs of the Pope in our behalf, the great majority declined to request or to approve the appointment of a permanent Delegate; and there was much opposi-

tion, open and secret, at the time,—so much, indeed, that it became notorious matter of gossip in the newspapers. But the Pope, like a watchman on a high tower, taking a broader and, we may add, a more disinterested, view of the subject, was so convinced of the utility and necessity of what he had proposed that, in the beginning of 1893, he decreed the institution and appointed Satolli the first Delegate.

All experience teaches that, in nature and in human society, great things do not attain their growth and perfection suddenly or with great rapidity. Yet, from the very beginning of his administration and in the nearly four years of its duration, Monsignor Satolli has done, in numerous instances and in many directions, more than enough to justify the Pope's judgment and expectation that the Delegation would do much to remedy the evils and to supply the wants referred to in the earlier part of this article, and to cause the Catholic Church in America to make a distinct and great advance toward a future that shall be worthier of her high vocation and of the great people amid whom her lot is happily cast. Time and again he has lifted oppressive burdens from clergy and people, righted wrongs, compelled the tempering of justice with mercy, made judicial hearings accessible and easy; and, by the happy interposition of his authority and by his tact and good offices, he has been able to bring about reconciliations and compromises extrajudicially.

The mere presence in the country of such a man, invested with such authority, has prevented much matter for discord and litigation. It has made cautious some prelates who, in their inexperience, or excessive estimate of their own authority, would otherwise have been more ready to lay undue burdens upon clergy or people, and to stretch their authority beyond its due limits. He has restored priests who had been condemned by their bishops; in some cases because he found that they were innocent, and in others because he found that they had already been too severely punished. In his first address to the assembled archbishops he forcibly reminded them of the express prohibition by the Sovereign Pontiff, through the Sacred Congregation, of the exclusion (either by act or threat) from the Sacraments of parents who might choose to send their children to the public schools. And he added: "As regards the children themselves this enactment applies with still greater force." In a certain very important diocese, where the bishop had failed to give redress to a gentleman who, while making proper provision for the religious education of his boy and for the safeguarding of the boy's faith and morals, thought it proper to

send the boy to the public school, and was therefor excluded from the church and from the Sacraments, Monsignor Satolli, when informed of these facts by a letter from the aggrieved parent, sent immediately for the pastor. Upon the latter admitting the statement of facts, he was commanded to undo forthwith the great wrong that he had done; and on the very next Sunday the vindicated layman occupied his accustomed pew in his parish church.

In the propositions which the Delegate presented to the archbishops in that same first address he made it clear that parents and civil society, as well as the Church, have rights in the matter of the education of the child. This doctrine must have seemed new and startling to some of the more narrow-minded and prejudiced of the clergy and laity; as is shown by the commotion raised by a pamphlet written in the same sense by Dr. Bouquillon, of the Catholic University, on the question of the right to teach, and entitled, "Education,—to Whom does It Belong?"

In the same propositions, while urging the maintenance (but on a proper literary as well as religious footing) of church-schools for the better teaching and guarding of religion and morality, the Delegate rebuked fanatical exaggerations. Referring to children whose religious instruction and morals are sufficiently safeguarded, he said:

"Hence, absolutely and universally speaking there is no repugnance in their learning the first elements and the higher branches of the arts and the natural sciences in public schools controlled by the state, whose office it is to provide, maintain, and protect everything by which its citizens are formed to moral goodness, while they live peaceably together, with a sufficiency of temporal goods, under laws promulgated by civil authority."

By such language and such policy the Apostolic Delegate, an Italian, showed himself more truly in touch with American views than many of our own priests and prelates, native and foreign-born; and he has thus done a vast work in dispelling prejudices against the Church, which have been so largely fostered by intemperate denunciations of the public schools. With the clear light of Roman theology and philosophy, which he brought to bear upon our affairs, he strengthened all public-spirited and patriotic American bishops, priests, and people by such language as the following, which I quote from his address at Gonzaga College, Washington, in 1893, on an American civil and religious holiday—Thanksgiving Day. Having spoken of the incompatibility of the Christian Church with the superstitions and idolatrous worship that were interwoven with the old Roman state, he says:

"But, thanks be to God, and glory to the men who inspired the American Constitution, such a state of things as obtained in Rome is not possible here ; and I will say that whoever seriously meditates on the principles of the American Constitution, or is acquainted with the present conditions of the American Republic, cannot deny that the influence and action of Catholic faith and morality are favorable in every way to the letter and spirit of the American Constitution."

I am glad to be able to quote another luminous sentence of Archbishop Satolli's, in the same sense, from a speech delivered by him on the occasion of a visit, in company with the mayor of the city, to the High School (a public school) in Waterbury, Connecticut :

"To say that the Constitution of the United States forbids the civil power to frame laws about religion, is one thing ; but it is altogether different to hold that the American Constitution is godless, or that the American life requires not the influence of religion ; for it is consonant with the spirit of true liberty and well-ordered government so to educate youth and so to enlighten their minds that they may not only know true religion, but also love and practise it."

What better rebuke could the Delegate have administered to those who would seem to wish, in the name of religion, to unduly depreciate American patriotism, than that conveyed in the following words, which I quote from his address in the Cathedral of New York in 1894 :

"From the experience that I have gathered in America, I do believe that it is the country, of all others, in which Catholic truth may have the largest field of action. We only need freedom of speech ; and that is most ample in America. But the exposition of truth must be clear and plain. I regret that sometimes the truth has been set forth incompletely. Truth possesses in itself the power to reach the intellect : it needs only to be presented clearly and entirely. It will then be accepted not only by Catholics, but also by Protestants and infidels."

And, to show that in all this he was but manifesting the mind of the Supreme Pontiff himself, it should be sufficient to repeat here the quotations which the Archbishop made from a then recent encyclical of the Pope. In an address on the relations of church and state, delivered at Washington in February, 1895, he first quotes from the beginning of the encyclical, where the Holy Father says : "We highly esteem and love exceedingly the young and vigorous American nation, in which we plainly discern latent forces for the advancement alike of civilization and of Christianity." And further on in the same address the Delegate quotes from the same encyclical as follows :

"All intelligent men are agreed, and we ourselves have with pleasure intimated it above, that America seems destined for greater things. Now, it is our wish that the Catholic Church should not only share in, but help to bring about, this prospective greatness. We deem it right and proper that she should, by

availing herself of the opportunities daily presented to her, keep equal step with the Republic in the march of improvement ; at the same time striving to the utmost, by her virtue and institutions, to aid in the rapid growth of the States."

That address of Archbishop Satolli was in great measure a synopsis or a commentary upon the encyclical of the Pope to the Church in this country. In it he asserts that the Holy Father's encyclical demonstrates "that the state has nothing to fear but everything to hope from the existence of the Catholic Church." And he adds: "She [the state] has everything to hope and nothing to fear, not only as regards her independence and constitutional liberty, but as regards the liberty of political parties as well, to none of which does the Church or the Pope desire that Catholic interests should bind themselves. The Church holds herself on a higher plane, and looks only to the common good, to the reign of truth, justice, and peace." These latter words of Archbishop Satolli may well be taken as a rebuke to those clergymen—fortunately far fewer, I think, in the Catholic Church than in any other denomination—who, in times of great political excitement, have converted their pulpits or altars into partisan political platforms.

With regard to the question, that has caused some disturbance, of the desire of Catholic immigrants of other speech than the English to maintain in their churches and church-schools for an indefinite time a foreign speech and, in some measure, a foreign nationality, Archbishop Satolli saw clearly at an early day how detrimental this must be to the general interests of the Catholic Church in America, and even to the preservation of the Catholic religion among the children and grandchildren of those immigrants; and, therefore, he not only compelled a German pastor to restore a church, of which he had been permitted by the bishop to take possession, to the use of the English-speaking people who had built it, but he also advised him to preach even in his own church in the "normal" language of the country to the bulk of his people who were familiar with that language; while not neglecting to give instruction in German, at reasonable times, to the older members who might not be sufficiently familiar with English. In the same spirit he wrote, in April, 1895, to certain French Canadians in Connecticut as follows:

"Your attachment to your religion is most consoling, and that to your native language most natural and praiseworthy. But, at the same time, you must remember that you have left the country in which the use of that language is common, and have voluntarily come to another in which a different tongue is spoken. You must not, then, expect that here the same provisions can be made

with the same perfection for the propagation and continued use of your own language."

There has been some newspaper gossip since Cardinal Satolli's departure for Rome to the effect that in an address in a German Catholic Church in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, he spoke in a different sense from the foregoing. No doubt in that address he gave well-merited praise to the good German Catholics for their devotion to their religion and for their preservation of Catholic traditions and practices; but there is reason to believe that the Delegate felt that the translation of his address, which was published in the newspapers, was not an accurate one, and might have seemed to make that utterance of his inconsistent with his former utterances. Some complaint has been made of the suppression of that Pottsville address in the published volume of the Delegate's addresses; and this complaint has brought forth proof from the editor of the volume, Rev. J. R. Slattery, of Baltimore, that the suppression was made by Cardinal Satolli himself.

Cardinal Satolli has seen countless evidences in this country of the intense patriotism of the American people and of their ardent love for the unity of their nationality. One of the signal services that, near to the person of the Holy Father, he can now render to the Catholic Church in America will be, in making clear to the Pope and his eminent advisers in Rome that any attempt to perpetuate here quasi-colonies of nationalities of foreign speech can, in the long run, but be ruinous to the religious interests of the next and succeeding generations, who, by an inevitable attraction, will perforce be Americans and will glory in the name, and in great numbers will be likely, as they throw off and repudiate the foreign nationality, also to repudiate as something foreign, the religion that has been too closely identified with it. He will be able to show to the Holy Father how this must come about, even though our Government should, with its wonderful breadth and toleration, take no note of this attempt. From his great knowledge of our country and of the spirit of our people, Cardinal Satolli will be able to make perfectly clear to the Holy Father that any intrigues engaged in by people of other nationalities, whether here, in Rome, or elsewhere, to promote such constructive treason against the unity of our nationality can have only most disastrous results, will seem to give justification to anti-Catholic associations, and may call for severe animadversion on the part of our Government itself. Above all, he will be able to point out how utterly intolerable it must be to

the American Government, as well as to the American people, both Catholic and Protestant, that imperial ambassadors of Germany and Austria in Rome, or French Canadian politicians, or representatives of whatsoever foreign nationality, shall have any concern in, or intermeddle in any way with, the appointment of bishops in Ogdensburg, Milwaukee, or elsewhere in the United States. He will be able to tell to the Pope how fearful a blunder it was on the part of the German politician Cahensly to say to the Holy Father in his too famous memorial in favor of perpetuating, in the name of religion, these various foreign nationalities in this country, that such perpetuation would be of great advantage to the respective governments of the nations from which these people come.

Great as have been the services rendered here to the Church and to the country by Cardinal Satolli, he may render as great or even greater in his present exalted position; particularly because of the peculiar affection and esteem cherished for him by the Pope.

Although Monsignor Satolli was met at the outset of his mission with coldness and opposition in certain quarters, he soon conquered it with patience, firmness, and tact. Wherever he went Catholics and Protestants vied with one another in doing honor to the representative of the See of St. Peter, and all with great unanimity joined in paying honor to him as they bade him farewell and Godspeed.

It is a happy omen that as the first reception of Archbishop Satolli in this country was at our Columbian Exposition, so, among the last honors paid to him as he was about to leave our shores, was the extraordinary reception by one of our greatest national institutions, the Military Academy at West Point.

In welcoming the new Delegate we find fresh cause of thankfulness to the Pope, that he has chosen as Satolli's successor one with special fitness for the place. It is the duty of American Catholics, in supporting his delegate, to coöperate in the Holy Father's beneficent desires in their behalf; and to pray that he may be preserved in mental and physical vigor to carry out these designs, in spite of any narrow interests that would thwart them, and in the spirit of the declaration which he made to me three years ago, as told in *THE FORUM*, when he said: "Whatever may be said concerning intrigues, I, the Head of the Church, am above all such intrigues and am utterly uninfluenced by them."

ECONOMY OF TIME IN TEACHING.

IN my previous articles I pointed out that the possibilities of elementary education cannot be definitely determined until our ideas in regard to two factors are much clearer than they are at present. First, it will be necessary to learn whether everything now taught in the old-fashioned schools is in fact essential; and, second, whether the apportionment of time in the process of teaching is as economical as it might be. In my last article, which was devoted to the former question, I showed that many matters now taught in the schools answer no definite purpose, and might therefore be profitably substituted by others of more immediate value. The present article will be devoted to the latter problem; and I shall endeavor to show what might be done to eliminate waste in actual teaching and thus provide still further opportunity for the introduction of purely educative material. Of course, until an understanding is reached as to what is indispensable in an elementary-school course, and our goals are established accordingly, the study of the time element in teaching will be to some extent hampered. Nevertheless, the problem presents special features of its own that admit of separate consideration.

The point at issue involves the discovery of processes which, other things being equal, will perform a given task in the smallest amount of time. As reliable information of this nature can be obtained only by comparing results, the problem will bear solution only in so far as results can be approximately measured. Having no means at hand with which to measure general intellectual strength, we are not able definitely to determine what methods of intellectual training will accomplish most in a given period; consequently, the relative economy of measures of mental gymnastics must remain, at least for the near future, purely a matter of speculation. Positive knowledge and skill, however, being directly amenable to measurement, it lies within our reach to ascertain the time consumed by different teachers in obtaining certain positive results, as well as to discover what processes have proved the most economical. That, in spite of our extended experience with a great variety of methods, this problem is still awaiting

solution, is due to the fact that the results of our experiments have never been so utilized as to lead to the discovery of scientific truths.

The fundamental points in the time element in teaching to which I shall direct particular attention are: the limits of incidental instruction, the influence of fatigue, and the question of mental maturity.

Of these factors that of incidental teaching is, under existing conditions, perhaps the most important. About 70 per cent of the time in some of our schools being devoted to the formal branches, a radical change would be effected if the forms of expression—reading, spelling, penmanship, grammar, and language—were taught as incidental features. Indeed, much would be gained if results should prove that the formal studies can be subordinated, even though to a limited extent only, to the content studies. The possibility of incidental instruction depends upon whether we are able to do more than one thing well at a time. If so, some mental labor must necessarily be performed by subordinate states of attention or consciousness, and the practicability of incidental instruction will depend upon whether such can be utilized in teaching. That the performance of more than one act at a time is not only possible, but under certain conditions inevitable, is clearly shown by the fact that, in writing a composition, it is necessary to attend simultaneously to at least four distinct elements—thought, language, spelling, and penmanship. To what extent incidental instruction may be carried can be discovered only by a study of results. As in some of our progressive schools the work in the formal branches has been tending for some years toward incidental instruction, opportunity is already offered for such study. In endeavoring to solve the problem by discussion, our educators are only wasting energy and losing valuable time.

The possibilities of incidental instruction are not limited to the formal studies, but extend to the content studies as well. In the latter, however, the ground covered in the different schools varies so markedly that we are unable to formulate tests which will lead to the comparative study of results. Investigation in the content studies will not be fruitful, therefore, until our goals are more definite and our notions clearer in regard to what results in these branches may be regarded as satisfactory. Moreover, as most of the time in the mechanical schools is devoted to the formal branches, incidental instruction in the content studies is a less urgent problem, at least for the present, than it is in the case of the formal ones.

When I speak of incidental instruction, I do not mean that satis-

factory results might be secured if a branch were left to take care of itself. Incidental instruction, to be worthy the name, is not a *laissez faire* system, but must be as carefully planned and as thoroughly and systematically conducted as if the subject were separately taught. If the teacher, for instance, should act on the theory that, in time, the pupil would learn to write neatly and legibly just because he writes, and accordingly would accept manuscript in any form in which it is presented, she would not be imparting incidental instruction, but would simply be neglecting penmanship. Incidental instruction in that branch would be represented by a consistent effort on the part of the teacher to secure neatness and legibility in everything that was written. Whether it is possible to carry this point, with little or no special drill in penmanship after the forms of the letters have been learned, is purely a matter of experience.

The second point, mental fatigue, relates directly to the apportionment of time to individual branches. Experience proves that the results of teaching do not necessarily correspond to the amount of time devoted to a branch; or, in other words, that an increase in time beyond a certain point does not lead to a proportionate increase in results. In order that the labor may be fully rewarded a lesson must close at the proper point, and work in that particular subject must not be resumed until the mind is again ready for it. In this problem, therefore, a double element is involved: first, the length of a recitation; and, second, the frequency of recitations in a given subject.

Closely related to the question of fatigue is that of the powers of mental assimilation. The number of ideas that can be digested in a given period is limited, and therefore in the apportionment of time the question of assimilation must be considered as well as that of fatigue. The two are indeed so closely connected that it is impossible to say where the dividing line should be drawn.

The arrangement of a school programme on a purely logical basis may involve, therefore, an enormous waste of time, for more reasons than one. In a recitation sixty minutes in length, twice as much ground can be covered, it is true, as in a recitation only thirty minutes in length; and, again, in four recitations a week in a given subject, twice as much ground can be covered as in two. It is not, however, the number of ideas presented to the child, but only those assimilated, that count. An individual that takes twice as much food as another does not on that account weigh twice as much. Indeed, the individual that loads his digestive organs with more food than can be absorbed by the sys-

tem, may not thrive so well as one that takes no more than he can digest, and thus saves those organs from a needless strain.

In the old-fashioned system, where the material for instruction is selected largely on the principle of filling out time, matters are poured into the mind without regard to its assimilative powers. Under this, the cramming method, facts may be remembered for a brief period, but, failing absorption, will soon fall into oblivion. By extraordinary pressure enough ideas may be crowded into the mind to enable one to pass a good examination on an appointed day; but many of them will be forgotten so quickly that the results secured in an examination unexpectedly given only a few weeks later will not be nearly so favorable.

Again, the brain-cells might reach the saturation point for one class of ideas, but would be still in perfect condition to absorb ideas of another kind; just as the amount of food of one kind that can be assimilated in a given time is no indication of how much can be assimilated if it be presented in proper variety. Thus, by carefully distributing the work, we might secure a full return in a great variety of subjects, while the same amount of time devoted to a few subjects might involve considerable waste.

That the results in a given subject are not determined by the amount of time devoted to it, is clearly indicated by the fact that in Germany, although the classes are fully as large as they are here, the children in the first few years, with only three hours' daily instruction, appear to thrive on reading, penmanship, language, arithmetic, geography, nature-study, literature, religion, music, and drawing. Moreover, what is learned in the German schools is learned thoroughly.

When viewed from this standpoint, overburdening the course does not mean teaching a large number of subjects, but introducing so many details in the subjects taught that certain brain-cells must necessarily labor beyond the point of fatigue and beyond the power of assimilation in order that the specified ground may be covered. What the length of a recitation period should be, and how much should be taught in a single lesson, can be deduced only from the results of years of teaching.

The number of recitations a week in a subject must be determined by the amount of time required for brain-cells that have been in active operation fully to recover their strength, and again be prepared for the process of assimilation. If they are set to work earlier they labor under unfavorable conditions, and less will be accomplished in a given time than if the recuperation had been complete. And it is, in fact, an

open question whether the results of five recitations per week in a given subject will be much greater than those secured by three. This point can be determined only by comparing the results obtained under a different apportionment of time. If, in particular instances, the results of instruction are not satisfactory, it is absolutely unsafe to draw the conclusion, as our conservative citizens are apt to do, that not enough time has been devoted to the subject. Before deciding, it would be wiser to learn whether the time set aside for the purpose has been properly employed. In recent years, fatigue, as an element in education, has received considerable attention; but the observations thus far made are only of suggestive value, and will not directly aid in determining the points here discussed.

The third factor presented in our problem—mental maturity—concerns the period of school life when the various branches of study may be most profitably begun. If subjects are presented too early, the process of assimilation will be slow and imperfect; while, if reserved for the proper period, possibly as much might be accomplished in a single year as otherwise in three or four years.

The subjects at present offering the most fruitful field for research of this nature are arithmetic and technical grammar. In regard to the former, the belief is growing that the time given to it in the first two or three years is in large part wasted; or, in other words, that if children should begin arithmetic in earnest at the age of nine or ten, they would soon overtake those who began at five or six. Whether or not this is true cannot be determined without positive data. The suggestion, however, is a valuable one. To solve the question, it is necessary to compare the results secured by pupils whose early education in arithmetic has been neglected, with the results obtained by those who have passed through a systematic course from the start.

In technical grammar a still more positive stand is taken. While in a few schools this subject is begun in the fourth year, and in most schools in the fifth, it is the opinion of many educators that all the time devoted to it below the eighth year, if not below the high school, is wasted. This again can be learned only from results.

To guard against waste in apportioning the time for instruction in individual branches constitutes only one part of the problem of educational economy. The other lies in the elimination of waste in the process of teaching; for, if the time is not profitably employed, the specified results will not be obtained within the allotted period.

In teaching, both science and art are brought into play. Science

tells us, for example, that the greatest amount of labor is performed with a given amount of energy when the channels of least resistance are employed. This condition obtains in teaching, when the ideas are introduced through channels that naturally appeal to the interests of the child. When the instruction is interesting it will attract the attention and hold it during the recitation. If, on the other hand, the child is not interested, his mind will wander and either he will not attend at all, or his attention will be incomplete; a part of the energy being wasted in overcoming the elements of distraction. As the time at the disposal of the teacher will not be fully utilized unless the mind of every child is at work, interest must be regarded as a fundamental factor in educational economy. To render instruction so interesting as to keep the mind of every child occupied will require intuition, judgment, and experience, as well as a knowledge of the theory of teaching.

A second point lies in securing a condition favorable to the assimilation of ideas. It is not enough to render instruction interesting; it is necessary as well to create a state of mental hunger—a desire for further knowledge when the recitation is over—so that the next lesson on the subject will be impatiently awaited. When the child is thus prepared for the acquisition of new ideas, and these ideas are presented at the proper moment, the process of assimilation will be most active. Therefore, although the powers of assimilation are limited, it yet lies within our reach to produce a mental attitude that will insure the greatest possible absorption of ideas. To carry this point successfully will tax the teacher's ingenuity to the utmost.

The third important factor for the elimination of waste in teaching lies in taking into account the individuality of the pupils. A teacher in charge of fifty children cannot, of course, be expected to consider all their peculiarities. Nevertheless, a great deal might be done if only this one point should receive attention, viz.: the differences in the degree of facility with which pupils grasp particular branches. Recitations properly adapted to one who readily comprehends new principles, in a given subject, cannot be followed with advantage by one who experiences great difficulty in learning them. Consequently, the teacher should avoid placing such pupils in the same group, or in some other way should exercise her ingenuity toward remedying the more glaring defects of this nature. The teacher will find an abundance of opportunity for the exercise of judgment by so instructing the class that, so far as possible, each child shall make even progress in the various branches of the grade.

To attain this end a child who is quick in arithmetic and slow in spelling, for example, might be excused more or less frequently from the regular recitations in the former, and be permitted to devote the time to the latter. Or, again, the brightest pupils might perform a valuable service in the way of individual instruction by helping those who are slow. To some extent a plan of mutual assistance might be instituted whereby children would help their comrades in one branch, and receive assistance from them in another. Teachers who have tried some such plan as this have found that children are often more successful than they themselves in clearing away the difficulties. One who has recently passed through certain difficulties appears better to understand where they lie than one who guesses at them from reminiscences or on purely theoretical grounds.

Last,—Great waste is involved in keeping a child back because a low mark in one or two branches reduces his general average below the standard required for promotion. To compel a child to spend six months or a year in going over perfectly familiar ground in geography and arithmetic because he failed in spelling and grammar, is in truth, not wasting time, but stealing time; and it is worse than ordinary theft, because stolen time can never be replaced. Moreover, such an error of judgment in regard to promotion may rob the child of all ambition, kill his interest in intellectual work, and turn the entire current of his life.

Having pointed out the principles upon which an ideal system of education might be founded, I shall, in my future articles, discuss the data that I have collected through the practical application of these principles. As the problem is endless in its ramifications, I do not entertain the hope that my facts—which show the results of teaching in the case of a very large number of children—will be accepted as a positive solution. I shall, indeed, feel that my labor has been amply repaid if they should do no more than convince my readers that our elementary schools are conducted without regard to economy of effort, and that, so long as this condition prevails, the possibilities of elementary education will remain an unknown quantity.

J. M. RICE.

FINANCIAL AND CURRENCY REFORM IMPERATIVE.

WHERE there is a considerable amount of wealth in the form of money, or in securities yielding income, there will usually be money in abundance, large deposits in banks, and the rates of interest will be comparatively low. That many sections of our country, where these conditions do not prevail, are suffering greatly from the want of sufficient money to conduct their business properly, is an indubitable fact. Indeed, that great injustice is being done the people in all the newer sections—where there is yet great undeveloped wealth—by not providing for them a currency system that shall insure approximately the same rate of interest everywhere upon the same conditions and upon the identical or equal security, no one who has thoroughly investigated the matter can doubt. That almost every producer in the South, West, and Northwest is compelled to sell the products of his toil without reference to his own judgment as to the advisability of the time, everyone familiar with the conditions existing in those sections fully realizes.

Herein lies the cause of the unrest and turmoil over the money question. Nor will there be any end of fiatism, silverism, or make-something-out-of-nothingism until it is justly and rightly settled from an economic point of view. So distressing are the conditions, so obvious are the wrongs felt in many sections, that the people think that nothing could be worse than their present evils; therefore, they are ready to vote for any proposition that promises relief.

To this vast population it is a matter of no consequence that they have been shown that it is mathematically certain that the free coinage of silver would make less money instead of more, from the fact that the moment free coinage is given to silver, every dollar of our gold, now amounting to about \$600,000,000 and constituting one-third of all our money, would at once disappear and become a mere commodity; that, having gone to a silver basis, our \$600,000,000 of silver money, now maintained on a parity with gold, would lose one-half of its purchasing power and be equal to only 300,000,000 of our present dollars; that our paper money, now amounting to about \$600,000,000 and main-

tained upon a gold basis, would then fall to a silver basis and be equal to only 300,000,000 of our present dollars,—in other words, that we should then have in this country just one-third of the purchasing power in the form of money that we have to-day.

The people are always ready to give their own condition the benefit of the doubt; a fact fully appreciated by the office-seeker and party-leader, who, in the recent campaign, hastened to inform them that if the United States should accord silver free-coinage privileges, silver would rise to a parity with gold. Many of the people did not seem to care whether this were true or not; therefore they did not ask the pertinent question, "How do you know it to be true?" Had the office-seeker examined it he must necessarily have told the people that it was not true; for the free coinage of gold and silver did not raise silver one-half of one cent from 1792 to 1834, when the ratio was 15 to 1, and all the gold left the country because of a difference of about 1 per cent; and the free coinage of gold and silver did not raise gold one-half of one cent from 1834 to 1853, when all our silver coins left us, although the disparity averaged only about 1 per cent. Further, Candidate Sewell, Governor Altgeld, and Senator Stewart, who are money-loaners, express their opinion to the contrary, by making their contracts payable in gold. Indeed, anyone who is without a prejudice in favor of silver and has carefully and exhaustively examined the question, knows that free coinage by the United States alone would have no appreciable effect upon the value of silver beyond a temporary and speculative one.

Of course, if we went to a silver basis and adopted a fifty-cent dollar, prices would rise; but values would remain the same. However, if the mere rise of prices is a good thing, without reference to a greater demand for articles, we had better drop silver also and, throwing aside all the experiences of the past, try over again Continental and Confederate currency.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, that silver would rise to a parity with gold if we adopted free coinage,—the panacea of the silverite,—the rise of prices would not follow; for it is established beyond question that any increase of equally good money does not in the least affect prices. No one will claim that if Great Britain had \$36 of gold *per capita* instead of \$18,—the amount she has,—that prices would double, or even change to the extent of a penny, unless gold bullion should fall; for, just across the Channel, only twenty-six miles away, in France, there is \$36 *per capita* in gold, or its equivalent (since silver is there maintained at a parity with gold), and yet prices are lower

there, speaking generally, than in England. Again, in Switzerland there is but \$9 *per capita*, or one-fourth as much as there is in France, and yet prices are about the same. In Norway there is but \$6 *per capita*, only one-sixth as much as there is in France, yet prices are generally about the same level; while just across the line, over in Sweden, they have about \$3 *per capita*, one-twelfth as much as France, but prices are there the same. Go down into Bulgaria and you will find but \$1.74 *per capita*, less than one-twentieth of that of France, and yet prices are still the same.

The history of our own country illustrates this great truth equally well. In 1800, when prices were high because of the wars and general excitement prevailing throughout Europe, we had only \$4.99 *per capita* in circulation; but, beginning with 1815, concurrently with a long peace, prices began to fall and went down gradually until they reached their lowest level in 1845, although our *per capita* circulation had during this same period doubled and gone up to \$10. To-day, after another long peace among the leading commercial nations of the world, prices have again reached a low level bordering on that of 1845, although our money has gone on increasing until we now have about \$23 *per capita* in circulation.

To the man who is honest with himself and earnestly seeking the truth nothing further need be said to convince him that, barring exceptional and abnormal conditions, the amount of good money in circulation has nothing to do with the prices of commodities.

When driven by this multitude of overpowering facts from these two great strongholds, the silver advocate invariably gives himself up to the pitiful cry of injustice growing out of what Mr. Bryan chooses to call "the ever-appreciating dollar"; just as though gold had appreciated in value, and a gold dollar in the hand of a laboring man would now buy too much. There is only one thing—human labor—of which a gold dollar can buy too much,—unless we are to give the lie to the whole history of civilization. Every invention, every discovery, every method, every process, that tends to give greater returns to human toil, is sought for no other purpose than to cheapen the necessities and comforts of life; and the greatest problem of humanity is to secure higher and higher wages, with cheaper and cheaper commodities; so that a day's labor shall bring to every home more and more of the necessities and comforts of life, and secure to mankind more and more of those things which make life worth living.

I presume no one will deny that, had the prosperity, common

throughout the land in 1892, prevailed in 1896, the presidential issue of the latter year would hardly have been under discussion at all. For a number of years, beginning about 1885, the people of the United States, like those of every other part of the civilized world, had been engaged in speculation,—opening up more land than was required, building more houses than were needed, constructing more railroads than could earn dividends, completing more electric-light and gas plants than the population of our cities or villages warranted, laying and equipping more horse and electric railways than the population in the various parts of the country justified. In addition to this vast investment in unremunerative enterprises, the Government had broken down its credit by increasing its demand obligations from \$346,000,000 in 1879 to more than \$1,000,000,000 in 1893; while tariff legislation was then passed which gave to toilers on the other side of the ocean a vast amount of work that ought to have been done at home. It is almost impossible to imagine a more comprehensive combination of untoward circumstances than that which centred in this country in 1893. There is scarcely a person—from those who lived upon princely incomes to the lowest paid laborer—who has not been a severe, if indeed not a serious, sufferer from the strain laid upon the entire country.

Every circumstance seemed to conspire to make the campaign of 1896 a campaign of passion growing out of discontent. Nor was the leader wanting. Misery and prejudices seemed to have furnished the late Democratic candidate with a steady and never-failing diet; for during his whole campaign he never deigned to deal with any great truths established by experience and founded upon economic principles which are now recognized and accepted by all scholars. It seemed to be quite sufficient for him to graphically paint the miseries of the people and to pledge himself to lead them into the promised land. Fortunately, however, for the good name and prosperity of our country, the intelligence and honesty of our people saved us from dishonor and disaster. But, because the danger has been momentarily passed, shall we sit idly down and ignore the frightful consequences that would certainly have followed from a different termination of the presidential contest?

Political leaders may be content to let matters drift, but the people will not; for they have rights which they will protect and wrongs for which they will find remedies. And unless these rights are safeguarded by the political party placed in power, and remedies provided for the wrongs from which the people suffer, they will hurl the success-

ful party from power; not so much, if at all, because they have greater or any confidence in the party out of power, as because the party in power has failed to serve the purposes for which it was elected.

There are no less than four distinct causes of our trouble and distress, for each of which there must be and is a specific remedy.

First and most important of all, we have a rotten and broken-down financial system, which, if not remedied, will certainly bring this great nation, with all its wealth, to grief and bankruptcy.

Let the equivocal word *coin* be erased from our government bonds, and surplus gold from every part of the world will flow into our lap to develop our boundless resources. No man can estimate the cost to this country of the risk of that word *coin* to every investor at home and abroad. Every man who has a dollar to invest doubts us and charges his doubts to our account; and we are settling for them every month to the extent of millions.

Then let the demand obligations of this Government be retired and the paying functions of a bank be discarded, or let the Government go into the banking business in its fullest and broadest sense, accepting deposits and granting discounts, so that it can protect itself from natural resources.

The second greatest evil from which we are suffering is an ill-advised system of currency that gives us a plethora of money at certain times of the year; begetting speculation at the money centres, utterly failing to supply an adequate quantity of money at others, and constantly breeding money panics, which are the chief source of commercial failures throughout the land.

But these are not the only evils of our present methods; for a properly adjusted system of currency would lower the average rate of interest 1 to 5 per cent, according to the locality, and secure to every section approximately equal rates under similar conditions. Such a system would not only bring about a reduction and equalization of the rates of interest, but would enable the producer in every part of the country to carry his crops, or the products of his factory, until his own prudence should lead him to dispose of them.

The third greatest ill from which we are now suffering is a tariff law that utterly fails to produce adequate revenues to support the Government, and is so constructed as to transfer across the water a vast amount of work that had much better be done at home.

The fourth and last cause of the distressed condition of the United

States springs from the speculative instinct inherent in the human race. Nearly every generation tries its hand at speculation, and invariably with the same disastrous results. We are to-day working off and wearing out the remnants left over from unprofitable investments—running into hundreds of millions—made from 1885 to 1893. Nor can this condition of things be attributed to any law or activity in any line of manufacture, but solely and alone to the gambling instinct of mankind; for it showed itself more in real-estate speculations than in anything else. Much of it was due to a wrong conception with regard to the use of the commercial capital of the country, as distinguished from its investment capital. That there is a wide distinction there can be no doubt. Commercial capital should be confined to the current business of the country and loaned out only upon short-time paper and kept constantly turning: investment capital may properly be placed upon long credit. Does the most sanguine apostle of the free-silver craze believe that free coinage would eradicate the gambling instinct of the human race, when the very adoption of free coinage would be the wildest kind of speculation?

However, the last two causes have only been referred to incidentally, and do not come properly within the range of the financial problem, which, in either of its branches,—national finance or currency reform,—far surpasses in importance the tariff or any other question now before the American people.

We have now only to inquire whether the suggestions made touching our national finances and currency are founded upon experience and are in accord with sound economic principles. So long as our standard of value is expressed in words susceptible of a double meaning,—the one carrying one hundred cents, the other but fifty,—so long will this nation and its people suffer immeasurably. And they ought to; for downright honesty would not permit a doubt to hang over our credit for an hour, while political cowardice may keep it dangling over the abyss of national dishonor until repudiation overtakes us. For this disgraceful, but apparently inestimable, privilege of some day swindling our creditors we are paying every hour. On the other hand, prosperity has followed every positive step taken by the various nations in the direction of an unequivocal gold standard.

First,—There can be but one standard. The only bimetallism there can be is where the stronger metal carries a margin of credit in the weaker, and the two circulate side by side. Any other bimetallism is a mere theoretical myth.

Second,—The selection of gold as a measure of value is as distinctly the result of evolution, the selection of the best, “the survival of the fittest,” as the preference of the ass to the ox; the horse to the ass; steam and electricity to the horse, and the wind pressing the ship’s sail; the telegraph and the telephone to the sluggish mail. The operation of modern material civilization is to eliminate four things: time, space, risks, and doubts; and nothing in the monetary world serves this purpose so well as gold, of which a sufficient quantity exists to meet all the requirements of the human family. The constantly increasing supply of the metal and the increased use of checks and drafts have made it possible for every nation to obtain practically all it requires to settle the balances of trade. It wants no more; for, as gold earns no interest, any beyond that results in a loss to the holder. Even the Monetary Commission of Japan has declared in favor of a gold standard. The ambition of President Diaz is well known. All the civilized and half-civilized nations of the earth have taken the same stand. Then why do we hesitate to take an unequivocal position, especially since the American people have decreed it at the polls?

Having determined upon this one reform in our national finances, the work would only be half done, did we not discard the principle of fiatism; retiring the greenbacks and other demand obligations of the Government, as was intended to be done at the earliest moment after the close of the war. The prudence of such a step was shown by France at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, when M. Thiers insisted that the French Government should at once repay the Bank of France its loan of \$300,000,000 at the rate of \$40,000,000 a year,—although it bore only 1 per cent interest, while the French Government was paying 6 per cent on bonds in perpetuity.

Mr. Charles A. Conant, the author of “A History of Modern Banks of Issue,” in his monthly summary of foreign banking news in the January number of the “Bankers’ Magazine,” makes the following quotation from the report of M. Cochery in submitting to the French Chambers the bill for the extension of the charter of the Bank of France:—

“Between the existing system, perfected and complete, and that of a bank of state, our decision ought not to be doubtful. . . . Solicited to accord the support of its [the Government’s] credit to private enterprises, exposed to the permanent temptation of covering deficits in the budget by new issues of notes, the state would run the risk of transforming the bank note by degrees into paper money and *permitting to go abroad the metallic reserves which constitute one of the foundations of our credit and national power.* . . . We ought not to

weigh for a moment a system involving such possibilities against one tested by nearly a century of prudent management and subjected to the most severe and difficult tests."

The Austro-Hungarian empire is now on the point of retiring the remaining state notes outstanding, amounting to 112,000,000 florins, or \$56,000,000,—a bill for that purpose is pending before the Austrian Reichsrath and the Hungarian Reichstag,—and yet we persist in a policy that has been discarded long since because there is nothing in the experience of nations to justify it. The only claim that is made for it, even by the uninformed, is that it furnishes a cheap money for the people. But just the reverse is true.

Hon. James H. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, has given us the cost of the greenback, as computed by the Treasury actuary, which is as follows:—

Cost of the Gold Reserve, Including Liability for Principal of Bonds Sold and Interest Thereon to their Maturity.

Principal of bonds sold for resumption purposes :

1877 and 1878.....	\$95,500,000
1894.....	100,000,000
1895.....	62,315,400
1896.....	100,000,000

Total principal..... 357,815,400

Interest at 4% on the average amount of free gold in the Treasury
from Jan. 1, 1879, to Jan. 1, 1895..... 93,440,000

451,255,400

Interest from Jan. 1, 1895, to July 1, 1907, on \$95,500,000 4% bonds of
1907..... 47,750,000

Interest from Jan. 1, 1895, to Feb. 1, 1904, on \$100,000,000 5% bonds.. 45,416,666

Interest from Feb. 1, 1895, to Feb. 1, 1925, on \$62,315,400 4% bonds.. 74,778,480

Interest from Feb. 1, 1896, to Feb. 1, 1925, on \$100,000,000 4% bonds.. 116,000,000

Total cost, including liability, except United States

notes outstanding..... 735,200,546

Add amount of United States notes still outstanding..... 346,681,016

Total cost and liability.....\$1,081,881,562

If the United States notes had been funded on January 1, 1879, into the 30-year 4% bonds of 1907, then being sold, the total cost to the Government therefor, including interest from January 1, 1879, to July 1, 1907, would be as follows :

Principal of bonds..... \$346,681,000

Interest from Jan. 1, 1879, to July 1, 1907..... 395,216,340

\$741,897,340

Difference in favor of converting the United States notes into bonds, \$339,984,222

By this statement it is clearly proven that the greenback, instead of being cheap money, has been the most expensive and extravagant the people have ever had, costing us \$339,984,222 more than their face in bonds.

One objection alone remains that can be made to their immediate retirement, and that is that something must be put in their place to prevent a contraction of the currency. The answer to this objection brings up at once the other important feature of the financial problem, viz. : currency reform.

The advantages claimed for an elastic currency have already been set forth. Are they justified by experience and sound economic principles? Since such a system has existed in Scotland for more than two hundred years, and now prevails throughout Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Canada with but slight variations in the principles applied,—although the limitations and methods differ somewhat in the several countries,—the lessons of experience are not wanting.

Whether a credit currency is sound in principle depends entirely upon the essential counterpart, viz. : that it can be currently redeemed in gold coin or its equivalent. Given such a credit system of currency throughout this country, the place of the greenback would be filled without a jar to commerce, and absolutely without the knowledge of the public, so far as disturbing the monetary conditions is concerned.

Should the United States Government place itself in an unequivocal position with regard to its standard of value, a well-developed system of credit currency be adopted, and our revenues so adjusted and increased as to meet the expenses of the Government, we should ride into the twentieth century upon a wave of prosperity surpassing anything the world has ever experienced.

CHARLES N. FOWLER.

THE CURE FOR A VICIOUS MONETARY SYSTEM.

I AM asked to state what steps, in my opinion, the United States Government should take toward reforming its currency and placing its finances upon a stable basis. Let us first inquire what is the matter with our currency, and why the basis of our finances is not stable.

Our currency is made up of coin to the extent of about 2 per cent ; 6 per cent is government paper ; and 92 per cent is private paper. The coin consists of gold and silver in about the proportion of four to three. The government paper is made up of United States notes (greenbacks), treasury notes, gold certificates, silver certificates, and national-bank notes.

The present theory is that gold alone is real money, and that everything else which is used as money is and must be finally redeemed in that metal. The principal objection urged by the monometallists against the use of government paper is that there is too much of it out to be always redeemable on demand, and that consequently it is a standing menace to what we call the gold reserve. Bank notes are redeemable in greenbacks, and these in coin. Treasury notes, also, are payable in coin,—coin being construed to mean gold. Silver certificates are redeemable in silver dollars kept in the Treasury for that purpose. Silver dollars are not by law redeemable ; but the Secretary of the Treasury has informed the country that whenever it appears to be necessary to do so, in order to maintain the parity between the two metals, he will redeem silver dollars with gold coin. So we are authorized to hold that, under the present régime, every other kind of currency now in use is redeemable in gold. The amount of all kinds of currency which thus appears to be redeemable in gold coin, as reported December 1, 1896, is:—

United States Notes.....	\$346,681,016
Treasury Notes.....	121,677,280
Silver Certificates.....	367,903,504
Silver Dollars.....	58,493,845
National-Bank Notes.....	235,398,890
Total.....	<hr/> \$1,130,154,535

The amount of gold in the Treasury, on the same day, was \$117,557,275! It is evident that \$117,557,275 of gold coin could not redeem demand obligations amounting to \$1,130,154,535. Therefore, the objection on this ground is well taken.

It is proposed to obviate the difficulty by funding the government notes in United States bonds and substituting bank notes based on the bonds. This is the plan of the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Treasury, and is approved by many business men, including bankers. That, however, would do no more than change the form of the obligations from non-interest-bearing notes to interest-bearing bonds. It would in no respect improve the quality of the currency; nor would it rescind the promise to redeem in gold.

The Fowler Bill proposes to exchange new two-per-cent gold bonds for the bonds now deposited as security for bank notes, and, in lieu of the bank notes now in use, to issue other notes redeemable by the issuing banks in gold coin. The author of the bill would cancel United States notes as fast as they are received in the Treasury; supplanting them with the bank notes. He would retire the treasury notes and silver certificates, and pay out silver coin in place of the paper so withdrawn. To procure gold to redeem the bank notes, he would require that customs duties be paid in gold coin.

The Fowler Bill is entitled, "A Bill to take the United States Government out of the banking business, refund the national debt, reform the currency, and improve our banking system." It does not appear to have been designed for a scheme of monetary reform: it is rather a plan to more firmly establish the gold standard and to further fortify the money power. It would substitute the credit of corporations for that of the Government; it would change our national-bond obligations from "coin of the standard value of July 14, 1870" to gold; it would debase silver coin, and would place the business of a mighty people at the mercy of a few speculators.

The trouble with our monetary system is that we are trying to do an impossible thing. You might as well undertake to haul a ton of hay on a bicycle as to do a hundred billion dollars' worth of business on a hundred million dollars' worth of gold coin. The only way a gold standard can be securely maintained is to use no more credit paper of any kind whatsoever than could be redeemed in gold if all were presented for payment at one time; and that, we all know, is utterly impracticable. As before stated, we have not gold enough to supply more than 1 per cent of our daily needs for money. We

use ninety-two dollars' worth of private credit, six dollars' worth of government credit, and two dollars' worth of coin in every one hundred dollars' worth of business we transact with the national banks.

The simple truth is, we have long outgrown the metallic-money system, and we shall have to invent something better. If men want to trade in gold, let them do so: that is in every way legitimate; for gold is a commodity, and a useful one in many ways. But, as the New York Board of Trade said in a resolution, December 9, 1896, "a sound credit system is a necessary element to the stability of confidence." Money, in whatever form, is but credit coined. The wise thing for us to do is to "establish a sound credit system"; and there is no credit among us equal to that of the Government of the United States. That, wisely used, is sufficient for all monetary purposes. In addition to its simplicity and naturalness, it would be a guaranty of loyalty next only to the ownership of their homes by the people.

That the present system is defective, all agree; and its defects become more apparent as commerce spreads and trade grows more complicated. Money is a tool of trade, a necessary instrument of commerce; and it ought to be as nearly perfect as possible in its adaptability to the uses for which it is intended. Metallic coins are no better fitted for use as money in carrying on modern business than would be grain-cradles and sickles in harvesting on a Dakota wheat farm. They are altogether too clumsy and expensive. They are fit only for a slow and scattered commerce, and are wholly unsuitable where distance is virtually annihilated and carriage costs but a trifle.

We have found the metallic system to be wholly inadequate. That is to say, our stock of metallic money has never been sufficient alone to supply the demands of business.

Before the establishment of a mint we created a United States Bank to issue paper money. From the beginning until about thirty years ago, State banks were operating in all parts of the country, and their notes were used for currency. Since June 30, 1863, we have established 5,051 national banks, of which number 3,679 were in active operation on October 31, 1896; and they were circulating notes to the amount of \$211,412,820. Besides these, there were then outstanding \$346,681,016 of United States notes and \$121,677,280 of treasury notes—a grand total of \$679,771,116. And large as this amount is, after adding to it \$367,903,504 of silver certificates, the whole discharges only 6 per cent of the money functions of our vast business, though it does six times as much as is done by gold. The Comptroller

of the Currency, in his last report, referring to the growth of this substitute-money business, says: "The check, and not the note, is the symbol of banking progress; and in its extensive use is the best proof of a high plane of industrial and commercial life." That officer regards this feature of modern finance as of great importance. He says:—

"The check system is therefore a subject of interest and importance in our business world,—of so much interest and so much importance that knowledge of the extent and influence of it is necessary to a proper understanding of the machinery of exchange."

When the people are obliged to use their own personal paper in 92 per cent of their business transactions, we know there is not money enough in the country.

But there is a worse feature than this about our present money system. It is grossly unjust and unfair in its practical operation. It tends to enrich the few at the expense of the many. In December, 1861, the banks suspended specie payments; and early the next year, Congress began to provide government paper to be, or that might be, used as money. At the close of the war, the different kinds of this class of paper then out amounted to about \$1,900,000,000. This did not include national-bank notes. Most of it was paid or converted into bonds by 1869, when Congress pledged the faith of the nation that all our national obligations, except such as were expressly payable in currency other than gold and silver, should be paid in coin. The next year (1870) the refunding of the national debt was authorized. The new bonds were made "redeemable in coin of the present standard value." (The act was approved July 14, 1870.) Coin at that time was the same as it is now—gold at the rate of 25.8 grains, and silver at the rate of 412.5 grains of standard metal to the dollar. Three years later (1873) our mint laws were revised; and, in enumerating the coins which should be thereafter made, the silver dollar was omitted, the unit of value being changed from the silver dollar to the gold dollar, no change being made in the weight and fineness of the coins. In the revision of the Statutes, in 1874, the silver coins of the United States were declared to be a trade-dollar, a half-dollar, a quarter-dollar, and a dime; and it was provided that no other silver coins should be made, and that these should be legal tender in payments not exceeding five dollars. The practical effect of that proceeding was to depress the general level of prices and to make it harder to pay debts. Government bonds rose to a premium of 25 per cent and higher, and all securities payable in coin became more valuable; while property in general, from the proceeds

of which debts had to be paid, declined in corresponding degree. Though the laws have since authorized a limited silver coinage, the bondholders and the speculating classes generally have successfully insisted upon gold payments; and the campaign of 1896 was fought to a triumphant issue on that demand.

The effect of all this has been to place the great body of the people at a perilous disadvantage. It has greatly depreciated the value of their property, while dollars have grown more valuable every year. In 1867, it would have required (in round numbers) 1,135,000,000 bushels of wheat to pay the nation's interest-bearing debt as it then stood; in 1873, it could have been paid with 1,487,000,000; in 1887, with 1,502,488,000; and in 1895 with 1,432,000,000,—if sold at the average price of wheat in the years quoted. Here are the figures:—

Year.	National Debt.	Price of Wheat per Bushel.
1867	\$2,248,067,387	\$1.985
1873	1,710,483,950	1.15
1887	1,021,692,350	0.68
1895	716,202,060	0.50

If it be said that the price of wheat has been exceptionally low during these later years, it is submitted that virtually the same result will appear, if we take the production and value of all the cereals as one. Here are the aggregate production and the total value of corn, wheat, oats, rye, barley, and buckwheat produced in the years mentioned:—

Year.	Production in Bushels.	Value.
1867	1,329,729,400	\$1,284,037,300
1873	1,538,892,891	919,217,273
1887	2,660,457,000	1,204,289,370
1895	3,572,309,277	1,007,316,936

While the prices of manufactured articles have fallen, the decrease has not been so great as that in farm products; but that the general level of prices has been greatly depressed, none can deny. Mr. Sauerbeck's table of index numbers makes this perfectly clear. He took the average market price of forty-five different commodities in general use, and let the number 102 represent the average for the year

1874, using that as an index number with which to compare the average of prices in subsequent years to 1892. The figures are:—

1874.....	102	1884.....	76
1875.....	96	1885.....	72
1876.....	95	1886.....	69
1877.....	94	1887.....	68
1878.....	87	1888.....	70
1879.....	83	1889.....	72
1880.....	88	1890.....	72
1881.....	85	1891.....	72
1882.....	84	1892.....	68
1883.....	82		

Dollars, debts, and taxes have grown enormously—at least 50 per cent—since the change in the unit of value in 1873. One hundred dollars will purchase 50 per cent more of the necessities of life now than in 1873. Taking the Sauerbeck table as a basis of calculation, one hundred dollars would have purchased the following amounts in the years named:—

1874.....	\$ 98.05	1884.....	131.58
1875.....	104.16	1885.....	138.88
1876.....	105.26	1886.....	144.92
1877.....	106.39	1887.....	147.05
1878.....	114.93	1888.....	142.85
1879.....	120.48	1889.....	138.88
1880.....	113.63	1890.....	138.88
1881.....	117.64	1891.....	138.88
1882.....	119.04	1892.....	147.05
1883.....	121.95		

These figures show that if \$100 dollars would have bought \$98.05 in 1874, it would have paid for \$147.05 in 1892. In other words, money, measured by the average market prices of forty-five commodities, was worth 50 per cent more in 1892 than it was in 1874. Or, if it be plainer, we can illustrate by assuming that if in 1874 \$100 paid for only 98 bushels of wheat, in 1892 \$100 purchased 147 bushels.

And this results from the fact that the value of the thing (gold) which measures other values is fixed by law, and that the mints are open to its unlimited coinage without expense to the owner. This article (gold) is the only one among the million whose value is determined by law; all the rest find their price-level in the open market in competition with other articles. The law thus protects

gold; while corn and cattle and everything else that men produce to sell have to contend in competitive strife for the most the market will pay. Hence, as gold coin becomes relatively scarcer, its monetary value increases; and market prices of other property necessarily diminish in a corresponding degree.

Congress has no more authority to determine the value of gold than it has to fix the value of wheat or pork. But it is empowered to regulate the value of *coin*.

A monetary system which thus breeds riches on one side and poverty on the other, that increases the value of the unit of measurement and correspondingly diminishes the value of the articles which are charged with the payment of debts and taxes,—thus taking from the great body of the people and giving to a few,—is vicious. It is evil and only evil, and that continually.

What, then, is the remedy for these defects in our finances? Can we improve by amendment or must we create anew?

I believe that the present system is fundamentally wrong. It is false in theory and ruinous in practice. It makes money more valuable than labor, which creates wealth. Interest for the use of money is 6 per cent and upward annually, while the savings of labor do not exceed 3 per cent. A single article—scarce and dear even without protection of law—is made to be the measure in all payments of money; and the value of this measure (gold) is arbitrarily fixed by law and made to apply to all the gold of earth through free mintage, while the prices of all other articles are regulated in open market. Under the operation of this oppressive law the trend inevitably is and will be downward.

The common measure of value ought to be found in a comparison of values of articles sold and bought in the market; that measure should be made the unit; and it may be represented by any device agreed upon.

The Government alone should prepare the money. It would cost but little, as the preparation of notes and bonds abundantly proves. It could be lent to the people at low rates of interest; and the profits would bring into the public treasury large and regular amounts of revenue. This kind of money would not be cornered; and panics would cease their troubling.

An entire change is necessary; but the work need not all be done at once. The process ought neither to derange business, nor occasion unnecessary or unusual losses.

The way from the ox-cart to the railway-car is strewn with wrecks ; and so it is in the wake of the world's progress. These things are inevitable. They are as natural as the falling of the leaves in autumn. In making, out of our cumbrous, cruel system of finance, one that shall be as just as scientific, the profits of the money-changers will necessarily be lessened ; but these will be made good a thousand times over in the general thrift that will follow the improvement.

Let us begin right by laying a good foundation, and then rear the superstructure slowly enough to make it durable and staunch. It must be understood at the outset that the proper use of money is in the discharging of public functions. A person may not be able to exchange corn for shoes ; but if he has something that represents the value of his corn, and which he may use as an order on the merchant, he has no trouble in getting the shoes. Money is what he needs for that purpose : money is the order on the merchant. And public authority alone may provide money. An officer of the law performs public functions because he is commissioned for that purpose. It is the same with coin : it is charged with monetary functions. Gold is no more money than a private citizen is an officer. Law creates both the money and the officer by conferring authority upon them to perform certain public duties.

The first thing to be done, then, is to provide for the coinage of enough gold and silver, at the standard value of July 14, 1870 (which is the present standard), to pay interest on the government bonds outstanding and to redeem the bonds at maturity. All the bonds now out are redeemable in such coin. To do this, let the mints be opened for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold by reviving the act of January 18, 1837. This coin—as much of it as shall be required—can be borrowed from the people. In the meantime it will serve as currency.

Second : Establish, with proper safeguards, a system of government banking on capital secured by real estate, bonds of the United States and of States, or by standard coin or bullion of gold and silver. Let government paper be issued only to the banks, and limit interest charges to from 4 to 6 per cent per annum on short-time paper, and to 2 per cent on long-time loans. Authorize savings depositories in connection with the banks, and secure the safety of all deposits—whether savings or business—by government guaranty against loss. In order to provide against contraction of the currency occasioned by savings deposits, let the money be immediately turned over to the bank, to be

used as other loanable funds. And in order to provide for expanding the currency volume in emergencies when more money is temporarily needed in business, let receipts for the larger savings deposits be issued in the form of low interest-bearing notes which shall be legal tender at their face value, excluding interest.

It is not intended here to go into details. This is merely an outline. The object is to provide plenty of money that the people can get at interest rates which they can afford to pay, thus reviving business and keeping it alive; to encourage savings; to secure all depositors against loss; and to lessen the force of panics. The National Bank Act need not be repealed; but the way ought to be made easy for a change from the present to a better system of banking.

Hoarding money cannot be made unlawful: men have a right to do what they please with their own, so long as they respect the rights of others. But under a system of public banking, charges for the use of money could be fixed so low that it would not pay to let money lie idle. If men want to accumulate and save property, let them do it in kind. It may be lands, or houses, or cattle, or mines; but it ought not to be money, for that is something whose proper use is prevented by keeping it out of circulation. But hoarding would be harmless under the proposed plan, because, so long as men had good security to offer, they could get money.

W. A. PEPPER.

POE'S OPINION OF "THE RAVEN."

THERE seems to be no end of interest in Poe legends and Poeana. He is the one American poet—Whitman, perhaps, being a second—whose work has produced a *cult*; and, at the same time, exercises a fascination which is contagious and indescribable. Some might possibly call it hypnotic. He uses what Emerson calls "polarized words"; and, while they haunt the mind, and even the very soul of the reader, they virtually create an atmosphere as distinct as that—though not like that—in one of Corot's landscapes.

Poe contributed little to human thought. He had no ethical message whatever to deliver. He could not have written Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Human Immortality"—which is as pious, though not burdensomely so, as it is poetic. What his poetry is, is not what Matthew Arnold defined poetry to be—"a criticism of life." It is more like a series of musical diversions,—fluent, sensuous, weird, sorrowful, and sepulchral, even subterranean almost in passages. But what differentiates it most specifically is, that it is sensuous. It moves no one to do anything; it, on the contrary, makes you feel something. In reading it you mourn for a vanished *Aiden* or a lost *Lenore*.

It is a curious fame that rests so much upon so little—at least, upon so small a body of work. For, if you take "The Raven," "Annabel Lee," and "The Bells" from Poe's poems—if you do not consider these at all—what would his poetic fame have been? Could it have been very great?

But with these poems he did undoubtedly put an imprint on the literature of his day and time that is matchless. Its influence is, at any rate, a more potent force in England and France than any other poet of our nation has yet attained to. Perhaps the weird and eerie has naturally upon the human mind a more durable and clinging hold than the things that are sober and earthly. However this may be, "The Raven" alone, as a poem, seems to go on in people's minds with a constant crescendo of admiration from one year and generation to another.

We get a good deal from time to time about the way it was com-

posed. Persons who knew Poe, and those who have heard orally from them what he said, have given us many edifying stories concerning Poe's life at the time this poem was written, and the circumstances under which it was composed.

There are but two American poems that I can think of whose *ac-couchement* has been talked of anywhere near so much as this poem's birth has been, if any other than these three have been talked of in this respect at all. The two I allude to are, of course, Bryant's "Thanatopsis," and Longfellow's "Excelsior."

Does anybody remember, though—but this is an "aside"—that Emerson's "Humble Bee" when it first appeared opened thus?

"Fine Humble Bee,
Fine Humble Bee,
Where thou art is clime for me,"

instead of—in the vastly improved version—

"Burly, dozing Humble Bee,
Where thou art is clime for me."

How those two new adjectives, encyclopedic almost in their bottled essence of description, and displacing "fine," strengthened the piece! But you will find, in the very first edition of Dana's "Household Book of Poetry," that the poem is printed in the first fashion—as it stood I suppose in "The Dial," before it was revised for Emerson's first volume of verses.

But I must return to Poe and "The Raven." The brief story I have to tell about them I got orally from an author who once had some vogue, but who is now nearly completely forgotten. His name was at one time in many of our best periodicals; and the old "Democratic Review" once had a considerable critique upon his poetic position and promise. He was likened by the writer of the review article to Shelley and Keats; and there were passages of his verse given which brought out, as I remember, a considerable of the suggested resemblance. Probably, though, his poem of "The Sword of Bunker Hill"—which was set to music—best typifies his prevailing poetic style, which was, in the main, noted for being eloquent and patriotic.

William Ross Wallace (for it is he to whom I refer) was not unlike Poe in both temperament and habits. He was not a little like him in physique—in brightness of the eye, and in a superb courtliness of manner. He had the same, or a similar, irresolute will; but he was a

delightful companion to meet if you met him at the right time. He was, I believe, a Southerner by birth, as Poe was by acclimation.

Wallace told me (in the early war times when I first met him) that he knew Poe tolerably well. They were, he said, on pleasant and familiar terms; and, it would seem (as Keats and Reynolds did), they read over to each other their not yet published poetical work. It was in obedience to this habit that Poe, on meeting Wallace one day, told him in some such words as these (I will be sponsor now only for their substance, and not for their form, or for the form of the colloquy between the known and the now unknown poet):—

"Wallace," said Poe, "I have just written the greatest poem that ever was written."

"Have you?" said Wallace. "That is a fine achievement."

"Would you like to hear it?" said Poe.

"Most certainly," said Wallace.

Thereupon Poe began to read the so to-be famous verses in his best way—which I believe was always an impressive and captivating way. When he had finished it he turned to Wallace for his approval of them—when Wallace said:

"Poe—they are fine; uncommonly fine."

"Fine?" said Poe, contemptuously. "Is that all you can say for this poem? I tell you it's the greatest poem that was ever written."

And then they separated—not, however, before Wallace had tried to placate, with somewhat more pronounced praise, the pettish poet.

And to-day there are critics who say—not knowing Poe's own opinion of "The Raven"—that it is "the greatest poem ever written." Whether it is or not, it bids fair to be the one that will be the most and the longest talked about.

JOEL BENTON.

THE CRIMINAL IN THE OPEN.

UP to the present time the criminal has been studied exclusively behind prison bars, after he has been caught, tried, and convicted. Out of durance he is his own master, and is naturally averse to being measured and experimented upon by scientists; hence the criminologist has been forced to await the almost certain vicissitudes which bring him once more inside a prison cell. Here he has been subjected to the most minute examinations; and there exists a bulky literature on the results which these examinations have brought to light. We have volumes, for instance, about the criminal's body, skull, and face, his whimsical and obscene writings on prison walls, the effect of various kinds of diet on his deportment, the workings of delicate instruments, placed on his wrists, to test the beat of his pulse under various conditions, the stories he has been persuaded to tell about his life, his maunderings when under the influence of hypnotism, and numerous things anthropological and psychological which have been noted down, compared, and classified.

Out of this mass of information, gathered in great part by prison doctors and other prison officials, the conclusion has been drawn that the criminal is a more or less degenerated human being. There are differences of opinion in regard to the degree of his degeneracy; but all investigators agree upon the main fact, while some go so far as to claim that he is abnormally deficient in mental and moral aptitudes, and, in a large number of instances, should be in an insane asylum rather than in a penitentiary. Human justice recoils from a severe treatment of the man who, though an outbreking sinner, bears evidence of being sinned against as well as sinning; and yet, before we can safely fall in with this view, we must carefully consider the theory on which it is based, and its claims to a scientific foundation.

The first question with which to begin a scientific investigation of this sort is, it seems to me, this: "Where may we hope to find the criminal in his most natural state of body and mind? In confinement, a balked and disappointed man? or in the open, faring forth on his plundering errands, seeking whom and what he may devour?" That

he should be studied when undergoing punishment goes without saying; but I claim that imprisonment should be considered rather as an incident in his existence, than its normal sphere, and that, because it has not been so regarded, we have to-day a distorted view of the criminal and an illogical tendency in penology.

It is now a full decade since I first became acquainted with tramps. My purpose in seeking them out was to learn about their life; and I soon saw that, to know it well, I must become joined to it, and be part and parcel of its various manifestations. At different times during this period,—some of them lengthening out into months,—I have lived intimately with the vagabonds of both England and the United States. In the tramp class, or so near it that the separation is almost imperceptible, are to be found any number of criminals associating freely, either for purposes of business or sociability, with their less ambitious brethren. In nearly every large city of the two countries mentioned I know something about them; and in not a few instances I have succeeded in becoming well acquainted with notorious members of their class. In this paper I desire to tell of the impression they make on one who studies them in their own habitat. There is much more to be said than can possibly be brought within the compass of one article; but I hope that I may be able to show how different is the out-door criminal from his convicted brother shut in behind prison bars.

I.

I must first note the species of criminal that I have met in the open. Lombroso and other investigators classify the cases they have studied as political, instinctive, occasional, habitual, and professional; but, so far as my finding is concerned, only one class is of any great importance—the professional. That there are also instinctive criminals, as well as occasional, I am well aware; but they form but a very small part of that outcast's world that I know best, and cannot be taken as definitely representative of it. It is the man who wilfully and knowingly makes a business of crime or is experimenting with it from commercial motives that I have found in largest numbers "on the road"; and it is he, I believe, who appears oftenest in our criminal courts. To be sure, he tries to make out that he is not a wilful offender, and often succeeds in convincing a jury that he is not; but this is due to his cleverness and trained abilities.

Contrary to a more or less popular opinion, I must also say that the criminals I am acquainted with are not such because they are unable

to keep body and soul together in any other way. The people who go into crime for this reason are far less numerous than is generally supposed. It is true that they come, as a rule, from the poverty-stricken districts of our large cities, and that the standard of life in these districts, particularly for families, is pitifully low; but a single person can live in them far more easily than the philanthropists think. The necessities of life, for instance, can be had by simply begging; and this is the way they are found by the majority of people who are not willing to work for them. The criminal, however, wants the luxuries of life as well; he seeks gold and the most expensive pleasures that gold can buy; and to get them he preys upon those who have it. He thinks that if all goes well he may become an aristocrat; and, having so little to lose and so much to gain, he deliberately takes his chances.

I must furthermore say that those criminals who are known to me are not, as is also popularly supposed, the scum of their environment. On the contrary, they are above their environment, and are often gifted with talents which would enable them to do well in any class, could they only be brought to realize its responsibilities and to take advantage of its opportunities. This notion that the criminal is the lowest type of his class in society arises from a false conception of that class and of the people who compose it. According to my experience, they are mainly paupers; and they have been such so long, and are so obtuse and unaccustomed to anything better, even in the United States, that they seldom make any serious effort to get out of their low condition. Indeed I think it can be said that the majority of them are practically as happy and contented in their squalor and poverty as is the aristocrat in his palace. In Whitechapel as well as in the worst parts of New York, for example, I have met entire families who could not be persuaded to exchange places with the rich, provided the exchange carried with it the duties and manners which wealth presupposes: they even pity the rich, and express wonder at their contentment "in such a strait-jacket life."

In this same class, however, there are some who are born with ambitions, and who have energy enough to try to fulfil them. These break away from class conditions; but, unfortunately, the ladder of respectable business has no foot-hold in their environment. No one of their acquaintance has gone springing up its rounds in tempting promotions; and, although the city missionary tells them that there are those who thus succeed, they will not believe him,—or rather, they prefer to believe the, to them, far more probable stories of success

which they read in the "Police Gazette" and the "Criminal Calendar." Most of them know perfectly well that the success thus portrayed is the result of law-breaking, and that they will be punished if caught trying to achieve it; but it is a choice between the miserable slum, which they hate, and possible wealth, which they covet, and they determine to run the risk.

Not all these ambitious ones are endowed with an equal amount of energy. Some are capable only of tramp life, which, despite its many trials and vicissitudes, is more attractive than the life they seek to escape. Those with greater energy go into crime proper; and they may be called, mentally as well as physically, the aristocracy of their class. This is my analysis of the majority of the criminal men and women I have encountered in the open; and I believe it will hold good throughout their entire class.

Concerning their nationalities, I must say that most of them are indigenous to the countries in which they live. In this country it is often said that foreigners are the main offenders, and a great deal has been written about Europe dumping its criminal population on American shores; but the main offenders, in the open at least, are natives, and are generally of Irish-American parentage. In England, unmixed blood is a little more noticeable. Ireland is said to be the least criminal land in all Europe, and this may be the case so far as local crime is concerned; but more criminals trace their ancestry back to that country than to any other where English is spoken. Indeed, in America, it is considered something quite out of the ordinary if the criminal cannot attach himself somehow or other to the "Emerald Isle"; and nothing has hindered me more in my intercourse with him than the fact that my own connection with it is very slight.

In regard to the ages of the criminals I have met, it is difficult to write definitely; but the average, I think, is between twenty-five and thirty years. The sex is predominantly masculine. For every female criminal, I have found twenty males; and the proportion in the United States is even higher. It cannot, however, be inferred that the women of the same original environment are less ambitious than the men; but they take to the street, instead of to crime, to satisfy their love of high living, and they hope to find there the same prizes that their brothers are seeking by plunder. It is a mistake to say that all these women are driven to the street by the pangs of hunger. A great many are no doubt thus impelled; but I believe there are multitudes who are there merely to satisfy their ambitious and luxurious tastes.

As the degeneration of the criminal is said by the criminologists to be physical, mental, and moral, I shall take up the subject as it pertains to the criminals I have studied, from these different points of view.

II.

It has of course been impossible for me, a fellow-traveller with tramps and but a casual observer of criminals, to conduct my investigations as scientific observers of prison specimens have done. I have not been permitted, for instance, to measure their skulls; neither have I been able to weigh them, to inspect their teeth and palates, nor even to test their pulse under excitement. It has been possible for me, however, to study their countenances, to get acquainted with their type, as it is called, and to compare it, as I have seen it in the open day, with its pictorial representation in books and pamphlets. As a rule, these pictures are very different from the type that I know. Only in a few cases have they ever approximated to the truth; and why artists have given us such, as their models, is more than I can understand. In New York, I once showed a criminal one of these caricatures and asked what he thought of it. He replied, "Why, I would n't be found dead, lookin' like that!"—a sentiment which I consider both justified and representative. The trouble is that writers about crime have usually picked out as illustrations for their books the very worst specimens possible; and the public has been led to consider these as true representatives of the entire class. A retreating forehead, for example, and the most depraved expressions of the eyes and mouth are to-day considered typical stigmata of the criminal's face. The majority of those that I am acquainted with, particularly those under thirty years of age, if well dressed, could pass muster in almost any class of society; and I doubt very much whether an uninitiated observer would be able to pick them out for what they are. After thirty years of age, and sometimes even younger, they do acquire a peculiar look; but, instead of calling it a criminal look, in the sense that the instinctive offender is criminal, I should describe it as that of a long resident in a penitentiary. Prison life, if taken in large doses and often enough, will give the most moral men in the world prison features; and it is no wonder that men who make a business of crime and are so much in prison possess them. Even men who are busied in the detection of crime have more or less similar facial characteristics. I have never met a detective who had been long in the service that did not have some features or habits common to the criminals he was en-

gaged in hunting down; and I know several detectives who have been taken for criminals by criminals simply on account of their looks.

In regard to other abnormalities, such as absence of hair on the face, remarkable eyesight, length of certain fingers, insensibility to pain, unusual development of the lower jaw, high cheek-bones, fixed eyes, projecting ears, and stooping shoulders, which are said to differentiate the criminal from the ordinary human being, I can only report that I have not found them to be any more noticeable in the criminal class than among normal people. In the majority of cases the criminal can grow a beard, and is glad that he can do so. Without this ability to change his looks, he would be greatly handicapped in his business; and, as I know him, he usually has a beard once in two years. It has been said that his habit of tattooing is evidence of his obtuseness to pain; but it is not easy to see why. At the worst, it is not a trying ordeal; and the little suffering that it does occasion is as much felt by the criminal as by anyone else. Moreover, those that I know are not so prone to be tattooed as is reported. Indeed, it is considered a mistake to have marks on the body, for they naturally aid detection.

On all these questions of the senses, criminologists have relied altogether on what the criminal himself has told them. They give him something to taste or smell, or prick him with a needle, and his reply is noted down as scientific evidence. How do they know that he has not some object in view in telling them what he does? He may want to appear degenerated or queer, or is perhaps simply mischievous and says the first thing that comes into his head. Until instruments have been invented which can discover the truth quite independently of the criminal's personal testimony, nothing really positive can be known concerning whatever freaks of the senses may have been wrought in the criminal's organization.

The general health of the criminal is good. Up to twenty-five years of age he is as hardy and vigorous as the average person. Although he comes from the slums, he gets somehow a very fair constitution; and, if he would only take care of it, he might live to a good old age. When he nears his thirtieth year, however, his strength and vigor begin to fail him. By that time he has served a number of terms in prison; and it is this existence that drags him down. In the open, he seems able to endure a great deal and still keep his health; but behind the bars, care for him as the penologists will, he weakens and withers away. This side of his life has scarcely received the attention it deserves from investigators, who find the criminal diseased. That

he becomes diseased must be readily admitted ; but, as a rule, it is only after society has shut him up in its penal institutions. Stand, for instance, at the doors of one of these institutions, when a ten-year convict is released, and see how he looks ! I once did this ; and a worse wreck of a formerly strong man I have never encountered,—a being, ruined in both body and mind, a victim of passions which in the open he would have abhorred.

There is no better proof that it is the prison, and not his life and business, that makes the criminal diseased than that furnished by tramps. These men live almost entirely in the open, and, as a general rule, have a harder life than a criminal ; yet they are about the healthiest people in the world. In the United States it is one of their superstitions that they simply cannot die, like other men, of disease, but have to be killed. This is what happens to a great many of them. They fall from freight trains at night, or are found starved to death, locked fast in a box-car on some distant side-track.

III.

Finding the criminal diseased and abnormal physically, it is only natural that investigators should have found him equally abnormal in mind ; but this too I have not discovered.

Lack of will power, for example, is one of the first delinquencies noted in criminology ; and yet out of prison and in the open the will is one of the criminal's strongest points. Most of them have enough of it, at least while they are young, to satisfy anyone ; and, could they but be brought to use it in honest industry, they might become the most successful people in the world. The trouble is that they will do the things which society considers and punishes as crime. They think that they can "get on" faster in their profession than in any other ; and they bend every energy to achieve their ambition. Because this ambition is so flatly contradictory to what is upright and honest, it is common, not only among criminologists, but with the general public as well, to speak of the criminal as one weak of will. I think this is one of the greatest mistakes in psychology. Napoleon I, for instance, was instrumental, directly or indirectly, in the deaths of nearly two million people, and was one of the most unscrupulously ambitious human beings that have ever lived ; yet his passes for one of the strongest wills the world has known. The unimperial criminal, on the other hand, if he be unsuccessful, is catalogued by prison psychologists as a pathological specimen simply because he wills to do wrong.

This strange classification is doubtless to be accounted for on the ground that the criminal in prison has been taken to be the natural criminal. Behind the bars he does indeed become somewhat volatile, and finds it hard to concentrate his mind ; but this is due to imprisonment and its harassing trials rather than to innate deficiency. The strongest of wills would deteriorate under such conditions, and perhaps even more rapidly than that of the criminal who, by the very nature of his trade, expects and plans for a certain amount of exile.

The charge of impatience, which is so often brought against him, may be explained in the same way ; and the tramps are again good illustrations. As a class they are the most patient people imaginable, and are able to endure pleasantly any amount of ruffling circumstances. Where, for example, is there a calmer and more stoical human being than the American "hobo," waiting through rain or shine at the railway watering-tank for the freight train that shall carry him farther on the road ? He will stay there for days, if necessary, rather than pay the regular fare on the passenger trains ; and nothing arouses his scorn more than the dilettante, or "gay cat," as he calls him, who gives up waiting and buys a regulation ticket. The criminal, after a certain age, often lacks this ability to hang on ; but his nerves and general equipoise have been disturbed by imprisonment. Even the tramp is a less patient person in county jails than he is in the open ; but his stay there is so short, and the confinement, compared with that in convict prisons, is so much easier to bear, that he soon recuperates. I can write from personal experience on this point ; for, as an American tramp, I have had to take my share of jail life, and I have never been so nervous and impatient as when undergoing it. In the open, on the other hand, I have never been so healthy and under control. If a few days' confinement can have such an effect upon an absolutely voluntary prisoner, what must be the effect of years of this sort of life upon the man who hates prison as he does poison, and is not sure that when he is released an officer may not be waiting to read him a warrant for another arrest ? Criminologists, who believe in the innate nervous weakness of the criminal, would do well to test their own nerves during even voluntary residence in prison cells in order to estimate its power to disturb a natural equilibrium.

It is also said that the criminal is more or less an epileptic. Lombroso makes a great deal of this supposition in his writings ; and there are other students of the subject who go quite as far as he does. I have never met a pure epileptic criminal "on the road" ; and I cannot

recall having heard the subject discussed by tramps or criminals in any way that would lead me to believe the disorder at all common among them. Among tramps, a favorite trick is to feign epilepsy; and I have seen it done with a fidelity to "the real thing" that was remarkable. Whether or not criminals also feign in prison, I am not prepared to say; but, if they are as clever as tramps at it, I can well believe that they might deceive even the very elect among specialists.

I have also failed to find insanity common among criminals. Among those under twenty-five years of age, I have never known one clear case; and the few cases that I have known after that period have been men who have had long sentences in prison, whose confinement, I have no doubt, had much to do with their mental derangement.

There is no better evidence of the criminal's ability to reason than the fact that, the minute he is convinced that crime does not pay, he gives it up. Even at the start he is not sure that it will pay; but, as I have said, having so little to lose and so much to gain, he takes his chances. After a time, long or short according to his success, he generally comes to the conclusion that it does not pay, or at least that he lacks the wit to make it successful; and he drops it, becoming what I call a discouraged criminal. There is a difference of opinion among criminals as to how much imprisonment is necessary to convince a man that he is not getting his fair share of the prizes of his profession; but, so far as I have been able to make inquiries, I should say that between ten and fifteen years is enough to frighten the average man out of the business. Some stick to it with even twenty years spent behind the bars; but they are generally those who have been uncommonly successful in making large catches, and have risked "just one more job" in order to win "the great stake" that is to make them rich.

The main reason that the criminal is afraid to go beyond the fifteen-year limit is, that after that time, unless he be an uncommonly clever man, he is likely to get what is called "the shivers"—one of the weirdest disorders to which the human body ever yields. Men describe it differently; but, by all accounts, the victim is possessed by such a terror of capture that each member of his body is in a constant tremor. Cases have even been known where, owing to a sudden attack of this shivering palsy he has had to quit "a job" that was almost finished. If these fits once become customary the man is unqualified for any kind of work ever after, and usually ends his life in the lowest class of the outcast's world,—"the tomato-can tramp class."

It is interesting to note where criminals draw the dividing line be-

tween success and failure. Generally speaking, they consider a man fairly successful if between imprisonments he gets a "vacation," as they call it, of eight or ten months, and is lucky enough during this period to make sufficient "hauls" to compensate him for the almost inevitable punishment that follows. The understanding, of course, in all this is that he gets the benefit, either in carousals or more practical investments, of the money he has been lucky enough to find. As a rule, however, the plunder usually goes in debauches, and very quickly too; but the criminal always hopes to recoup himself by a great stake to be put away in safety. If he be a man of average criminal wit and experience, particularly the latter, he can frequently secure the vacation of eight months for a number of years. But the more confinement he suffers the more reckless he becomes and the less able to think carefully; and there are a great many men who soon find that even six months is the most that they can count on. This time, however, is not enough, as a rule, for the "hauls" necessary to offset the expected term in prison; and the criminal is usually clever enough to get out of the business. He then bids good-by to his more tenacious brethren and joins the tramp class, where he is made welcome by others who have joined it before him. He becomes a tramp, because it is the career that comes the nearest to the one he hoped to do well in. Besides affording considerable amusement, it also permits the discouraged man to keep track of the men whom he used to know in the higher walks of outlawry; and this is an attraction not to be overlooked.

It is usual to classify the criminal according to the crimes he commits. One classification, for example, makes murderers the least intelligent; vagabonds, sexual offenders, and highwaymen a little more so; while the fraudulent class, pickpockets, and burglars are accounted the most gifted of all. I think this a fair division and one that will generally hold good; but I have found that criminals who commit crimes against property, or the fraudulent class, are far and away in the majority. Their native intelligence will compare favorably with that of the average run of people; and I have been unable to discover any mental defects until they have been a long time in prison. Nearly all of them can read and write very well indeed; and there are many who have read far more than the ordinary business man. I have met men, very low-born men too, who, while in prison, have read through more volumes of philosophy and history than even the usual college student can boast in his reading; and they have been able to converse very wisely on these subjects. These same men

have acquired the rudiments of their studies in reformatory and industrial institutions, and have succeeded in continuing them in the libraries of penitentiaries. I know one criminal who in his prison cell informed himself about a branch of chemistry simply for purposes of business: he was thought at the time to be more or less crazy.

Prison officials are often deceived by criminals in regard to their acquirements in learning. In many prisons, diligence and progress in study earn as much promotion as general good conduct does; and as the average prisoner has every reason to desire the benefits which promotions bring with them, he tries after a fashion to progress. But what is this fashion? Very frequently this: On his arrival at the prison, instead of telling the truth to the officials who quiz him about his abilities, he says that he does not even know the alphabet, and is consequently given very light mental work. He is thus able to advance rapidly, and his teachers pride themselves on his quickness to learn and their ability to teach. Ere long he gets into a better class, and so on until he has enjoyed all the benefits which precocity can earn. There are other men who profess ignorance in order to appear simple and unknowing, and thus create the impression that they are not so guilty as they are taken to be. Many times and in many cases, the criminal is a little cleverer than the people who are examining him; and one cannot set a high value on statistics concerning his intelligence. If the student of criminology could and would eaves-drop for a while at some "hang-out" in the open, and hear the criminal's own account of the way he is investigated, he might learn "foxier" methods of dealing with him.

One other fact belongs properly to this division of my paper: The criminal is not in his own class the revolutionary creature that he seems when preying upon the classes above him. His attitude toward society in general is without doubt disrespectful and anarchistic, and it is usually immaterial to him what happens to society as such, so long as he can make "a stake"; but in his own environment he is one of the most conservative of human beings. There is no class, for instance, where old age and mature opinion receive more respect and carry more weight; and, as a general thing, the young men in it—the radical element—are expected to take a very back seat. At a "hang-out" gathering they must always show deference to the older men; and nothing is so severely judged as "freshness" on their part.

I think this is a characteristic of the criminal that might be turned to good account if he should ever be won over to respectable living: in affairs of the state, provided he had a fair share of this world's goods,

he would be found invariably on the conservative rather than on the radical side.

IV.

I come now to the question of the criminal's moral responsibility. Can he be held definitely answerable for his evil-doing, or is he morally insane and unable to distinguish between right and wrong? The instinctive criminal must be irresponsible, and his treatment should be such as we give to insane people. As I know him, he cannot help his criminal actions; it is in him to do them; and the only merciful thing is to put him where he at least cannot continue his depredations on society, and where, if cure be possible, he may be in the hands of specialists best fitted to help him. But, as I said at the outset, he is not the sort of criminal that I have found in largest numbers in the open. It is the commercial criminal that predominates there; and, as a rule, he can be held responsible for his evil-doing.

It is often said that his lack of remorse for his crimes proves him to be morally incompetent; but this opinion is founded on insufficient knowledge of his life. He has two systems of morality: one for his business, and the other for the "hang-out." The first is this: "Society admits that the quarrel with me is over after I have served out my sentence; and I, naturally enough, take the same view of the matter. It is simply one of take and pay. I take something from society and give in exchange so many years of my life. If I come out ahead, so much the better for me; if society comes out ahead, so much the worse for me, and there is no use in whimpering over the transaction." So long as he remains in the business he thinks it only fair "to stick up for it"; and he dislikes and will not associate with men who denounce it in public.

This is his attitude toward the world at large. He puts on a bold front, and, as he himself says, "nerves" the thing through. In the bosom of his "hang-out," however,—and this is where we ought to study his ethics,—he is a very different man. His code of morals there will compare favorably with that of any class of society; and there is no other class in which fair dealing is more seriously preached, and unfair dealing more severely condemned. The average criminal will stand by a fellow-craftsman through thick and thin; and the only human being he will not tolerate is the one who turns traitor. The remorse of this traitor when brought to bay by his former brethren I have never seen exceeded anywhere. It was my fate some years ago,

while living with tramps, to be lodged in a jail where one of the prisoners was a "state's evidence" witness. He had been released from prison on promising to tell tales on an old man,—who was supposed to be the main culprit in the crime in question,—and was lodging in the jail until the trial was over. Unfortunately for him, some of the prisoners had known him prior to this episode in his career; and they sent him to Coventry so completely that his life in the jail became unbearable and he almost died ere he could give his testimony. At night we could hear him groaning in his sleep as if he were undergoing the most fearful torture; and in the daytime he slunk around the corridors like a whipped dog. He lived to give his evidence in the trial, and was released from durance; but only a few days later he was found dead by his own hand. When the inmates of the jail heard of his fate they relented a little in their hatred of him; but the final opinion was that suicide was the best solution of the problem.

It is thought by criminologists that the good-fellowship of the criminal is due to self-preservation and the fear that each man will hang separately if all do not hang together. They maintain that his good-feeling is not genuine and spontaneous emotion, and that it is immaterial what happens to a pal so long as he himself succeeds. This is not my experience in his company. He has never had the slightest intimation that I would return favors that he did me; and in the majority of instances he has had every reason to know that it was not in my power to show him the friendliness he wanted. Yet, he has treated me with an altruism that even a Tolstoi might admire. At the "hang-out" I have been hospitably entertained on all occasions; and I have never met a criminal there who would not have given me money or seen me through a squabble, had I needed his assistance and he was able to give it. This same comradeship is noticeable in all his relations with men who are in the least connected with his life and business; and it is a notorious fact that he will "divvy" his last meal with a pal. To have to refuse the request of one of his fellows, or to do him an unkindness, is as much regretted by the criminal as it is by anyone else; and I have never known him to tell me a lie or to cheat me or to make fun of me behind my back.

There are also some things in his relations with the outside world, which, in his heart of hearts, he regrets and repents as much as he does the misdeeds in his own world. He always feels bad, for instance, when he takes money from the poor. It sometimes happens in his raids that he makes mistakes and gets into the wrong house, or has been

deceived about the wealth of his victim ; and if he discovers that he has robbed a poor man, or one who cannot conveniently bear the loss, he is ashamed and never enjoys the plunder thus won. He is too near the poor, both in birth and sentiment, not to feel remorse for such an action ; and I have known him to send back money after he has discovered that the person from whom he took it needed it worse than he.

The taking of life is another deed that he regrets far more than he has been given credit for. One thinks of the criminal as the man who has no respect for life ; as one who takes it without any twitchings of conscience ; but this is not the general rule. The business criminal never takes a life, if he can help it ; and when he does, he expects, in court, to receive the death penalty. Indeed, he believes, as a rule, that murder deserves capital punishment ; and I have often heard him express wonder at the lightness of the penalties which murderers receive.

At the "hang-out," a favorite topic of discussion is, which penalty is preferable—life-imprisonment, or death. The consensus of opinion has generally run in favor of life-imprisonment, even though there be no hope of pardon ; but I have never heard a whimper against the justice of the death sentence.

It is also true that the majority of criminals regret finding a man in their class who has once belonged to a better one. They are invariably sorry that he has lost caste, no matter what the circumstances have been that have brought him low, and are more likely to help him back to decent society, providing he shows repentance and willingness to do better, than they are to help themselves.

Philanthropists might learn a great deal of charity from the criminal. His idea is that it is better to keep a member of a respectable class of society from falling than it is to raise someone in a lower class to a higher one,—a philosophy which I think very sound.

There is one more regret which nearly all criminals of the class I am considering have experienced at some time in their lives, viz., that circumstances have led them into a criminal career. Their remorse may be only for a moment, and an exaggerated indifference often follows it ; but while it lasts it is genuine and sincere. I have never known for any length of time a criminal who has not confessed to me something of this sort ; and he has often capped it with a further confidence,—his sorrow that it was now too late to try anything else.

V.

Such, in hurried and transitory outline, is the impression the criminal has made upon me in the open day. The mistakes which criminolo-

gists have made in regard to his case seem to me to be these: (1) They have failed to take note of the fearful effects of confinement upon his health; (2) they have allowed themselves to be deceived by him in regard to his intelligence; and (3) they have judged of his moral status simply from his "faked" attitude toward the world at large, failing to take into account his ethics among his fellows. I believe, too, that they are on the wrong track in their studies of the criminal's skull. They have examined it in all manner of ways with an ever-varying result; for each investigator comes to a different conclusion. Far better for criminology to study the criminal's *milieu*; and, until this is done thoroughly and conscientiously, he cannot be reasonably apprehended and scientifically treated.

So far as our present knowledge of his case can help us, he himself teaches what ought to be done with him. I have written of the discouraged criminal,—the man who has given up crime because he has discovered that it was not worth the pains it cost him. Punishment, as expiatory discipline, if you please, brought him to this conclusion. Here is good penology for us. If a man does wrong, wilfully and knowingly, he must be taught by discipline that society will not tolerate such conduct. The discouraged criminal is one who has been thus instructed. Now that he is a tramp, the same principle must be applied to him again: make him a discouraged vagabond. Such is the treatment which society must bring to bear on the deliberate law-breaker.

If I have studied the criminal to any purpose, it is with the resulting conviction that he is physically, mentally, and morally responsible; and that, though unhappy in his birth and environment, the very energy which has enabled him to get away from his poverty is the "promise and potency" of a better life. And human hope looks forward to a day when, in the regeneration of his class, he shall be born into better things than crime.

JOSIAH FLYNT.

THE NEW MEMOIRS OF EDWARD GIBBON.¹

THE publication of the "Autobiography and Letters" of Gibbon the historian in their original form is a literary event of rare interest and the solution of a fascinating mystery in the world of letters. The Earl of Sheffield, the grandson and heir of the historian's executor and friend, after presiding over the Gibbon centenary commemoration of 1894, consented to open the cases in which the manuscripts have been sealed up for a hundred years; they became the property of the British Museum; and are now published *verbatim* in three handsome and carefully annotated octavos. For the first time the world now has the *seven* autobiographic studies of the historian exactly as he wrote them, instead of the curious mosaic which the first Lord Sheffield gave to the public as Gibbon's "Memoirs." And it now has his familiar "Letters" as he wrote them, not mutilated, not bowdlerized, but in his own words and his own spelling. Of the original "Memoirs" exactly one third has not before been published. Of the "Letters" Lord Sheffield published about one hundred and ninety, nearly all of them much shortened and very severely "edited" for the worse. These volumes give more than six hundred Letters in the exact form of the autograph manuscript. The three volumes have admirable annotations, head-lines, and indices—the "Memoirs" being edited by Mr. John Murray himself, the "Letters" edited by Prof. Prothero. The work is worthy of the occasion:—and the occasion is a memorable addition to English Classics.

The new publication is certainly a literary revelation; but, like the unlocking of so many mysteries, the unsealing of the Gibbon Manuscripts has not altogether solved the mystery of the "Memoirs," or rather (as so often happens in "mysteries") it has only presented the puzzle in a new form. All readers of the "Decline and Fall"—that is to say all men and women of a sound education—have long known, as Milman and Morison told them, *that Gibbon did not write his own Autobiography*:—*i. e.* in the form in which we have it. Lord Sheffield very

¹THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF EDWARD GIBBON. Printed from hitherto unpublished MSS. with an introduction by the Earl of Sheffield. Edited by John Murray. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

truly told the world in 1795 that the "Memoirs" he published "had been carefully selected, and put together." But the world never did know the method of the "selection," or the astounding freedom with which they had been "put together." We did not know that quite a third of the whole had been omitted, together with some of the most brilliant pictures and many of the most piquant remarks that Gibbon ever indited.

We never suspected that the editor had cut about the manuscript of the "luminous historian" as if it were a schoolboy's theme; that sentences, descriptions, and distinct essays had been clipped from one draft and soldered into another in the middle of a paragraph; that delicious bits of satire had been expunged, so as not to awaken prejudice or to dim the solemnity of "history"; that much of the fun, nearly all the scandal, and most of the inner personal life had been eliminated from the "Letters." We now see that Gibbon's literary carcase was treated in some such way as a hog is converted into ham. But the mystery remains. If Gibbon did not compose his own Autobiography, who did? Lord Sheffield, who wrote some fair, average treatises, could hardly be credited with the wonderful literary art by which these stately blocks of Roman masonry were built up into a graceful and symmetrical edifice—just as the Arch of Titus ushers in the Sacred Way up to the Capitol itself. No one can read these seven sketches of the historian without admiring the unknown literary hand which so wonderfully wove them together and reset them into one harmonious piece.

That hand, I cannot doubt, was mainly the fair hand of a young girl. I have seen an original letter of Lady Maria Holroyd, Lord Sheffield's eldest daughter, in which she says that she and her step-mother, the second wife of Lord Sheffield, "are working busily at the Memoirs, and are excellent devils." There are passages, she says, "which it would be very unfit to publish"—"If the letters had fallen into the hands of a Boswell what fun the world would have had." I have examined the original manuscripts in the British Museum: they are marked for elision, alteration, and abbreviation in the handwriting of Lady Maria. This able and brilliant woman became on marriage the first Lady Stanley of Alderley, whose numerous descendants are so well known in English society and politics. Maria Holroyd's letters before her marriage have recently been published, and they bear out Gibbon's emphatic tribute to her audacity and genius. I have myself little doubt that the skill with which Gibbon's brilliant marble fragments were composed into a coherent picture, like the Mosaics which

astonish and delight us at Rome, was mainly the work of this bold and remarkable woman.

A second mystery remains, now that we have the authentic and complete collection of the historian's "Letters." They have not been treated quite so freely as the "Memoirs," although hardly more than a quarter of them have been previously published, and very few of these without omissions. But now that we have the intimate records of his daily life from youth to death in their original form, one wonders anew how so gigantic a work as the "Decline and Fall" was ever completed in about sixteen years amidst all the distractions of country squires, London gaieties, Parliamentary and official duties, interminable worries about his family and property, social scandals and importunate friends. In all these six hundred letters there is not very much about his studies and his writings, but a great deal about politics, society, and pecuniary cares. We are left to imagine for ourselves when the great scholar read, how he wrote, and why he never seemed to exchange a thought with any student of his own calibre of learning. One would think he was a man of fashion, a dilettante man of the world, a wit, a *bon vivant*, and a collector of high-life gossip. All this makes the zest of his "Letters," which at times seem to recall to us the charm of a Boswell or a Horace Walpole. The world can now have all the fun, as Maria Holroyd said. But it leaves us with the puzzle even darker than before—how did Gibbon, whose whole epoch of really systematic study hardly lasted twenty-five years, acquire so stupendous a body of exact and curious learning?

Now that we have the whole of the *seven* drafts of the "Autobiography" *verbatim*, it is not very easy to decide what the historian meant to do with them or why he amused himself with so many variations on the same air. The six principal ones, which were written between 1788 and 1793, partly cover the same ground, and not seldom tell the same story in a different form and even in a different tone. As literary exercitations by one of the most consummate masters who ever used the English tongue, they are full of curious interest; and every student of style will watch with delight the varying keys and new developments of the dominant theme. It is as if we were listening to a great master of music playing to us himself variations on his own compositions, and exhibiting his art in transposing them to new modes and adapting them to various "motifs." Or again, these sketches remind us of the studies by which a great painter tries various groups and figures, before setting them together in a final composition.

Of the 419 pages of the present volume of "Autobiographies" I count about 160 pages as not hitherto published. None of the six main sketches was printed entire by Lord Sheffield. The prudence or the delicacy of the ladies excised many characteristic family secrets, nearly all the gems of a somewhat licentious wit, the mordant satires on his grandfather and on William Law, and the beautiful picture of the loves and marriage of his own father and mother. "Memoir F.," the latest, the longest, the most complete of the drafts, fills just one quarter of the new volume. In this draft the ladies expunged no less than 37 passages, several of them containing many continuous pages. Altogether they excised about 25 pages out of 103: so that the final autobiography of the great historian, as prepared by him the year before his death, was presented to the world in a form bowdlerized to suit the fastidiousness of a young lady of quality who herself lived in the society of many of those mentioned in the memoir.

One can imagine the girl saying to her stepmother (just ennobled by the favour of George III)—"Oh! Mamma, we must not let Mr. Gibbon tell the public that his grandfather was a rank Jacobite!"—"Surely, it would be hardly delicate to recount that Mrs. Gibbon married against the wish of her Papa!"—"It makes me quite hot even to put my pencil through the very vulgar remark 'that she was pregnant at the time of his decease'!"—"And then, we cannot let Mr. Gibbon poke fun at a clergyman and say bad things about a very 'good book'; and it is positively wicked to say that the reverend gentleman 'died in the arms of his beloved Miranda'!"—"Pray Mamma, what is the meaning of his 'floating nine months in a liquid element,' and how can we 'reckon our life from the age of puberty'?—I am sure all this nasty stuff must go out!" And so the dear ladies ran on with a blue pencil in hand, treating the great historian like a dunce in the fifth form. The world "has got its fun" at last: but it is laughing rather at the cool audacity of the prudish Maria Holroyd.

There are some delicious touches of Gibbonian humour which were expunged for reasons very difficult to discern. But Maria had decided that as her father's friend must make no reflection on Church or State, so he must never descend from his lofty stage. Here are some playful turns which were committed to the silence of the Sheffield strong-room—"The Dynasties of Assyria and Egypt were my top and cricket-ball"—"a school is the cavern of fear and sorrow"—"the cloak of reason sits awkwardly on our fashionable Divines"—"falsehood is not incompatible with the sacerdotal character"—"the

‘right Divine of kings to govern wrong’ is now exploded, even at Oxford”—“there was a time when I swallowed more physic than food”—“Few works of merit and importance have been executed in a garret or a palace”—Alas! the courtly Gibbon was not very fond of Dr. Johnson.

It is not merely playful epigrams in the unblushing style of the eighteenth century, but very fine character portraits which we now read for the first time. One of such is the fine sketch of Edward Gibbon the grandfather (1666–1736):—

“His portraits represent a stern and sensible countenance; his children trembled in his presence; tradition informs me that the independent visitors who might have smiled at his anger were awed by his frown; and as he was the richest, or wisest, or oldest of his neighbours, he soon became the oracle and tyrant of a petty kingdom. His own wrongs had not reconciled him to the house of Hanover; his wishes might be expressed in some harmless toasts; but he was disqualified from all public trust; and in the daily devotions of the family the name of the King for whom they prayed was prudently omitted.”

Why the ladies expunged the delicious bit about the loves of his father and mother—how his “father’s constancy was neither chilled by absence nor dissolved by pleasure”—“such is the beginning of a love tale at Babylon or at Putney”—“the usual consequences ensued: harsh threats and tender protestations, frowns and sighs; the seclusion of the Lady, the despair of the Lover, clandestine correspondence and stolen interviews”—and Aunt Catherine’s “innocent artifices to second or screen her beloved sister”—Oh! fi! fi! we hear Lady Maria cry out with downcast eyes!

It is plain enough—but far more sad—for what reason the respectable gentlewomen at Sheffield Park expunged the cruel pictures of Aunt Hester and the Rev. William Law. “Hester persevered in a life of celibacy”—“the pious virgin abandoned for ever the house of a brother, from whom she was alienated by the interest of this world and of the next.” “Of the pains and pleasures of a spiritual life *I* am ill-qualified to speak”—writes the most veracious of historians (and indeed he never wrote a truer word); “yet her lot, even on earth, has not been unhappy”—“surrounded by dependents, poor and abject as they were, who implored her bounty and imbibed her lessons.”

Of course the fierce satire on the famous William Law—the author of “The Serious Call”—has to go, “—Hell-fire and eternal damnation are darted from every page of the book; and it is, indeed, somewhat whimsical that the Fanatics who most vehemently inculcate the love of God should be those who despoil him of every amiable attribute.”

Mr. Law was "a Nonjuror, a Wit, and a Saint," whose controversial tracts are buried with his antagonists, though his invective against the stage is quoted for the extravagance of its zeal. He was the tutor of Gibbon's father, whom he satirised under the name of *Flatus*—"the prophetic eye of the tutor must have discerned the butterfly in the caterpillar."—"In his last days his Religion degenerated into the visions of Jacob Behmen; but he always esteemed himself a true son of the Church of England, though he was separated from her visible communion by the unfortunate quality of a Nonjuror."—"While my poor Aunt Flavia resigned herself to the World and the Devil, her sister, Mrs. Hester Gibbon, walked in the way of salvation under the guidance of Mr. Law." In the published version all this was softened by the refined hands of the ladies into simpler and far less brilliant colours.

Besides all physiological remarks, which have a new interest now that the "Letters" exhibit the historian as a zealous student at the lectures on Anatomy of the great John Hunter, some admirable reflections were expunged from "Memoir F.," the last and most important draft. Two pages on the art of Reading and Writing, and on Arithmetic, are well worth study; and he justly points out the superior intellectual quality of good Reading. It was not true of Gibbon himself that "the sense and style of the Philosopher or poet are most awkwardly scrawled." Gibbon's own "Memoirs" are written in a very fine and clear hand. He undervalues his own calligraphy when he calls it "legible rather than fair." It is amusing to note in his manuscript that the "Philosopher" gets a capital letter, the poor "poet" does not. The infant "Philosopher," at the age of eight, was sent away from home to a boarding school: his mother died when he was ten. Forty-six years afterward he writes—"As I had seldom enjoyed the smiles of maternal tenderness she was rather the object of my respect than of my love: [poor Mrs. Gibbon had six children after the historian, and died with the last!] some natural tears were soon wiped." This bit of unsentimental candour was naturally condemned by the tenderness of the Sheffield ladies. But how could they expect to convert Edward Gibbon into a Cowper or a Goldsmith?

Gibbon's reflections on his own childish reminiscences, in the light of his interest in scientific biology, have a real philosophic interest. He thinks he remembers, at the age of three, shouting out the names of his father's opponents at an election in revenge for a whipping he got: but perhaps "he may only repeat the hearsay of a riper season." It

is now clear from the newly published "Letters" that the weakness and extravagances of the elder Gibbon imposed on the younger a life-long burden of anxiety and embarrassment; and we may now more justly estimate the extreme tenderness with which the son alluded to the failings of the parent—failings which the Sheffields sought to cover by the simple process of suppression. There is a clear-cut picture of the Rev. Philip Francis, father of "Junius," and translator of Horace; but all this Lord Sheffield dropped—perhaps in dread of another Philippic from the son. Why should he also have dropped the bitter invective against the sufferings of a delicate schoolboy—a piece to be set beside Cowper's *Tirocinium*—"they labour like the soldiers of Persia under the scourge, and their education is nearly finished before they can apprehend the sense or utility of the harsh lessons which they are forced to repeat"? Gibbon's views on schools and colleges are full of interest and suggestion: but we ought from the first to have had his words in their completeness.

His judgment on Universities has been more curtailed than that which he passes on Schools. It is amusing to note that we now have the names of the authorities of Gibbon's own College, Magdalen, which the delicacy of Lord Sheffield suppressed—as he did the prophetic sentence that "the inveterate evils which are derived from their birth and character must still cleave to our Ecclesiastical corporations." Gibbon's experience in 1752 of the fellows of Magdalen College was that "their conversation stagnated in a round of College business, Tory politics, personal stories, and private scandals." But so slow is the advance of the College "in the progressive movement of the age," or so persistent is its spirit of ill-humour, that it declines to accept from the Commemoration Committee a tablet to the memory of one of the greatest scholars who ever entered its mediæval cloister.

The thirty pages of "Memoir B.," were almost inevitably expunged by the Sheffields, inasmuch as they tell the story of Gibbon's life again down to his leaving Oxford much as it is told in "Memoirs F." and "C." But the comparison of the three versions is full of interest, especially in the story of Gibbon's conversion to the Church of Rome. It would be a study in style to compare the famous passage, in its latest form, with the same sentence in its first shape (pp: 83, 127, and 227)—"It might at least be expected that an Ecclesiastical school should inculcate the orthodox principles of Religion. But our venerable Mother had contrived to unite the opposite extremes of bigotry and indifference: a heretic or unbeliever was a monster in her eyes; but

she was always, or often, or sometimes remiss in the spiritual education of her own children."

In "Memoir B.," we may now read, without expurgation, some amusing touches about Gibbon's first visit to Lausanne, about the Pavillards, Voltaire and "his fat and ugly niece," about the Curchods, and the ungarbled story of his love for Susanne Curchod, afterward Mme. Necker. The famous epigram—"I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son," was cut out of another Memoir in a rather different connection. But no one can now read the "Letters" without admitting that Gibbon's whole conduct in relation to Susanne Curchod was honourable, however unheroic; and that they both continued until death to cherish the intimacy of an unclouded friendship. It appears from a letter of Lady Maria's that, just before her own death, Mme. Necker was shown the passage in "Memoir B.," which truly and tenderly related the story of their early love.

It was a needless scruple, again, that expunged a very curious and interesting page (p. 173) on the Gods of Polytheism—whether they were conceived as allegorical beings, and if so, how did they become parents by mortal lovers. The twelve pages of disquisition on the Militia of England might have seemed tedious in 1795, but we may read it now with interest in 1897. Recent investigations have proved that the corps in which Gibbon served for many years, whilst permanently embodied, was as fine a regiment of soldiers as England could show at that epoch, and that the puny and portly scholar was himself a first-rate officer who thoroughly understood, and even relished his duties in the field.

Of "Memoir C.," with about eighty pages, only one fourth was printed by Lord Sheffield; and indeed it tells much the same story as "Memoir B.," in almost the same words, but with many variations. In the strangest way, but with wonderful skill, Lord Sheffield picked out pages, sentences, even phrases here and there, and inserted them in the published piece. Unfortunately he cut out some of the most piquant epigrams, some of the drollest sallies of pompous wit that Gibbon ever elaborated in his half-conscious and half-comic grandiloquence. When he goes to visit, at Porchester Castle, five thousand naked and starved French prisoners—"their distress exhibited the calamities of War: and their joyous noise the vivacity of the nation." Of course when the historian of Rome arrives at Milan and breaks forth with the truly Philistine sneer that—"the Dome or Cathedral is an unfinished monument of Gothic superstition and wealth"—the fine taste of Lady

Maria does not suffer so gross a platitude to appear. And so too, the blue pencil goes through the second half of his epigram—that the spectacle of Venice afforded some hours of astonishment “and some days of disgust.” The delicate ladies could not permit a young man to tell the world—“I tore myself from the embraces of Paris.” They make him say, more politely and more tamely,—“I reluctantly left Paris.” Nor could they permit him to say that his associates at Boodle’s Club—“were not of the first eminence in the literary or political world.” Still less could they suffer him to publish the unblushing avowal—“A matrimonial alliance has ever been the object of my terror rather than my wishes. I was not very strongly pressed by my family or my passions to propagate the name and race of the Gibbons, and if some reasonable temptations occurred in the neighbourhood, the vague idea never proceeded to the length of a serious negotiation.” But why on earth could they not let the great scholar say—“By the habit of early rising I always secured a sacred portion of the day; and many precious moments were stolen and saved by my rational avarice”? Doubtless, they said that Mr. Gibbon was not avaricious, and that avarice was never rational.

“Memoir E.,” with about sixty pages, is very important as it is the sole authority of the published text from his father’s death in 1770 down to 1789. It is one of the earliest drafts, and is dated “Lausanne, March 2, 1791.” The first thirteen pages, which recount Gibbon’s life down to his thirty-fourth year, were naturally suppressed, for they simply go over the ground trodden by other drafts. The notes which are now printed *verbatim* were in most cases the bases of remarks subsequently embodied in the text. But from his establishment in London in 1773, “Memoir E.,” was published entire with the exception of a few passages which were regarded as indiscreet or unpleasant. It was thought hardly consistent with truth for the obese and gouty old man to say—“the play of the animal machine still continues to be easy and regular.” It was but too obvious to his friends that it was very uncertain and creaking. Reference to his attacks of gout, to tradesmen’s bills, and his private affairs were eliminated. And the last twenty lines of the entire “Autobiography” as Gibbon wrote it, were cut out of the text and, in Lord Sheffield’s version, were thrown into a long note.

Now here comes in a fascinating literary problem. Both the exordium and the peroration of Gibbon’s “Autobiography,” as published by Lord Sheffield and as hitherto known, although they are Gibbon’s actual words, are in no real sense Gibbon’s own composition. They have

been re-arranged, transposed, pieced together out of several drafts by the editor, or altered so as to vary the literary effect. Both exordium and peroration are amongst the happiest passages in the famous "Autobiography," and indeed are as eloquent and impressive as any similar passages in our literature. Competent judges will agree that both exordium and peroration have gained greatly by the skill and audacity of the editor, and are distinctly superior in brilliancy and weight to Gibbon's own draft, as after seven trials he left it in his own hand. A very silly epigram on the issue of Pope's "Iliad" declared that

" After ages shall with wonder seek,
Who 't was translated Homer into Greek !"

The wonder of our own age is—Who was it that so greatly improved the stately eloquence of Edward Gibbon?

The "Autobiography," as printed by Lord Sheffield and as known to us, opens with a paragraph taken from "Memoir A.," the earliest of all, and of which Lord Sheffield printed only a few sentences. Even of this paragraph he printed only fourteen lines and dropped the rest. He then cuts as many lines out of the *Seventh* Sketch, but much transposes it and curtails it. Next he clips a bit from "Memoir A.," with the same treatment, adding the splendid and famous piece about Fielding and the Imperial House of Hapsburg—a real *purpureus pannus*—which he clipped from Sketch 7. Then with snippets from "A.," again, he gives us a page from "B.," and then he proceeds with "Memoir F."—"my family is originally derived from the county of Kent"—omitting, transposing, softening, and re-fitting the whole as he goes along. And so, when he comes to the peroration, he elevates a passage from the notes into the text, and degrades Gibbon's own *finale* of twenty lines from the text into a note. And yet most readers will feel that both the opening and the close of the "Autobiography" have greatly gained by the process of this amazing revision, and that the author of the "Decline and Fall" did not compose his periods with all the grace and point displayed by the unknown author of this *rifacimento*.

Of "Memoir A.," the earliest of all (1788-9), with nearly forty pages, Lord Sheffield printed barely one. It is occupied mainly with family history and heraldic lore. It was perhaps rightly judged to be hardly important enough to print at the time, but it will be read with interest by many genealogists. It is a warning to all learned persons not to meddle with learning outside their own field—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*—when we find the historian of the civilized world over a period

of a thousand years making an odd blunder in an elementary point of Heraldry. He makes much fun about his ancestor Edmond Gibbon having changed the three scallop-shells in the family coat into three Ogresses, or "female monsters," in revenge upon three of his kinswomen with whom he had a law-suit. Now, "*Ogress*" in Heraldry (said to be a corruption of Old French *ogoesse*) is simply the same as *pellet*, and pellet is simply a *roundle sable*. The variation of a *pellet* for a *scallop-shell* is obvious enough; and the historian's ponderous humour about the savage women and his ancestor's "whimsical revenge" is pure nonsense: the melancholy blundering of a philosopher when he launches out into a study of which he had not mastered the ordinary terms.

Of "Memoir D.," with twenty-five pages, Lord Sheffield did not print a line, and it contains little that was not said elsewhere. Although it is interesting to us for purposes of collation and as a study of style, it was in no way essential for Lord Sheffield's object. The short Fragment, number Seven, contained little but the stately passages we know so well about the family of Confucius, of the Spencers, and the Fieldings. Gibbon's own Testament and a good Index complete the volume, in which the present Earl of Sheffield assures us in his "Introduction"—"*every piece contained in this volume as the work of Edward Gibbon is now printed exactly as he wrote it without suppression or emendation.*"

The casual reader, it may be, will be a little puzzled at the first glance at the book to distinguish the variety of forms which the narrative assumes in draft after draft. But to the student of English literature the gradual evolution of a splendid and classical piece cannot fail to be suggestive and fascinating. What a medley of Gibbonian antitheses and "philosophic" humour is now unveiled without "the obscurity of a learned language"!—"The frequent imposition of oaths had enlarged and fortified the Jacobite conscience":—"had not *our* alliance preceded *her* marriage, I should be less confident of my descent from the Whetnalls of Peckham":—"In the life of every man of letters . . . the most important part of his education is that which he bestows on himself."—"it was with much reluctance and ill-humour that the envious bard [Voltaire] allowed the representation of the 'Iphigénie' of Racine."—"had I been more indigent or more wealthy I should not have possessed the leisure or the perseverance to prepare and execute my voluminous history."—"Wretched is the author, and wretched will be the work, where daily diligence is stimulated by daily hunger."

In another article I shall deal with the "Letters" in two handsome volumes, three fourths of them being quite new, and most of them for the first time to be read in their complete form. They cannot fail to raise our estimate of the writer. We knew how genial, how good-natured, how sensible he was. But we had no adequate means of gauging his thoroughly affectionate nature, his sense of his family duties, and his placid temper under unmerited troubles. He shows himself throughout a good son to a spendthrift father who almost ruined his son's whole life, and to a somewhat exacting step-mother of a most uncongenial nature. His really passionate affection for his friends is a striking and beautiful quality, when we consider the worldly society and the unromantic age in which his life was cast. Recluses like Cowper, poets like Shelley, have filled the history of literature with some famous examples of soul-sympathy. But alas! the hates and quarrels of authors fill many more pages than their friendships and their intimacies, unless they be of a scandalous sort. But the unique charm of Gibbon's letters lies in their picture of domestic tenderness, in their freedom from any shadow of enmity toward any one, and even from a trace of literary disputes. The really beautiful intimacy between the historian and the Sheffield family is a bright spot in the annals of literature. He managed to combine the life of a Horace Walpole and a Samuel Johnson without the cynicism of the one or the fierceness of the other. All students of the latter half of the eighteenth century will find much to interest them in Gibbon's familiar touches on the social and political life of the time. And American readers in particular will eagerly follow all he has to narrate about the War of Independence. Gibbon is no profound statesman, nor a consummate painter of manners: he is neither the wit nor the "philosopher" he imagined himself to be. But in his familiar outpourings to his bosom friends, he never fails to show us in an age most artificial, unheroic, and coarse, the Ciceronian ideal of the *mitis sapientia Læli*.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

INDEX.

- ADAMS, CHARLES KENDALL. Mr. White's "Warfare of science with theology," 65
- American ballot, The, 225; American women and American literature, 503; American property, The wanton destruction of, in Cuba, 571; Dr. Eggleston on American origins, 590; American archæological work in Greece, 607
- Anatomy laws *versus* body snatching, 493
- Annihilation of the judge-and-jury system, The threatened, 107
- Another phase of the new education, 376
- Another year of church entertainments, 396
- Antitoxin treatment of diphtheria a pronounced success, 53
- Arbitration, International law and, 192
- Archæological work in Greece, American, 607
- Archæology: Recent excavations in Greece: the Sanctuary of Apollo, 327; American archæological work in Greece, 607
- Armenia: The creed of the Sultan: its future, 152; The immediate future of Armenia, 308; Shall the frontier of Christendom be maintained? 321
- "As Maine goes, so goes the Union," 257
- ASHLEY, O. D. Middle ground on the tariff, 526
- Ballot, The American, 225
- Banks of issue in the United States, 182
- BENTON, JOEL. Poe's opinion of "The Raven," 731
- Biographer, Cardinal Manning and his, 93
- Body snatching *versus* anatomy laws, 493
- Bond sales and the gold standard, 339
- Brewing of the storm, The, 436
- BROOKS, W. K. Woman from the standpoint of a naturalist, 286
- BROWNE, JUNIUS HENRI. The philosophy of meliorism, 624
- BUCK, GERTRUDE. Another phase of the new education, 376
- Business, Presidential elections paralyzing to: a remedy, 563
- Campaign, Some practical lessons of the recent, 414
- Cardinal Manning and his biographer, 93; The results of Cardinal Satolli's mission, 695
- Chicago Convention, The: "Thou shalt not steal," 1; Encouragements in the present crisis, 16
- Christendom, Shall the frontier of, be maintained? 321
- Church entertainments, Another year of, 396
- Civilization and decay, The law of, 575
- CLARK, EDWARD P. The "solid South" dissolving, 263
- Clubs in London, Ladies', 684
- CODINGTON, E. W. Conditions for a sound financial system, 275
- Coinage, Free, What it means: Compulsory dishonesty, 129; Free coinage and life-insurance companies, 136; Free coinage and trust companies, 142; Free coinage and farmers, 146
- College, Princeton, and patriotism, 217; Princeton in the nation's service, 447; College education, The drawbacks of a, 483
- Composers, Modern, in the light of contemporary criticism, 547
- Compulsory dishonesty, 129
- Conditions for a sound financial system, 275
- Convention, The Chicago: "Thou shalt not steal," 1; Encouragements in the present crisis, 16
- CORNELL, ALONZO B. Presidential elections paralyzing to business: a remedy, 563
- Creed of the Sultan: its future, 152
- Criminal in the open, The, 734
- Crisis, Encouragements in the present, 16
- Criticism, Modern composers in the light of contemporary, 547

- Cuba, Fire and sword in, 31 ; The wanton destruction of American property in Cuba, 571 ; The present and future of Cuba, 659
- Cure for a vicious monetary system, The, 722
- Currency legislation, Early and recent : a contrast, 117 ; Speedy financial and currency reform imperative, 713
- DAVIDSON, THOMAS. The creed of the Sultan : its future, 152
- Debating, Intercollegiate, 633
- Decay, The law of civilization and, 575
- Democratic organization, Future of the, 641
- Destruction of American property in Cuba, The wanton, 571
- Diphtheria, Antitoxin treatment of, a pronounced success, 53
- Dishonesty, Compulsory, 129
- Dissolving, The "solid South," 263
- District nursing, Instructive, 297
- Drawbacks of a college education, The, 483
- DWIGHT, THOMAS. Anatomy laws *versus* body snatching, 493
- Earl of Lytton, Poetry of the, 467
- Early and recent currency legislation : a contrast, 117
- Economy of time in teaching, 706
- Education, Another phase of the new, 376 ; Obstacles to rational educational reform, 385 ; The drawbacks of a college education, 483 ; The essentials in elementary education, 538 ; Economy of time in teaching, 706
- Eggleston, Dr., on American origins, 590
- Election, The : its lessons and its warnings : Some practical lessons of the recent campaign, 414 ; Will government by the people endure ? 423 ; The brewing of the storm, 436
- Elections, Presidential, paralyzing to business : a remedy, 563
- Emerson's wit and humor, 346
- Encouragements in the present crisis, 16
- Entertainments, Another year of church, 396
- Evils to be remedied in our consular service, 673
- Excavations in Greece, Recent : the Sanctuary of Apollo, 327 ; American archæological work in Greece, 607
- Farmers and free coinage, 146
- FERRERO, WILLIAM. Work and morality, 358
- Financial system, Conditions for a sound, 275 ; Speedy financial and currency reform imperative, 713
- Fire and sword in Cuba, 31
- FLYNT, JOSIAH. The criminal in the open, 734
- Folk-lore, The study of, 249
- FOWLER, CHARLES N. Speedy financial and currency reform imperative, 713
- France, Progress of women's rights movement in, 79
- Free coinage, Its meaning : Compulsory dishonesty, 129 ; Free coinage and life-insurance companies, 136 ; Free coinage and trust companies, 142 ; Free coinage and farmers, 146
- Future of Armenia, The immediate, 308 ; Future of the Democratic organization, 641 ; The present and future of Cuba, 659
- Future of spelling reform, The, 367
- GENNADIUS, J. Recent excavations in Greece, 327 ; American archæological work in Greece, 607
- Gibbon, The new memoirs of Edward, 749
- Gold standard, Bond sales and the, 339
- Government by the people, Will it endure ? 423
- Greece, Recent excavations in : the Sanctuary of Apollo, 327 ; American archæological work in Greece, 607
- HALE, WILLIAM BAYARD. Another year of church entertainments, 396
- HARRISON, BENJAMIN. Compulsory dishonesty, 129
- HARRISON, FREDERIC. The new memoirs of Edward Gibbon, 749
- HIBBEN, JOHN G. Princeton college and patriotism, 217
- HILL, DAVID B. Future of the Democratic organization, 641
- HJÄRNE, HARALD. King Oscar of Sweden and Norway, 164
- HOWE, JULIA WARD. Shall the frontier of Christendom be maintained ? 321
- How shall the child be taught ? Obstacles to rational educational reform, 385 ; The essentials in elementary education, 538 ; Economy of time in teaching, 706
- Humor, Emerson's wit and, 346
- Instructive district nursing, 297
- Intercollegiate debating, 633
- International law and arbitration, 192
- Issue, Banks of, in the United States, 182
- JORDAN, D. S. The urgent need of a national university, 600
- Judge-and-jury system, The threatened annihilation of the, 107
- Jury-system, The threatened annihilation of the judge-and-, 107
- KING, CLARENCE. Fire and sword in Cuba, 31

- KING, EDWARD. Free coinage and trust companies, 142
 King Oscar of Sweden and Norway, 164
 Kipling, Rudyard, as a poet, 406
 Ladies' clubs in London, 684
 LALOR, J. J. Early and recent currency legislation : a contrast, 117
 Law of civilization and decay, The, 575 ; International law and arbitration, 192.
 Laws, Anatomy, *versus* body snatching, 493
 Legislation, Early and recent currency : a contrast, 117
 Leo XIII, 513
 Lessons of the recent campaign, Some practical, 414
 Life-insurance companies and free coinage, 136
 Literature : Robert Schumann a lyrical poet, 235 ; Emerson's wit and humor, 346 ; Rudyard Kipling as a poet, 406 ; The poetry of the Earl of Lytton, 467 ; American women and American literature, 503
 LLOYD, HENRY D. Emerson's wit and humor, 346
 London, Ladies' clubs in, 684
 LUSK, HUGH H. The American ballot, 225 ; American women and American literature, 503
 Lytton, The poetry of the Earl of, 467
 "Maine goes, As, so goes the Union," 257
 Manning, Cardinal, and his biographer, 93
 MCCALL, JOHN A. Free coinage and life-insurance companies, 136
 MCGLYNN, EDWARD. The results of Cardinal Satolli's mission, 695
 MEANS, D. MACG. Will government by the people endure? 423
 Meliorism, The philosophy of, 624
 Memoirs of Edward Gibbon, The new, 749
 Middle ground on the tariff, 526
 Modern composers in the light of contemporary criticism, 547
 Monetary system, The cure for a vicious, 722
 Morality, Work and, 358
 MOSZKOWSKI, ALEXANDER. Modern composers in the light of contemporary criticism, 547
 National university, The urgent need of a, 600
 Nation's service, Princeton in the, 447
 Naturalist, Woman from the standpoint of a, 286
 New education, Another phase of the, 376
 New memoirs of Edward Gibbon, The, 749
 NORTHROP, W. P. Antitoxin treatment of diphtheria a pronounced success, 53
 Norway, King Oscar of Sweden and, 164
 Nursing, Instructive district, 297
 Obstacles to rational educational reform, 385
 Open, The criminal in the, 734
 Organization, Future of the Democratic, 641
 Origins, Dr. Eggleston on American, 590
 Oscar, King, of Sweden and Norway, 164
 Patriotism, Princeton college and, 217
 PEPPER, W. A. The cure for a vicious monetary system, 722
 Philosophy of meliorism, The, 624
 PIERRA, FIDEL G. The present and future of Cuba, 659
 Poe's opinion of "The Raven," 731
 Poet, Rudyard Kipling as a, 406 ; Robert Schumann a lyrical poet, 235
 Poetry of the Earl of Lytton, The, 467
 Present and future of Cuba, The, 659
 Presidential elections paralyzing to business : a remedy, 563
 Princeton college and patriotism, 217 ; Princeton in the nation's service, 447
 Progress of women's rights movement in France, 79
 "Raven, The," Poe's opinion of, 731
 REED, THOMAS B. "As Maine goes, so goes the Union," 257
 Reform, The future of spelling, 367 ; Obstacles to rational educational reform, 385
 Results of Cardinal Satolli's mission, The, 695
 RICE, ISAAC L. "Thou shalt not steal," 1
 RICE, J. M. How shall the child be taught? Obstacles to rational educational reform, 385 ; The essentials in elementary education, 538 ; Economy of time in teaching, 706
 RINGWALT, R. C. Intercollegiate debating, 633
 ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. The law of civilization and decay, 575
 Rudyard Kipling as a poet, 406
 RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN. International law and arbitration, 192
 SAINTSBURY, GEORGE. The poetry of the Earl of Lytton, 467
 Sanctuary of Apollo, The, 327
 Satolli's mission, The results of Cardinal, 695
 SCHMAHL, JEANNE E. Progress of women's rights movement in France, 79
 Schumann, Robert, a lyrical poet, 235

- SCHUYLER, MONTGOMERY. Rudyard Kipling as a poet, 406
 "Science, Its warfare with theology," 65
 SEDGWICK, MARY K. Instructive district nursing, 297
 Service, Evils to be remedied in our consular, 673
 SMITH, BENJAMIN E. The future of spelling reform, 367
 SMITH, GOLDWIN. The brewing of the storm, 436
 SMITH, J. T. Cardinal Manning and his biographer, 93
 SOHN, JOSEPH. Robert Schumann a lyrical poet, 235
 "Solid South" dissolving, The, 263
 Some practical lessons of the recent campaign, 414
 Sound financial system, Conditions for a, 275
 South, The solid, dissolving, 263
 Speedy financial and currency reform imperative, 713
 Spelling reform, The future of, 367
 STAHL, JOHN M. Free coinage and farmers, 146
 Standard, Bond sales and the gold, 339
 "Steal, Thou shalt not," 1
 Storm, the brewing of the, 436
 STRIDE, W. K. The immediate future of Armenia, 308
 Study of folk-lore, The, 249
 Sultan, The creed of the : its future, 152
 SUMNER, W. G. Banks of issue in the United States, 182
 Sweden and Norway, King Oscar of, 164
 Tariff, Middle ground on the, 526
 TAUSSIG, F. W. Bond sales and the gold standard, 339
 Teaching, Economy of time in, 706
 The Eastern question : The creed of the Sultan : its future, 152 ; The immediate future of Armenia, 308 ; Shall the frontier of Christendom be maintained? 321
 "Theology, Warfare of science with," 65
 "Thou shalt not steal," 1
 Threatened annihilation of the judge-and-jury system, The, 107
 THWING, CHARLES F. The drawbacks of a college education, 483
 Time, Economy of, in teaching, 706
 TOWNSEND, W. K. The threatened annihilation of the judge-and-jury system, 107
 TRENT, W. P. Dr. Eggleston on American origins, 590
 Trust companies and free coinage, 142
 "Union, As Maine goes, so goes the," 257
 United States, Banks of issue in the, 182
 University, The urgent need of a national, 600
 Urgent need of a national university, The, 600
 VANCE, L. J. The study of folk-lore, 249
 Vicious monetary system, The cure for a, 722
 VOGÜÉ DE, E. MELCHIOR. Leo XIII, 513
 Wanton destruction of American property in Cuba, The, 571
 "Warfare of science with theology," 65
 What free coinage means : Compulsory dishonesty, 129 ; Free coinage and life-insurance companies, 136 ; Free coinage and trust companies, 142 ; Free coinage and farmers, 146
 WHITE, ANDREW D. Encouragements in the present crisis, 16 ; Mr. White's "Warfare of science with theology," 65 ; Some practical lessons of the recent campaign, 414
 Will government by the people endure? 423
 WILSON, WOODROW. Princeton in the nation's service, 447
 Wit and humor, Emerson's, 346
 Woman from the standpoint of a naturalist, 286
 Women, American, and American literature, 503
 Women's rights movement in France, Progress of the, 79
 Work and morality, 358
 YZNAGA, FERNANDO A. The wanton destruction of American property in Cuba, 571
 ZIMMERN, ALICE. Ladies' clubs in London, 684

AP

2

F8

v.22

Forum

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

